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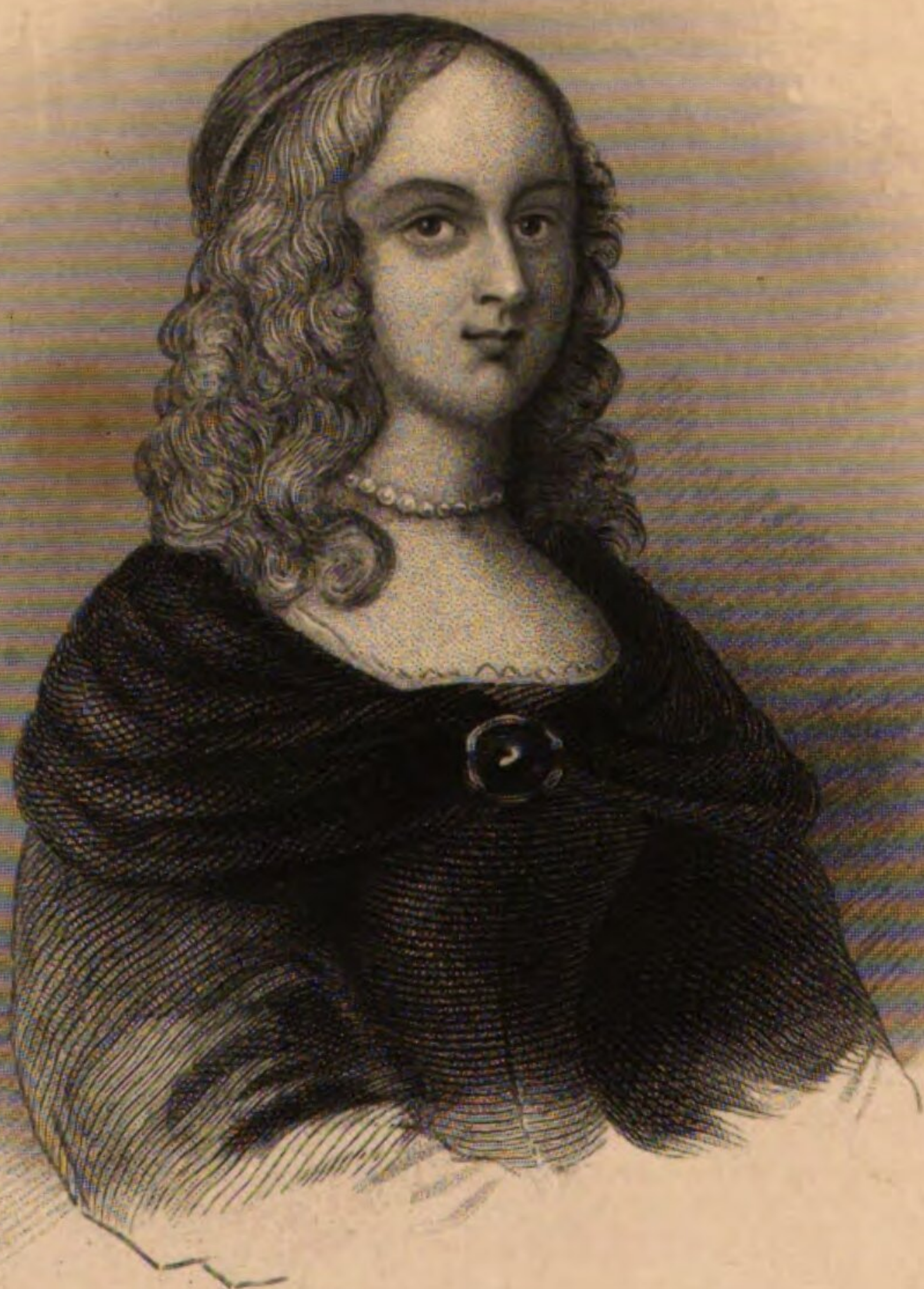
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BY

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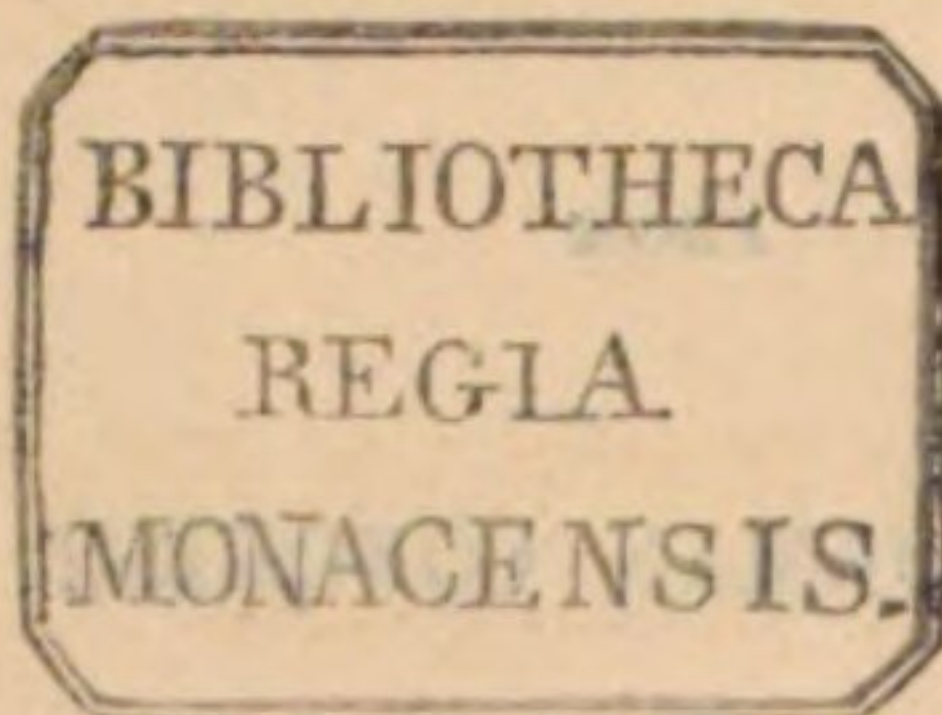
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OF THE

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN laying before the public the last Volume of the "Lives of the Princesses of England," the Author feels that she should be guilty of ingratitude, were she to withhold her acknowledgments for the courteous reception which has been given to her labours. Their conclusion has been delayed much beyond the period proposed, in consequence of protracted indisposition, which has often rendered the sofa a more fitting location than the writing-table. This, she trusts, will plead her apology, should inaccuracies have unconsciously crept in, which in a more energetic mood might have been detected and corrected.

An explanation is also needed of the reasons which have induced her to close her work with the daughters of Charles I. Charles II. having no family, the daughters of James II. would have been the next in sequence: but the only two of these royal ladies who played an important part in the drama of life, Queens Mary and Anne, have been repeatedly memorialized, and more especially in Miss Strickland's "Queens of England." Of his other daughters, all died in infancy, excepting the Princess Louise Marie, born in France, after his abdication, and therefore, strictly speaking, not a Princess

of England. She survived to early womanhood, and a brief sketch of her would have been appended to the present volume, had not its bulk already exceeded due bounds. The chief points in her history may be found in Miss Strickland's life of her mother, Queen Mary of Modena. After James II., we come to the reign of the childless William and Mary, and the worse than childless Queen Anne, who was doomed to see her infants snatched away by early and untimely death. This brings us down to the Hanoverian dynasty,—the period originally contemplated as the limit of our series.

In conclusion, the Author would express a humble hope that these Volumes, though ungraced by brilliancy of genius, and unfraught with eloquence of style, may yet find a permanent place in the historic libraries of her country, as *truthful*, and therefore not valueless, records of the PRINCESSES OF ENGLAND.

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MARCH 1ST, 1855.

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ELIZABETH,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF JAMES I.

CHAPTER VII.

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—Quarrels in her household—Princess Louise elopes and becomes a nun—The Queen's distress and displeasure—She finally becomes Abbess of Maubuisson—Marriage of Princess Sophia—Her frequent visits to her mother—Restoration of Charles II.—Money voted by Parliament to the Queen—Lord Craven's supposed marriage with her disproved—Death of the Princess Mary, her niece—Her proposal to go into the Palatinate fails—She prepares for England—Farewell visits—Sets sail—Charles II. unwilling for her to come—She persists—Lodges with Lord Craven—Princess Elizabeth becomes Abbess of Hervorden—The Queen takes Exeter House—Charles Louis tries to intercept her furniture, but fails—Refuses to increase her income—Charles II. grants her a small pension—Her interview with the Genoese Ambassador—Illness—Will—Death—Funeral—Effects—Descendants.

RETIRING more and more to the privacy of domestic life, the Queen of Bohemia employed herself in the education of her elder daughters, and in promoting the welfare of her numerous family. The establishment at Leyden was still kept up for the younger children, but as they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, they were removed from it—the boys to serve as volunteers in the armies of friendly powers, the daughters to mingle in the circle, often abounding with English visitors of distinction, that frequented their mother's court.

On the 30th of January, 1641, the queen lost her youngest child, Gustavus, who died after a tedious illness; a tendency to epilepsy, the attacks of which had of late become longer and more frequent, weakened his constitution and rendered his death less a subject of regret to any save his mother. She bitterly felt the loss of this infant—the last pledge of wedded love—born in the most hopeful of her days of exile, and just springing up into promising boyhood;¹ but she was unable to assume any additional mourning garb: from the period of her husband's death she had never put off her widow's dress, and the walls of her presence and reception rooms were hung with black. John Evelyn,

¹ Boswell's Disp. Feb. 1, 1641, Holland Corresp. State Paper Office; De Laet to Boswell, 10 Feb. Harl. MS. 6965, f. 99.

who visited her in 1641, mentions that she still kept particular fasting days, devoted to the indulgence of sorrow for her irretrievable loss. He also names meeting in her court her son, Prince Maurice, and several of her daughters.¹

The eldest princess, Elizabeth, was a young lady of profound intellectual attainments, but inheriting her mother's weakness—a too great pliancy of disposition. The princess had at one time fallen entirely under the influence of Mrs. Crofts, one of the women attached to her mother's court; and this person, long in the queen's service, became so overbearing, that her mistress was very glad to be freed from her, by sending her back to England, on the pretext of a visit, from which she never returned. But even this woman, who had caused her so much anxiety, received letters of recommendation from the queen, who was very anxious that no hint of her misconduct should transpire in England till she had obtained from the king some reward for her past services. The mischief-maker removed, the coldness that had sprung up on her account between mother and daughter passed away, and former cordiality was restored.²

The second daughter, Louise, was as passionately devoted to art, as was her sister to literature and science; and, under the instructions of the painter, Honthorst, attained a proficiency which ranked her among the artists of her age. The queen's anxious sympathies were enlisted on behalf of this daughter, in consequence of a love affair, in which the old problem of affection, *versus* interest, had once again to be worked out. It will be remembered that George William, Elector of Brandenburg, had married a sister of Frederic, King of Bohemia. In 1636, his eldest son, afterwards Frederic William the Great, paid a visit to the Hague, where he formed a warm

¹ Bray's Evelyn, vol. i. p. 12.

² Bromley Letters, pp. 85, 87.

attachment to his lovely cousin, the Princess Louise, then a girl of seventeen. The elector was informed of it, and recalled him ; but the youth found pretexts to linger awhile longer near the object of his undeclared passion, when commands still more peremptory compelled his return to Berlin. There his life was endangered by a slow and mysterious disease, which was strongly suspected to be the effect of poison, administered by Count Schwartzburg, his father's prime minister, who was greatly opposed to his union with the Palatine princess.¹ In December, 1640, the death of the father raised the young prince to the electorate ; and now that his destiny was in his own hands, he reverted, with constant tenderness,² to the object of his early love. But it was the fate of Elizabeth to see her portionless daughters discarded, time after time, by suitors attracted by their talents and graces, but whose interest disposed them to more profitable alliances. So it was with the Elector of Brandenburg : the queen and her daughters were present when, a few years later, he was married at the Hague, to another Louise, daughter of the Prince of Orange.³

A similar *finale* attended the suit of Count Waldemar, a younger prince of Denmark, who for several months was the avowed admirer of the Princess Elizabeth. Her mother never approved of the overtures, because she knew they were unwelcome to several members of the royal family of Denmark, and therefore she was the less chagrined when the young prince discontinued his attentions.⁴

The earnestness with which Elizabeth prosecuted alliances amongst her servants has already been referred to. The details of one of these courtships are preserved at some length in her correspondence with Sir Thomas Roe ;

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, Oct. 10, 1641, German Corresp. State Paper Office.

² Ibid. Jan. 6, 1642.

³ Gazette Franç. 1646, p. 1214.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, Jan. 2, March 9, 1643.

the lady in question was the younger daughter of the Bohemian Baron Rupa, adopted daughter of Sir Thomas, whom Elizabeth had taken into her service, and whom she usually designated by the sobriquet of "Queen Mab." Alluding to a rumour which Roe had heard of the girl's having entered into an unsuitable engagement, Elizabeth clears her from any such unworthy proceeding, assuring her friend that his daughter would not think of marrying without his approval.¹ Other offers transpired, which, either from parental opposition, or faithlessness on the part of the suitors, slipped through,² and the lady reverted to her first proposer, a young man of the name of Sayer. The queen promoted the match, and did her utmost to secure the interests of the young people. Roe begged her, if possible, to obtain a commission in the Prince of Orange's army for Sayer, without depriving him of the post he held in her household; the queen promised to do her best in the matter, though she told him it was very difficult of accomplishment.³ The ultimate resolution was that a troop of horse in the Irish army should be solicited for the young man, which the queen felt confident of obtaining, as the Earl of Leicester, then lord deputy, was one of her intimate friends; but the result of her application does not transpire.⁴

One reason of the favour with which Rupa was regarded by the queen was that she was an expert horsewoman. Elizabeth's letters, during her summer residences at Rhenen, abound with allusions to her favourite amusements of riding and hunting⁵. In the winter, dramatic performances furnished occasional entertainment to her court. She tells Sir T. Roe that her daughters have been acting a play in French,—the tragedy of Jason and

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, March 4, 1639, in cipher, Germ. Corresp. 76.

² Ibid. April 1, May 7, 1639; July 5, 1640.

³ Ibid. March 4, 1641, Germ. Corresp.

⁴ Ibid. June 14, 1641.

⁵ Ibid. Jan. 7, 1640.

Medea,—in which they acquitted themselves very creditably; that the whole play was acted by women, and his daughter had taken the part of “a grave matron.”¹

The queen's love of the drama was sorely reprobated by the consistory of Dutch ministers, who used their utmost influence to procure the suppression of French plays.² The invectives from their pulpits being so intemperate as to produce an effect just contrary to that which was desired, they waited on the Prince of Orange, and asked his interference. He received them coldly, and merely advised them to preach better, and then the plays would be less frequented. They next went to the Queen of Bohemia, requesting her majesty not to support the performances by her presence. Elizabeth told them she conceived that this was a pastime which might lawfully be enjoyed, and that she should use her own discretion; expressing some surprise at the incivility of their attempt to control her private conduct. They had previously offended her by desiring her chaplain, Dr. Johnson, to expatiate from the pulpit, on various points, in her dress and demeanour, which were considered objectionable. “Formerly they desired me,” writes the doctor, “to preach against bare necks, by reason her majesty uses to go so, which I refusing, as being not sent to tell her majesty how to dress herself, they let me pass in this business.”³ Dr. Johnson was a *protégé* of Laud, and had been nominated by him to succeed Dr. Higgs, the queen's late chaplain. The Dutch consistory complained of him as inclining to Arminianism, and they accused him to Laud, who wrote to the queen to say that, if the charge were true, he should feel compelled to recall the doctor. Elizabeth

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, Oct. 10, 1641.

² As early as 1619, Elizabeth, when at Prague, gave offence by her love of the drama, and Scultetus, the king's chaplain, after in vain endeavouring to check it, angrily predicted the failure of the enterprise as the result of perseverance in evil.—*Merc. Polit.* 1651, Oct. 30.

³ Johnson to Laud, Dec. 5, 1639.

pleaded for him, and, as it soon appeared that the head and front of his offending consisted in his being a man of moderate principles, in a place where it was considered a crime not to be red hot in a faction, he remained in his post, securing his peace by preaching a sermon against Arminianism.¹

Another English minister, Mr. Bainfort, one of the Puritanic school, was accustomed to officiate in the English church at the Hague, which Elizabeth attended when she had not a private service. A more lucrative appointment at Amsterdam was offered him, but he declined it, on the ground that he considered it of greater importance to keep the Book of Common Prayer out of the church where the Queen of Bohemia worshipped, than to improve his own circumstances!²

The spring of 1642 brought an accession to the courtly circle at the Hague in the persons of Queen Henrietta Maria of England and her eldest daughter Mary, the affianced wife of the young Prince of Orange. Though differing essentially from each other, in their religious opinions, and in many points of personal character, the queens associated with sisterly cordiality, and during the period, nearly a year, which Henrietta Maria spent in Holland, they held constant and friendly intercourse.³

The newspapers of the day aver that the life of Elizabeth was threatened, in consequence of her endeavour to keep away from the court at the Hague some of the ultra-royalists, such as Lord Digby and Lord Finch, who endeavoured to find access to Queen Henrietta. The statement is that the parliamentary party in England had requested Elizabeth to use all her influence in preventing

¹ Laud and Johnson to Roe, Oct. 4, Dec. 6, 1639.

² Johnson to Laud, Dec. 5, 1639.

³ Letters of Queen Bohemia to Sir T. Roe, 1642, *passim*.

the access to her sister-in-law of such persons as were likely to urge rash and violent counsels upon her; that she had complied with their request, and thereby incurred the hot displeasure of the Romish faction; that on the 5th of March, two Jesuits, who had vainly attempted to gain an interview with the Bohemian queen in their own characters, assumed a disguise, and obtained admission on the pretext of having a petition to present. She, entirely unsuspecting, was engaged in reading the paper which they presented, when one of them attempted to fire a pistol, which failing to act, the other sprang upon her with a poniard; but perceiving the danger, she flew into her chamber, with a piercing cry that brought out her attendants, and they immediately secured the villains, whose names are given as Anthony Taylor and John Brown. This statement, however, is not corroborated by the queen's letters, nor by the official correspondence of the time, and cannot be relied upon; especially as Elizabeth was known to be on friendly terms with Finch, one of the obnoxious lords.

Henrietta Maria quitted the Hague in the spring of 1643; she left behind her little daughter Mary, scarcely more than eleven years of age, commending the child to the warm-hearted love of her aunt; and during the long period of their residence in the same country, Elizabeth regarded her with a tenderness almost maternal.

The gradual increase of civil troubles in England had long caused Elizabeth deep anxiety. Whilst her sympathies were keenly alive in behalf of her brother, she could not but regret the want of timely and pacific measures, and the vehemence with which the war party was urged on by the English queen. "I find," she writes, "by all the queen's and her people's discourse, that they do not desire an agreement betwixt his majesty and the parliament, but that all be done by force, and

rail abominably at the parliament; I hear all, and say nothing.”¹

A crisis approached which caused these domestic disturbances to tell woefully upon Elizabeth's comfort. The commons, jealous of the raising and appropriation of monies by the king, without their consent, refused to pass the bill for tonnage and poundage, except on conditions to which Charles I. could not agree; and as it was from this source that the Queen of Bohemia and her family had long been paid their monthly allowances,² its withdrawal plunged them into serious difficulties. Sir Abraham Williams, Elizabeth's agent in England, presented a petition to the house on her behalf, which was seconded by the Dutch ambassador, requesting the appointment of some other fund for supplying her wants. This request was received with respect; but the active part which the two Palatine princes, Rupert and Maurice, took in the civil war, was not very likely to propitiate the feeling of the house towards their mother.³ The reply was, that notwithstanding the just provocation excited by the ill deeds of her sons, the houses were not willing to see the Queen of Bohemia in want, and they would take the case of supplies into consideration; they ordered at once a present of 2000*l.* to the prince elector, and an immediate settlement of his future pension, because finding himself unable to mediate peace, he had declined to join the king against the parliament, and had retired to Holland.

Soon after his arrival there, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to inform him of the ill odour into which Rupert had brought himself by his impulsive conduct, and to suggest the exertion of family influence to restrain him. “I

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, April 12, 1642.

² Account of Sir Abraham Williams, from 1633 to 1638, Audit Office, Somerset House; Issue Books, 1640, *et seq.* Rolls House, *passim*.

³ Warburton's Rupert, vol. i. p. 196.

wish," he adds, "that you and the queen would write to him, yet the case is very tender; I know not what to advise, for all things are in extremes, and must be guided with much wisdom."¹ To obviate the mischief, the prince elector issued, and persuaded his mother to join in, a declaration of disapproval of the cruelties said to be exercised by his brother, and of regret that they were unable to calm down his unruly spirit.² The authenticity of this declaration has been questioned, but as an independent contemporaneous record mentions its presentation to the houses of parliament, it would seem to have been genuine. Still it was strongly suspected that the queen was at heart deeply devoted to her brother's cause, and these suspicions led to the interception of her letters, in order that her real sentiments might be known. For some time nothing unfavourable was detected; the queen even refrained from using cipher in her correspondence, lest it should be supposed that she was writing against the parliament,³ and frequently expressed in strong terms her wish for peace. When, therefore, she renewed her application for monies to relieve the wants which daily became more pressing,⁴ the parliament testified their confidence in her by ordering the needful supply.⁵

The facility with which her eldest son, under the influence of self-interested motives, threw himself into the cause of the parliament, was extremely distasteful to

¹ Roe to Charles Louis, Sept. 20, 1642. An entire volume of Sir T. Roe's papers was lent to Harley, Earl of Oxford, and has thus found its way into the Harleian Collection, No. 1091. A summary of each letter is given in the Harleian Catalogue, affording a valuable digest of public affairs in England and Germany during the years 1642-4.

² Somers' Hist. Tracts, vol. iv. p. 498; Queen of Bohemia's Propositions, 4to, 1642; Journal of Lords, vol. v. p. 336; Journ. Commons, vol. ii. pp. 762, 786; Mem. Troubles in Scotland, pt. ii. p. 196, Spalding Society.

³ Elizabeth to Roe, Jan. 2, 1643.

⁴ Journ. Com. vol ii. pp. 969, 986.

⁵ Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 14-21, 1643.

Elizabeth. This prince had received much personal kindness from King Charles, and had been educated mainly at his expense; and Elizabeth could not but feel the ungraciousness of his conduct, in leaving his uncle and entering into friendly correspondence with the opposite party. Some expressions contained in letters to her brother and Prince Rupert, which were intercepted, gave great offence to the parliament;¹ the queen was troubled, and wrote to Sir T. Roe, to request his friendly interference in her favour.² In his reply, Roe informed her that he had done his best to bring her case favourably before the houses, but that the reply was, that any apology, to be effective, must come from the queen herself; and he advised her to send such a letter as might conciliate the parliament, without offending the king,—a task which, though difficult, he doubted not her wisdom would be able to accomplish.³ In compliance with his advice, Elizabeth wrote the following letter to the speaker of the House of Commons:—⁴

“Sir,

“Having understood, by imperfect reports, of the interception of some letters which I wrote occasionally to the king, and my son, whereat the parliament had taken offence, I cannot be at rest till I have endeavoured to remove all such impressions as might deprive me of their good opinion, which I so truly value, and have ever found favourable in my behalf; I would therefore entreat you to acquaint the Honourable House of Commons, whereof you are speaker, that albeit I cannot at present remember what I then particularly writ, yet if anything did perchance slip from my pen, in the private relation between a mother and a son, which might give them the least distaste, I entreat them to make no worse construction of it than was by me intended; having never admitted of any thought or resolution which hath not been sincere and constant to the public peace and prosperity of the kingdom. With this profession I desire the honourable house to rest satisfied, that I may stand as upright in their judgment as I am in my affections; and that thereupon, considering of the distress whereunto I am brought by the wrong and oppression of my enemies, they would not give them

¹ Journ. Com. vol. ii. p. 989, vol. iii. p. 55.

² March 16, 1643, Germ. Corresp.

³ Harl. MS. 1901, f. 66, date April 7.

⁴ Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 60, April 13, 1643.

occasion to rejoice, by stopping those necessary supplies, which, by the love of the king my father, and king my brother, I have hitherto enjoyed, and without which I have no other subsistence in this world.

"I do therefore entreat the honourable house to take my pressing wants into their kind consideration, and give such speedy order for my relief that I may be kept from inconvenience in a foreign country.

"Sir I crave your favour in representing hereof: and I shall ever remain,

"Your most assured friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"Hague, 13th April, 1643."

This letter was accompanied by a similar appeal to the House of Lords.¹ After some delay, Sir Henry Vane gave the queen hopes that money would be remitted to her;² but, having waited several months in vain, she sent an express with fresh letters representing the extremity of her case, urging that the longer help was deferred, the heavier her burden became, and praying for relief both from her pressing wants and from the evils to which they might lead.³ The queen's letters were crossed on the road by an order from the houses for the payment of £3,000, which, however welcome, was still so small a sum in comparison with the arrears due to her, that she earnestly entreated either a renewed grant, or an augmentation of the present one.⁴ Roe told her that he was rejoiced at her obtaining a small taste of parliamentary bounty, but he feared the streams from that fountain would not be in any proportion to her necessities. He assured her that the king was rather relieved than displeased at the help afforded her, and advised her to be extremely careful at all times that her brother should be fully acquainted with what passed between her

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, April 20, 1643.

² Ibid. May 25.

³ Tanner MS. No. 62, pt. i. f. 132, Bodleian Library, Oxford, original. Printed in Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 193. It was directed to the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, and read April 24th. Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 15. See also pp. 59, 213; and Prince Elector to Pym, Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 150.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, July 6.

and the parliament, lest otherwise he might construe it into neglect of himself and a willingness to be entirely dependent upon them. This point Elizabeth carefully guarded, and had the good fortune to retain the favour of both parties. But the king greatly disappointed her, by refusing to promote her long-tried friend, Sir T. Roe, either to office or to the peerage; and the queen, by declining to admit Lady Rupa, his adopted daughter, to a vacant post in her household.¹

The year 1644 was marked in the history of Elizabeth by a succession of domestic troubles, beginning with personal illness. An attack of pleurisy, lasting several days,² was followed by a severe cold, which again laid her aside; and, at the same time, she received tidings of the illness and death of her mother-in-law, the dowager-electress palatine. For nearly five-and-twenty years they had not met, but they had kept up constant correspondence, and the electress, from her familiar intercourse with the court of Brandenburg, where she resided, had often been able to give important information and advice in the affairs of the Palatine family. On her dying bed, she ordered her daughter Catherine to write to the Queen of Bohemia, and say that she was sorry to be too weak to answer her last letters; but that she prayed earnestly for her, and should love her to the last. She sent her blessing to her grand-children, whose restoration she would so gladly have seen, but bade them live well, and trust God for the rest.³ The queen sincerely regretted her venerable relative, and it was at her suggestion that Spanheim, the German historian, undertook the life of the electress, to which frequent references was made in the early part of this memoir, and which was dedicated to the Queen of Bohemia.

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, Sept. 2, Oct. 5, 1643.

² Ibid. Feb. 1, 1644, Holland Correspond.

³ Spanheim, *Life of Louise Juliane*, p. 404.

The death of her mother-in-law was succeeded by the illness of her youngest child, the Princess Sophia; a chronic disorder to which she had been subject from childhood, so increased upon her that the queen wrote to consult Sir Theodore Mayerne on the case. He sent directions for diet and medicines which accomplished the desired object.¹ This source of uneasiness was followed by another in the indisposition of the eldest princess, which continued nearly a month, and the rapidly declining health of her old and valued friend, Sir Thomas Roe. Elizabeth was very anxious that he should consult a Polish doctor, who had attended the late electress, and wrote to him to that effect.² Her letter was accompanied by the following elegant epistle from the Princess Elizabeth.³

"Sir Thomas Roe,

"I see many reasons in your last letter why you should be weary of the world, and willing to leave it, but there are none that shew you useless unto it, or the same fit to want you. If physicians are necessary in sickness, counsellors in distractions, friends in afflictions and calamities, certainly in general depravities there is as much need of honest men, though unable to correct the manners, at least to mitigate the punishments. There was no danger for Sodom till Lot went out of it, and since the point of honour obliges men to hazard their life for their country, there must be yet a stricter law to make them preserve it for the same cause. Do not therefore flatter yourself into a despair of amendment which will bring you to neglect the means. If this air were not more hurtful than our physicians can be profitable, I would counsel you to follow your first design, but now methinks France should be the better place for your health. I have not spoken all this while of our own interest in your conservation, lest you should believe we were not yet satisfied with the good we have received, and would disturb you, as Saul did Samuel, in your very grave. But I assure you we are all loth to lose so generous a friend, and would purchase his continuance at any rate. My own sickness hindered me three weeks from telling you this truth, and desiring the continuance of your friendship to

"Your most affectionate friend,

"The $\frac{6}{16}$ of June, 1644."

"ELIZABETH."⁴

¹ Mayerne's Letters, f. 273, M.S. 2339, in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

² June 6, 1644, copy, Holland Correspond.

³ Same date.

⁴ Holland Correspondence, 1644, State Paper Office.

The reply of the old man to his royal mistress assures her that he is very ill, not far from the brink of the grave, but that so dear to him are her manifold tokens of favour, that had he another life to wear out, he should esteem it too cheap a sacrifice to be offered in her cause.¹ This was the last letter the queen received from him. He died during the summer. In him she lost a judicious and devoted friend; and the cessation of the familiar epistles in which she so frankly expressed to him her inmost thoughts, and which he so carefully preserved, is a serious loss to her biography.

In the autumn of 1644, the prince elector again went over to England, with the twofold object of maintaining his interest with the parliament and of obtaining pecuniary supplies for himself and his mother; but his conduct there exposed him to general contempt. The parliament, though they ordered apartments at Whitehall to be prepared for his reception, and presented to him 500*l.* for his maintenance, told him plainly that they thought he had been better in Holland, and would do well to go back; whilst Charles I. wrote him a cool letter, stating, that having never known the reason why he left him at York, to return to Holland, he should not have troubled to inquire the cause of his reappearance, but for the interest he must ever feel in the son of his sister. The prince's reply to his uncle was short and abrupt, simply referring him to his declaration to the parliament, a copy of which he inclosed.² Towards the parliament he showed great cordiality; assured them that he ever wished well to their arms, trusted that the actions of his friends in England—alluding to his brothers Rupert and Maurice—would not cause *him* to be regarded with jealousy, and begged permission not only to be present at the sittings

¹ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, June 20, 1644, Harl. M.S. 1901, f. 122, b.

² Newspapers, Jan. 1-8, 1645; King's Pamphlets.

of the house, but to attend the consistory of divines which met to discuss questions of religion.¹

That Charles Louis, as well as his royal mother, should wish to keep on good terms with the party upon whom depended their daily bread, and with whose principles he might partially sympathize, is perfectly natural; but his base truckling to the taste of the people, and his subserviency to the men by whom, at that very moment, two of his brothers were proscribed as traitors and rebels, argues a meanness of character of which his after-conduct furnishes too many proofs, and which greatly disappointed the hopes formed of him, whilst he still remained under the control of his mother. Not the least marked evidence of this trait appears in his acceptance of a revenue, to be derived from the forfeiture of lands of the partizans of his uncle, Charles I.² It was even suspected in diplomatic quarters, that there was an under plot between him and one of the parliamentary leaders, to transfer the crown from the family of Charles to that of his sister, and place it on the head of the Palatine prince;³ but this lacks confirmation.

The patience of Elizabeth was again tried by the tardiness of the parliament in granting the supplies she needed, and also by the jealous surveillance they exercised over her conduct. She wrote to the Earl of Essex, who had formerly been her friend, and a leader of the English troops in the German war, requesting his mediation in her behalf; on which she addressed the following letter to the House of Peers.⁴

¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 713; Siri Mercurio, vol. iv. pt. 2, pp. 789, 806; see also Carte's Ormonde Papers, p. 69; Prince Elector to Speaker Parl. Feb. 12, 1645; Newspapers, Aug. Sept.; King's Pamphlets; Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 544; Gaz. Franç. 1644, p. 909.

² Siri, vol. v. pt. 1, p. 215.

³ Sabran's Despatches, Sept. 1644; Raumer Geschichte, vol. iii. p. 330.

⁴ Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 533.

"My lords,

"It hath pleased the Queen of Bohemia to write to me, and make known her necessities to be so great that she wants wherewith to defray her charge of her house. Your lordships know how much this kingdom is concerned in honour to see that a princess of her birth and near alliance to this crown should not fall into a condition so much below herself; wherefore I beseech your lordships to take it into your consideration, and, if you think fit, to communicate it likewise to the honourable House of Commons; and I doubt not but, though the burden and charge of the kingdom be now very great, yet some honourable provision will be made herein. I hope your lordships will pardon this boldness in me, in respect of that which I owe to that princess, for whose sake, and in whose service, I had the honour first to bear arms. And if my intercession may any way advantage her, I shall take it for a great favour done to

"Your lordships' humble servant,

"ESSEX."

The Lords communicated with the Commons on the subject, and they replied by a remonstrance against the chaplain of the queen, Dr. Johnson, whom they represented to be a man very ill affected towards the parliament, and one who did much harm by prejudicing the mind of his mistress against the popular cause. They requested her to dismiss him, and accept in his place some "godly, learned, conscionable divine," to be selected and paid by the house.¹ With this request, the queen complied, and at their recommendation accepted a Mr. Cowper, who conducted her domestic worship without the use of the Church of England service.² This deviation from her habitual forms became painful to Elizabeth, and though too poor to salary a chaplain, she subsequently accepted with gratitude the partial services of Dr. George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who for two years and a half performed the duty occasionally, with no compensation beyond board for himself and his servant.³

The queen's submission in this particular disposed the houses to regard her case with serious consideration:⁴

¹ Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 544; Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 533.

² Harrington's Diary, Addit. M.S. 10114, under date April 20, 1646.

³ Kennet's Chron. p. 448.

⁴ A newspaper writer records that "the care and compassion of the

they voted her a pension of 2000*l.* a-year, with payment of her arrears as soon as possible; and appointed a committee to consider the settlement of her monthly allowance.¹ These favours she acknowledged in a letter to the speaker of the Commons.² But delays, unexpected and unwelcome, occurring in the execution of the orders, Elizabeth was compelled again to address a petition to the houses.³

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ I had much rather give you occasion to represent my thanks to this honourable house than trouble you at all with my complaints, but since they have been pleased to vote several orders, and thereby declare a purpose to provide for my supply, I am forced by the extremity of my wants, to repair unto them for some speedy relief. I know not where it sticketh, nor what the cause hath been that my business hath been so long delayed. I hope it proceedeth not from any unwillingness observed on my part to comply with the desires of this honourable house. Sure I am that, since the passing of those orders, the creditors here were fed with expectation to receive something every month; but now, after so many months, their hopes fail them, and my debts increase; and, if present order be not taken, my credit will support me no longer. I do therefore most earnestly beseech this honourable house to consider my pressing wants, and neither permit them to run on till they be past remedy, nor suffer me to be thereby exposed to dishonour among strangers where I live. I doubt not the affection of this honourable house to perfect whatsoever they intended towards me. I only crave the expedition thereof, my necessities not admitting more delay. To which end I have appointed Sir Robert Honeywood, my steward, to attend their favourable dispatch; desiring you to represent this much to this honourable Commons house of Parliament, whereof you are speaker, in behalf of

“ Your most assured friend,

“ ELIZABETH.

“ Hague, the 21st of August, 1645.

“ For Mr. Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons.”

State flows out of this kingdom into the Hague, over all the cruelty and inhumanity of her son Rupert, which lie in the way. But do you not think he is a dutiful prince that will not allow his royal mother a pension out of all his plunder? He might send over a chain of rubies of the congealed blood of the godly whom he massacres here, and a chain of diamonds of the tears of widows and orphans of his own making.”

¹ Journ. Com. vol. iv. p. 69.

² March 27, 1645, Tanner M.S. No. 60, pt. 1, fol. 13, Bodleian Library, original.

³ Tanner M.S. vol. 60, pt. 1, fol. 239, Bodleian Library, original.

Receiving no answer, the queen thought it advisable, in the following spring, to send over her chaplain, Mr. Cowper, to remonstrate against the dilatory proceedings of the committee to whom her cause had been referred.¹ Thus reminded, the house again took the subject into consideration, and agreed to continue to the queen the pension of 2000*l.* a-year which they had assigned her, and to add to it 10,000*l.* per annum instead of the 18,000*l.* allowed by her brother. The sum was at first made payable on the estates of forfeited royalists; but this resolution, probably in deference to her feelings, was changed, and the Goldsmiths' Company undertook to advance 10,000*l.* for present use, the yearly amounts to be paid by the committee of revenue; 8000*l.* a-year was also granted to the prince elector. Elizabeth wrote to the lords, expressing her thanks for their kindness, and her earnest hope that a happy peace might speedily ensue, to their mutual rejoicing.²

The following year brought upon the queen a calamity which she little expected. Her fourth son, Edward, who for several years had been a resident in France, became a pervert to the Romish faith, publicly abjured his Protestantism, and received the communion from the coadjutor of Paris.³ This was the result of a stolen love-match between himself and a princess of the House of Nevers, Anne de Gonzaga, whose wit and gallantries alike rendered her an object of attention in the French Court. She was severely blamed for falling in love with and marrying a portionless youth, when some of the noblest men in France were suitors for her hand; but her fault was considered as partially atoned for when she had made a convert of her husband.

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 138.

² Harrington's Diary, Addit. M.S. 10114; Journ. Com. vol. iv. p. 515; Journ. Lords, vol. viii. pp. 281, 338; Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 260.

³ Gaz. Franç. 1645, p. 1028.

The intelligence so distressed the queen, that it quite overthrew her wonted equanimity. She wrote to the prince elector, declaring that she would rather have died than see a child of hers abandon the Protestantism in which he had been so carefully trained, and that she much regretted not having sent the boy to England, instead of allowing him to remain in France.¹ Her first care was to remove from the suite of her other sons one or two attendants suspected of a leaning towards Popery; and to Prince Philip, who, though still very young, had accepted an important post in the Venetian army, she gave the strictest charge, under peril of her curse, that he should never abandon the religion of his ancestors.²

This prince had incurred his mother's displeasure by an act of rashness which involved him in the crime of murder. A French gentleman, M. de l'Epinay, who held some position in the queen's court, was a favourite with her, but disliked by her children; and young Philip, on some affront real or imaginary, rushed upon him with his drawn weapon, and inflicted a wound which ultimately proved fatal.³ His conduct was the more unpardonable since he attacked his foe unarmed, whilst he himself had companions to assist him if needful. So much indignation was excited that fifty Frenchmen pledged themselves in wine, mingled with blood, to avenge the outrage.⁴ Distressed and indignant at her son's conduct, Elizabeth refused to admit him to her presence, and banished him the Hague; he wrote to solicit the mediation of his eldest brother, the prince elector, which was readily afforded.⁵ How long Philip remained in disgrace we are not informed; but the next year, by leave of the parliament,

¹ See reply of Charles Louis, Bromley Letters, p. 127.

² Bromley Letters, pp. 131, 136.

³ Vornhagen, Sophie Charlotte, p. 9.

⁴ Janus Ulilius to Heinsius, Burman, Sylloges Epist. vol. iii. p. 709.

⁵ Bromley Letters, p. 133.

he went over to England, and raised 1000 men for the service of Venice, whither he then departed.¹

About the same time Rupert and Maurice made their appearance at the Hague. The former had been cashiered and disgraced by Charles I. for the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary army,—one of those acts of military expediency, respecting which much has been said on both sides; but the strongest censure that can justly be passed upon the prince is that of rashness; his life-long career forbids the imputation of cowardice or treason.² He had lingered some time in England,—pardoned, though not employed, as before, by his uncle,—and now, with his brother Maurice, obeyed the summons to leave England, and entered as an officer into the army of the Prince of Orange in Flanders.³

In December, 1645, the Queen of Poland, Louise Marie de Gonzaga of Mantua, passed through Holland, but she did not visit the Hague; and as her movements were uncertain, the Queen of Bohemia excused herself from waiting upon her in person, and sent her by her son Philip a present of beautifully embroidered horse housings.⁴ Elizabeth shrank at all times from formal interviews with foreign princes, which could not but remind her how strong was the contrast between the splendour demanded by her royal title, and the frugality and comparative meanness with which her household economy was necessarily conducted; and the fact that this queen was sister to her daughter-in-law, the wife of Prince Edward, and the instrument of his perversion, rendered her the less inclined to a meeting.

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii. pp. 1069, 1119; Harl. MS. 7000, f. 209; Charles Louis to Speaker.

² See on this point Raumer Geschichte, vol. iii. p. 337; Carte's Ormonde Papers, p. 134; Siri Mercurio, vol. v. pt. i. p. 215; and Rupert's printed Excuses, King's Pamphlets.

³ Gaz. Franç. 1646, pp. 634, 672.

⁴ Ibid. 1647, p. 93.

In the autumn of 1646, Madame de Longueville, daughter of the Prince of Condé, whose husband was also of the blood royal of France, in travelling through Holland, came with her daughter to the Hague. They were anxious for an interview with the Queen of Bohemia; but to avoid the humiliation to which she must have been subjected, if the eyes that were accustomed to the splendours of the Louvre and Versailles dwelt upon the long-worn velvets and faded furniture of her comparatively humble apartments, Elizabeth arranged a *quasi* accidental meeting with the French ladies, during an evening walk in the gardens of the Prince of Orange. She was accompanied by two of her daughters and her son Maurice, and attended by a maid of honour and a small company of ladies and gentlemen. They met the French princesses and their suite in one of the walks; and after the exchange of salutations, Madame de Longueville took the left hand of the queen and walked by her side, her daughter placing herself between the two Palatine princesses. After some time they retired to an arbour, and there continued awhile longer in an animated conversation, which our informant, an attendant on Madame de Longueville, was not able to hear. The ladies then attended the queen to her residence, when she kissed them and withdrew. The next day Prince Maurice paid them a visit of compliment.¹ The same writer records that he saw the queen dine in public, with her niece, the princess royal, and that by their gentle and serious dignity they both showed that they never forgot their royal birth; they were always served on the knee, but their furnishings were far inferior to those of Madame de Longueville.

In England, political changes followed each other with strange rapidity in the downward whirl of royalty. The king's frequent defeats—his fatal surrender of his person

¹ Harley MS. 4471, Voyage Mdme. and Mdle. de Longueville to Holland.

to the Scots—their yielding him up to the parliament—his seizure by the army—his escape and re-capture—were all scenes in the terrible drama which excited the warmest sympathies of the Queen of Bohemia. When her nephew, the Prince of Wales, arrived at the Hague, none gave him a more cordial welcome than the Bohemian queen.¹ She willingly permitted her son Rupert to assume office under his bidding, as admiral of a fleet destined for an attack in Ireland.

It soon became evident that not only the throne but the very life of Charles I. was in danger. With the clinging tenderness of a sister's heart, Elizabeth had braved the risk incurred by constant and loving correspondence with him; and now, when danger threatened, she yearned to behold him once more, to throw around him, if possible, the shield of her own still lingering popularity, and to save him from impending calamity.² She began to make arrangements for visiting England; but before her purposes could be carried into effect, the fatal blow was struck, and civilized Europe beheld, for the first time, the tragedy of a king perishing on a scaffold.

The news of the death of Charles I. reached the Hague just at the time when tidings also arrived of the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, by which the long-exiled Palatine family were restored to part of their hereditary estates. Despairing of help from England, Elizabeth had at last consented to a modification of her son's demands, and no longer insisted on "all or nothing;" whilst the advantages gained by the French and Swedes in Germany induced the Houses of Austria and Bavaria

¹ Newspapers, July and Sept. 1648.

² Army's Modest Intelligencer, Jan. 19, 1649. In one of his last letters to his son Charles the king writes: "My sister hath desired me to thank you and your brother for your respects to her, which, indeed, is well done, for her affection truly speaks her my sister."—*Dated, Newport, Tuesday, Oct. 3, 1648, Harl. MS. 6949, f. 61.*

to listen more readily to a composition. The principal feature of it was, that the Lower Palatinate should be fully restored, unencumbered with debt, on condition of a full and final renunciation of the Upper Palatinate. The difficulty in reference to the electoral dignity was met by the creation of an eighth electorate, so that the Bavarian and Palatine families both retained the dignity, with a proviso that in case of failure of the Bavarian line, the eighth electorate should be suppressed, and the Upper Palatinate return to the Palatine line.¹

The friendly Hollanders warmly sympathized in the joy of the exiled family, and public rejoicings and thanksgivings were appointed to celebrate the event; but when Elizabeth received the fatal tidings from England, she stopped all tokens of gratulation, that seemed but to mock the sorrow into which she was plunged. A lock of her brother's hair, brought over by a faithful servant, was set in a mourning ring, with the device of a crown over a skull and cross bones, and the letters C. R., and to the day of her death was always worn by the queen;² as was also a miniature of her brother, set in gold studded with diamonds.³

The death of King Charles was a crime which Elizabeth never forgave: from that moment she temporized no more in expressing her burning indignation against the republican party; she carefully avoided giving to the ruling powers in England the title of "Commonwealth" which they assumed; and henceforward supported with the whole weight of her influence, and beyond the limits of prudence, the interests of the royalists. The consequence is easy to anticipate. On the 8th of May, 1649, her pension of 10,000*l.* a-year, which, though ill

¹ Worsley's Collection of Treaties, 4to. Lond. 1746, p. 14.

² Moderate Intelligencer, Feb. 23, 1649; Bromley Letters, preface.

³ Inventory of the queen's jewels, Germ. Corresp. March 1, 1662.

paid, was her only means of support, was voted by parliament as suspended,¹ and she was left absolutely without resources, in a town where she was already deeply in debt, and her credit exhausted. After the lapse of a few months, she wrote to her agent in England, Sir Abraham Williams, ordering him to send her certain documents, by aid of which she felt disposed to challenge the power of the parliament to revoke grants passed under the great seal of England, or at any rate the right to withhold the arrears due up to the date of the revocation.² Having obtained the necessary papers, the queen, with the assistance of Lord Craven, drew up a distinct statement of the grants made to her, and the sums due upon them;³ and then applied to the States-General, who were negotiating a treaty with the parliament, for the insertion of a special article to secure the payment of her arrears, urging that otherwise her creditors must be severe losers, and soliciting also the con-

¹ Journ. Com. vol. ii. p. 205.

² May 8, 1651, Tanner MS. No. 54, fol. 56, Bodleian Library.

³ The rough draft of it is still in the possession of the Earl of Craven, to whose courtesy we are indebted for the use of many valuable papers relating to the Queen of Bohemia. The suggested additions in the margin are in the first Lord Craven's handwriting.

True estate of the Queen of Bohemia's entertainments (*i.e.*, money allowed and money paid), from King James her father and King Charles her brother.* Of blessed memory.

Two thousand pounds *per ann*: were settled upon her† by King James her father, at the time of her marriage, to continue for life for her own personal expences, which was about the year 1613. This was settled by the great seal which her majesty keepeth in her custody. £2,000

‡ After her expulsion out of the Palatinate and her coming to the Hague, anno 1621. Fifteen hundred pounds *per mensem* was settled upon her majesty‡ for the expences of her court and education of her children, when she came to reside at the Hague about the year 1621.§ This also was settled by the great seal which her majesty keepeth in her own custody. This monthly allowance amounted to, by the year £18,000

§ Which Eleven hundred and fifty pounds were also

tinuance of her pension, till the restoration of her jointure lands in the Palatinate.¹ The States, on the receipt of her application, appointed commissioners to represent the case to the English ambassadors at the Hague, and to endeavour to procure terms favourable to the unfortunate lady.

monthly allowance was settled under the great seal, and amounts by the year to
† by patent.

settled upon her Majesty at the same time,† for provision of beer and liveries, whereof she also keepeth the patent in her custody. This, by the year, amounted to £1,150
Total £21,150
(per ann :)

These two last allowances, granted by King James, her father, were confirmed afterwards by King Charles, her brother, by divers Privy Seals, one bearing the date of the last July, 1631; another the 8th of May, 1633; a third the 10th of Feb. 1635.

True estate of the arrears due to the Queen of Bohemia upon the former entertainments :

Upon the yearly pension of 2,000*l.* for her own person until our Lady day, 1647, which was ordered by the House of Commons the 5th of March, 1644, to be paid quarterly £4,227 10 0

† Majesty's. Upon the yearly allowance of eighteen thousand pounds for the support of her‡ household and children, as appears by Sir Abraham Williams' books . . . £76,800

Upon the yearly allowance of eleven hundred and fifty pounds for living and beer until Lady day, 1649, as appears by the said books £10,275

Here it is to be noted that the two former entertainments were stopped by order of parliament, and a new allowance of ten thousand pounds per ann : appointed her majesty to commence the 22nd of April, 1647, to be paid by 833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per mensem, which, being eleven months in arrears, with 500*l.* arrears for the month of May, 1648, amounts to £966 13 4

Total of all arrears £100,969 3 4

Endorsed—

A true note of all the Queen of Bohemia's entertainments, and her arrears due thereupon.

¹ Tanner MS. *ut. sup.* f. 72; Thurloe, vol. i. p. 184; Fœdera, vol. ix. pt. iii. p. 148.

² Fœdera, *ut. sup.* p. 149.

Sir Walter Strickland and Mr. St. John, the parties on whose consideration the queen was now thrown, were of all others the least likely to feel cordially towards her. She had given the strictest orders that no one in her household should hold intercourse with them, and had forbidden any person who associated with them to come to her court; declaring that any transgressor of this rule should be flung down stairs and kicked out of doors. Although she promised the States, on their application, that no affront should be offered to the ambassadors by any member of her household,¹ yet her son, Prince Edward, insulted them in their carriage. They complained to some members of the States-General, and a deputation was sent by them to the Queen of Bohemia to demand whether they were not masters of their own country, and, if so, by what right the prince violated their commands and presumed to offend the ambassadors. Their language was stern as well as resolute; and they significantly told her that it had been better for herself and her family had such a circumstance never transpired. Elizabeth expressed her regret, and summoned her son into her presence. The youth made an awkward apology, but no faith was given to his excuses; he was, however, startled into better manners, and the Bohemian court was for some days in suspense, fearing what might ensue.²

The States referred the matter to a court of justice, on the ground that any violation of the respect due to ambassadors was a breach of the law of nations. "It was England," writes the angry parliamentarian, who records these facts; "it was England that received the affront done by the petty, paltry thing called *prince*, whose very nursing was paid for out of the purse of England; and therefore we are confident those in power here among the Dutch cannot but consult so far with

¹ Mer. Polit. May 29, 1651.

² Perfect Passages, April 11, 1651.

their own honours as to make a severe vindication, answerable to a crime of so high a nature." To the disappointment of the English, the States contented themselves with an admonition to the prince to have "a better tongue another time." He loudly boasted that they could not punish him, a free-born prince of the empire,¹ and showed his bravado spirit by postponing for a week his intended journey to Germany, lest it should be supposed he was influenced by fear of punishment. The ambassadors threatened to leave the Hague unless the prince removed elsewhere: to this he at length consented, and the queen was requested to see that none of her household transgressed in future, as the rank of the offender would not again purchase impunity.²

No favour could reasonably be hoped from men thus irritated; accordingly the petition of the States on behalf of the queen, met with the following haughty reply.

"High and mighty lords,

"30 June, 1651.

"The letter written unto your lordships by the Queen of Bohemia, and your order made thereupon, were delivered unto us by two of the deputies of your assembly, upon the 29th day of this instant June; and having read the same, we find that the scope of the said letter is to engage your lordships to mediate the payment of the arrears of the pension, which she pretends was granted to her by King James, her father, and confirmed to her by King Charles, her brother, and since continued to her by the parliament, and reduced to 10,000*l. per annum*; and that the same may be continued to be paid to her, for her maintenance, until she be able to enjoy the revenue of her jointure in the Palatinate; and also that your lordships, upon reading the said letter, have thought fit, by an order, (wherein you style Charles, late King of England, Charles *the First*.) to appoint your commissioners to endeavour and mediate the said business with us, according and in conformity to her request. And having considered the said letter, we do observe that she doth not express therein from whom she expects the said payments of the said arrears, and the 10,000*l. per annum* for the future; insomuch that, unless your lordships had, by your mediation and recommendation in that behalf, applied and expounded the meaning of that letter, we could not, from anything therein have thought the commonwealth of England to be intended thereby, or ourselves obliged to take any notice

¹ Mercurius Politicus, April 3 to 10, 1651.

² Whitelock, p. 494.

thereof. And, although it now comes unto us accompanied with your lordships' desires, to whom the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, as your good friends and allies, hath been always ready to express all offices of love and friendship ; yet, considering this case, and the carriage of it by the person whom it doth concern, we cannot but think it enough for us to say, that when the Queen of Bohemia thinks fit to make any address to the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, for anything she hath in demand from them, it will be then time enough for her to expect an answer thereunto.

“ But because she labours to possess your lordships, and the good people of this country, her creditors, upon whom, it seems, she hath lived for some years last past, that she hath a great debt owing unto her from the parliament of England, and also a constant maintenance due unto her for the future, for want whereof she cannot satisfy her creditors, nor pay her just debts ; endeavouring thereby to draw the clamour thereof upon the parliament, and to draw the people into further engagement for her future subsistence : we thought it further convenient to declare that, although we know not that either King James, her father, or Charles, late king of England, her brother, did make any such grants unto her as are mentioned in her letter ; yet, if they did, we are sure that, as they were never ratified or confirmed by act of parliament, so neither do they, in law or equity, bind the parliament of the Commonwealth of England to the payment of what was granted therein, even upon the case which the queen herself, in the said letter, hath set forth ; for Charles, the last king of England, under whom she claims, being attainted of high treason, whereby all his lands and other estate whatsoever is forfeited, and come to the Commonwealth of England, discharged of this said grant, and of all the arrearage pretended to be due upon the same. And if, upon her own case, there be nothing due to her of right, she hath no reason to expect anything from the parliament of grace and favour ; not only because the relation that moved the said two kings (she being daughter to one, and sister to the other,) to allow her that maintenance is ceased, but also because the queen, by herself and all her relations, hath opposed to her power the Commonwealth of England, and upon all occasions expressed the greatest enmity thereunto. And therefore your lordships will be satisfied that we cannot send the said letter of the Queen of Bohemia to the parliament, nor your recommendation thereof ; and that, not only upon the reasons aforesaid, but also because, in your order beforementioned, Charles, the late king of England, is styled Charles the *First*, which implies that there is a *second* Charles, king of England, against which expression, in the name of the Commonwealth of England, we do protest, no person whatsoever having any right or title to be king of England.

“ Your lordships' most affectionate servants, &c.¹

“ The 20th June, 1651.”

Elizabeth used all her influence, but with only partial success, to lead her son the elector to an identification as

¹ Thurloe's Papers, vol. i, p. 189.

close as her own with the royalist cause. Charles Louis had parted from his uncle in peace. The king would not cherish anger against his sister's child, but he had refused to allow the presence of this hollow-hearted relative to disturb the composure of his latter days, and therefore declined a last formal interview.¹ Early in February, 1649, the elector sent a respectful letter to the parliament, entreating their permission to retire with his train to Germany, and their continuance of his present supplies till the settled state of the kingdom should enable them more fully to consider his case.² He landed at Rotterdam on the 18th of April, and shrinking from a meeting with the Prince of Wales, now acknowledged as Charles II., who was at the Hague, was proceeding at once to the country palace of Rhenen. But it was strongly represented to him that such a course would deeply wound his mother, from whom he had been long separated, and would also offend the States of Holland and the Prince of Orange; he consequently changed his intention, went to the Hague, and by his mother's persuasion, waited upon his cousin, who received him with a courtesy that placed him quite at his ease. Under her influence, too, he refused to visit the parliamentary agent, Strickland, thus tacitly withdrawing the support of his name from the party which was only too glad to make use of it.³

He refused, however, to remain at the Hague, and withdrew to Rhenen. Thence he went to visit the Elector of Cleves, was well received at Frankfort,⁴ and early in August, entered once more, as prince-electoral, the castle of Heidelberg which he had quitted thirty

¹ Cary's Memorials of Civil War, 8vo. Lond. 1842, vol. i. p. 277; Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. Append. p. 40; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1428; Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 333.

² Carey's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 119.

³ Bromley's Letters, p. 151; Moderate Intelligencer, March 22—April 19, 1649; Evelyn Corresp. Addit. MS. 25,948, f. 27.

⁴ Newspapers, July 1649; King's Pamphlets.

years before, and which it had cost those thirty years of desolating warfare to regain. The welcome tidings were conveyed to the queen's friends, far and wide, by her own hand, in letters testifying her joy at the termination of the strife which owed its commencement mainly to her ambition.¹

The consideration of her own affairs did not prevent the Queen of Bohemia from taking a very lively interest in those of her brother's children, particularly of her nephew, Charles II., an inexperienced and easy-tempered youth, left to struggle with difficulties increased tenfold by the contending factions about him. The Scotch Covenanters, who had betrayed the father, were the first to try to conciliate the son, and in April, 1649, they sent commissioners to the young king at Breda, promising him the crown of Scotland on condition that he would subscribe the covenant, and engage to land in Scotland with a train of only one hundred persons, and these not of his father's servants.

The commissioners waited on Queen Elizabeth to intreat her influence with her nephew: they declared their opinion that the miseries of the kingdom, for the last eleven years, had resulted from the ill advisers who had guided the late king, and would ruin his present majesty if he trusted to them, and they earnestly besought her to induce him to trust himself in their hands.² The queen received them courteously, and invited them to her table, but she was strongly opposed to the idea of her nephew's signing a deed which must compromise his sincerity, and involve him in association with his father's foes;² she and her son Rupert, therefore, objected to any composition with the Scots, wishing rather that the king

¹ Wendelinus to Andreas, Aug. 17, 1649, Addit. MS. 17,912, f. 201.

² Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 477; *The Man in the Moon*, July 23, 1650.

should make descent upon Ireland, where he had been proclaimed by the Marquis of Ormond, and where Prince Rupert, in command of seven English ships, which had revolted from the parliament, was already blocking the harbour of Kinsale.

The chief support of this party was in the gallantry and zeal of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, a royalist exactly to the queen's liking. When he heard the tidings of the death of Charles I., he fell senseless to the ground, and, on recovering, passionately swore to devote the rest of his life to avenge the father and restore the son,—a pledge which he faithfully retrieved. Elizabeth had a portrait of him, painted by Honthorst, in the deep mourning which he wore for Charles I., an impressive picture in its strong contrast of light and shadow, and the stern resolution of the calm brow and finely moulded features.¹ This the queen placed in her cabinet, where she gave private audiences, and it was thus displayed to frighten the "brethren," as she jocosely termed the covenanting commissioners, whose formal visits she could not decline.² The king refused to listen to the Scottish propositions till the return of the Prince of Orange, who was then from home. Elizabeth wrote to Montrose that she found the Prince of Orange was intending to press their acceptance, and entreated Montrose to remain with the king so long as he continued at Breda, and to prevent a step which would prove ruinous alike to his master and to himself; one condition of the Scotch covenanters being the banishment of Montrose.³ A few weeks later she thus addresses him:⁴

¹ An engraving of it is prefixed to the second volume of Napier's *Montrose and his Times*, published for the Maitland Club.

² *Letters of Baillie*, one of the Commissioners, vol. ii. p. 331; *Montrose and his Times*, vol. ii. p. 384.

³ *Carte's Ormond Papers*, pp. 269, 285.

⁴ July 3, 1649, *Montrose and his Times*, vol. ii. p. 385.

“ My Lord,

“ I have received yours by my Lord of Kinnoul. I hope this news I sent by Broughton will help to persuade the king to make haste to go for Ireland; for one Inglesby, a captain of Cromwell’s regiment, who is come upon Monday last from London, and his brother, told him how that Cromwell,—I mean that arch rebel,—had received news how their ships, being before Kinsale, are all taken or sunk to the number of nine of them. They sought to have corrupted the captain of the fort of Kinsale, for sixty thousand pounds, to have delivered it to them; which he advertising Rupert of, by his counsel, he continued the treaty, and so got them all in, and have sunk or taken nine at least. And Inglesby saith that they are all up again in Scotland; that the English rebel parliament can get no soldier to go for Ireland; but it is thought that they will send their army for Scotland; without doubt to help *the Brethren* there.”

The favourable circumstances recorded by the queen induced Charles II. to decline the offers of the Scotch commissioners, and to permit Montrose to return to Scotland, where with the help of the Highlanders he hoped to work wonders for the royal cause. He went first to Hamburg and Denmark, to obtain aid of men and troops, and there received frequent letters from the queen of Bohemia, detailing the chances and changes of party feeling at the court of her royal nephew.¹ Early in the summer of 1650, the gallant Montrose fell under the axe of the executioner: Lord Kinnoul, with whom, as with Montrose, the queen had exchanged challenges for hunting and shooting at her palace of Rhenen, had perished of hunger, an exiled outcast, in the Orkney mountains, and Charles II., discouraged and melancholy, deemed it the part of prudence to sign the Scottish

¹ Ibid. p. 404, *et seq.*

covenant. Elizabeth opposed the step to the last; and when it was taken, she published abroad her conviction that most of her nephew's council were traitors, corrupted by the money of the parliament which had condemned his father; and she removed to Rhenen, to escape further intercourse with the party.¹

At this juncture a new calamity befell the Queen of Bohemia, in an accusation perfidiously obtained against her truest friend, Lord Craven. He was always a subject of jealousy to the Commons, because they considered him a *filius populi*, and a renegade from their ranks. His father was lord mayor of London in 1611, and left his son the heir of enormous wealth, which enabled him not only to aspire to the peerage, but to become influential at court, from the liberality with which his wealth was devoted to the support of royalty, especially in the person of the Queen of Bohemia.² When Charles II. was at Breda, a little while before he set out for Scotland, the queen, with her daughters and Lord Craven, went to visit and take leave of him. His court was continually haunted by disguised parliamentarians who, with every appearance of loyal zeal, devised plans for the benefit of his cause, into which they inveigled, in order to betray, the unwary royalists. One of these agents of iniquity, Major Richard Falconer, was present at this meeting at Breda, and according to his own statement on oath, he induced thirty officers to unite in drawing up a petition to the king, the purport of which was a prayer for permission to fight against the "barbarous and inhuman rebels, the commons of England." In the presentation of the petition, the interest of Lord Craven was sought and obtained, and he thus became involved in a proceeding which laid him open

¹ Vatican Transcripts, vol. 40, f. 441, date May 6, 1650; Merc. Polit. Feb. 6, 1651.

² See Sketch of Lord Craven, in the Introduction to the Verney Letters, 4to. Lond. 1853.

to impeachment. He was formally charged with treason against the commonwealth of England, and summoned to answer to the charge; and on his non-appearance, he was declared a rebel, and all his estates were forfeited. The earl sent an earnest appeal, pleading that he had never taken arms against the parliament; he also alleged that Falconer was guilty of perjury, as the petition in question was merely a prayer for pecuniary aid, and did not contain the objectionable phrases referring to the parliament, the insertion of which, though proposed by Falconer, had been rejected by the other parties signing the petition. This point was so fully proved, that Falconer was condemned to punishment. But no favour was shown to Lord Craven. Elizabeth used her utmost efforts in his vindication: she induced the States-General to request from the English parliament a suspension and reconsideration of their judgment; she wrote to one of the English council on his behalf, and her son, Charles Louis, also interceded for him—all, however, without effect. The estates of Lord Craven were not restored, most of them having been purchased at a cheap rate by the members of the parliament which condemned him.¹

The chief interest of the Queen of Bohemia's existence now merged in her children, and in their fitting settlement. On the 4th of April, 1651, she had the pleasure of witnessing the marriage of her third daughter, the Princess Henrietta Maria, with Sigismund Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, an union considered in every way advantageous to the family; but after only five months of wedded life, the bridal was changed into a burial, by the untimely death of the princess.²

The Duke of Neuburgh, chief of the Catholic branch

¹ Proceedings of Parl. against Lord Craven, 8vo. Lond. 1653; Thuroloe Papers, vol. i. pp. 175, 296; vol. ii. p. 139.

² Schannat, Hist. de la Maison Palat. p. 60; Bromley Letters, p. 154.

of the Palatine family, was a suitor for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth; but no marriage of any child of hers with a prince of adverse faith was ever countenanced by Elizabeth.¹ An offer was made to her youngest daughter, Sophia, by Prince Adolphus of Sweden, brother to King Charles, the successor of the celebrated Christina, who had recently abdicated the throne. The queen obtained the consent of her son to the match, and also that of her nephew, Charles II., since by her own marriage treaty, none of her children was permitted to marry without the approbation of the English monarch, and as such she recognised the exiled prince. For some time, the affair promised favourably: Adolphus visited his lady-love at Heidelberg, and was handsomely entertained: he wrote a courteous letter to the queen, apologising for his inability to return by way of the Hague, and pay his respects to her, but expressing his hope that he should speedily be able to complete the arrangements for his marriage, and appear to claim the hand of his bride. The Swedish monarch, however, was on good terms with the Protector, and when Adolphus opened out to him his wishes in reference to this union, he angrily declared that if his brother contracted so close an alliance by marriage with a person who was an enemy to the Protector, he would never see his face again.² This stern opposition daunted the prince, and his suit was abandoned. The Swedish king afterwards experienced several disasters, which Elizabeth failed not to attribute to his predilections for Cromwell.³

Several attempts had been made to match Prince Rupert with Mademoiselle de Rohan, a rich French Protestant heiress—

“But little cared Lord Reginald for lists or lady-love,
He prized the steel-bound gauntlet’s clasp far more than silken glove;”

¹ Thurloe Papers, vol. i. p. 197.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 182.

³ Ibid. vol. v. p. 568.

and Rupert not only gave himself little trouble in wooing, but even discouraged the wooings of others on his behalf. Nor was his brother Maurice—to whom, on Rupert's refusal, the same lady was offered—more chivalric;¹ both preferred their roaming lives of freedom. Rupert, who was for some time admiral of the royal fleet of England, scoured the seas with varying success, sometimes securing the approbation, at others exciting the jealousy, of Charles II.;² whilst Maurice, less fortunate, was first taken prisoner by the Turks,³ and made a slave at Algiers,—and after his release, sailing for the West Indies, with the command of several vessels, was shipwrecked off the Caribbee Islands, and perished. Prince Edward, from the time of his marriage, became a settled resident at the French court; whilst Prince Philip, the only remaining son, led the life of a soldier of fortune, and fell in the battle of Rhetel, in the year 1650, fighting in the ranks of the French against Spain.⁴

The elector, Charles Louis, whose domestic conduct was as tyrannical as his public character was base, quarrelled furiously with his wife, Charlotte of Hesse Cassel; and though maintaining externally every appearance of respect for his mother, he did not make the efforts which his circumstances permitted, to secure for her the jointure in the Palatinate to which her marriage articles entitled her. He threw difficulties in the way of her recovery of Frankenthal, the dower residence assigned her as electress palatine, but long held by Spain;⁵ and by refusing her needful supplies, he left her exposed to the perpetual

¹ Collins' Sydney Papers, vol. ii. pp. 546, 575; Harl. MS. 6988, f. 149, Charles I. to Maurice; Germ. Corresp. March 30, 1643, Charles Louis to Roe.

² Elizabeth to Sir Edward Nicholas, Oct. 8 & 9, 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 151; Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 648.

³ Bromley, p. 158; Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 361.

⁴ Merc. Polit. Jan. 2, 1651.

⁵ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 683; Bromley, p. 156; Gaz. Franç, 1650, p. 154; Moderate Intelligencer, March 1653-4.

dunning of her creditors at the Hague. When she complained, he gave her to understand that he could not afford to keep up two establishments, and therefore it would be the better plan for her to come and live with him at Heidelberg. To this she objected, and Lord Craven went over to the elector, to endeavour to procure better terms for the queen; but he could not succeed. Elizabeth thus addressed him, on Nov. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1653:—

“ My lord,

“ I have received and read both your letters, and find little comfort in them concerning my own particular; it may be my next will tell you I have no more to eat: this is no parable but the certain truth, for there is no money nor credit for any; and this week, if there be none found, I shall neither have meat, nor bread, nor candles. I know my son would have me to be rid of all my jewels, because he thinks he doth not deserve so well of me that he should share in them, after my death: but that will do him no good, for I can leave to my children what he owes me, which will trouble him more than my jewels are worth; wherefore that will not ease him much. He hath inherited, from his brother and sister that are dead, thirty thousand pounds, that the emperor either has given him or will give him, by the treaty of Munster: it were no unhandsome action of his to give me part of it to pass this winter; for though it may be he is not paid it, yet he may take it up, being sure of the payments. I believe he means to starve me out of this place, as they do blocked towns. I know he may do it, and has already begun pretty well; but he will have as little comfort as honour by it: for if I be forced by ill usage to go, I shall be very ill company there. All I can desire you to tell him is, that the next week, for aught I know, I shall neither eat bread, nor flesh, nor have candles.”¹

¹ From the original, in possession of the present Earl of Craven.

The following extracts are from letters written the next few weeks:—

“ My lord,

“ November 10th, 1653.

“ I have received yours of the 1st of November from Neustadt. I am glad you are so well come thither. I cannot conceive my son can imagine that I should think of quitting this place this winter, as you have very well represented to him, nor know how to live here neither, but very poorly, and at every day ready to starve this winter, if he send no better means; besides he doth not, by his usage, oblige me so much as to take so great pains to go to him, which a winter journey would make me do. Wherefore let him set his head at rest; I will not stir this winter, let him be as tyrannical as he will be to me.”

“ November 14th.

“ I am glad you are returned to Heidelberg, where I hope and do not doubt you will solicit my son to send more money; for you cannot imagine what shifts I am put to here.” “ I am sorry my son is still ill of his arm; for though he has not much obliged me, yet that shall not make me hate him, or wish him ill; but wish his good, and contribute to it, as far as it doth not prejudice myself. I would I had done so sooner; I had not then been in so ill a condition as I am now in.”

This last sentence is involved: the queen's meaning is, that she should be in a better position herself, had she not in former days made such sacrifices for the sake of her son's restoration,—a statement perfectly consonant with truth.

“ December 3rd.

“ Sir Charles Cottrell will write more particularly my case than I have done, to whom I refer you: only I am sorry that Fridelsheim should be ruined. I know not if he (the prince elector) can justly do it, since it is allotted to me for my jointure houses, with Frankenthal. It had a very fine garden, and a vineyard in the garden. I

confess I did like the place very well. I pray speak of it; if he be just to me, as he should be, he should rather build that up and Frankenthal. I write not this week to my two daughters,—you may tell them so—for mere laziness. I am ever,

“Your most constant affectionate friend,

“E. R.”¹

The two daughters named were the Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia, who had already gone to Heidelberg,² driven away from their mother by her utter inability to support them. The queen's appeals at length elicited the following reply from her graceless son:—³

“Madam,

“My Lord Craven I hope hath satisfied your majesty concerning the deferring of my duty hitherto, both for the return of my pain in my arm, and for other disturbances I have had every fresh day, since I was honoured with your gracious letters of the $\frac{5}{13}$ of December. In the mean time I have not left Sir Charles Cottrell unacquainted with what, upon further consideration, I am able to do, towards such a certainty as it seems your majesty's creditors aim at, though it cannot be such, yet these many years, as may give them hopes of great reimbursements, which they only can expect with justice and equity from England. But if your majesty will be pleased to like of it, in assurance that your satisfaction shall increase in that point, according as my estate shall amend, and press your departure with the States, I cannot doubt but when they see your majesty in earnest upon it, they will so mediate with the creditors as that they will be no hindrance to it, especially the chief of them receiving some contentment.

“I know your majesty hath no reason to long for to be here, considering the great change you will find in all things, from what they were since your first coming hither, and the small confidence your majesty hath in my endeavours or power to please you; and that nothing but the consideration of more quiet (which I can answer for towards you and yours, though I want it myself), could induce you to it. But as I am confident your majesty, for all your former displeasures towards me, yet never thought me incorrigible, so I humbly beseech you to believe that after all the traverses I have had, and have still, (though I thank God I am in somewhat better posture to endure them than formerly), I shall make it my chiefest end to shew your majesty all humble duty, and to conserve the little I have for that use, as much as possible. I believe my sister Sophia hath acquainted your

¹ From the originals in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

² Bromley Letters, pp. 159, 294.

³ From the original, in a private collection.

majesty with our crotchets here, which in several kinds are very troublesome, and make me say the less of them lest I deter you from this place, which it may be others have enough disfigured to you abroad. But I am confident of your justice, so far as that you will not judge nor condemn afore you have examined all sides. I shall only beg leave to say I have had a great deal of patience.

"If your majesty doth intend to make us happy with your presence this next spring, I shall humbly beg Michell may come up a month afore, with the furnitures, to accommodate the rooms; for our people are very untoward at it here. I rest for ever,

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient

"Son and servant,

"Heidelberg, this 17th of Jan., 1654.

"CHARLES LEWIS.

"For the Queen of Bohemia."

We are all apt to seek relief from present evils, even though they be not in reality harder to bear than others for which we are willing to exchange them; and therefore, though the Queen of Bohemia had but little prospect of comfort at Heidelberg, and though she shrank from exposure to the capricious humours of her son, and from association with his conjugal broils, she shrank still more from the absolute poverty and the perpetual dunnings of her present mode of life; she therefore set about to remove the obstacles which interfered with her wishes. Her creditors naturally refused to allow her to remove from amongst them, without some guarantee for the payment of her debts. The queen, still adhering to her determination not to address any letter to the parliament of England, still less to Cromwell, reverted to the mediation of the States-General.¹

She wrote to them again, to inform them that she was extremely anxious to join her son at Heidelberg, both to avoid increasing her debts, and to deliberate with him on the means of paying those already incurred; gave them a full statement of the condition of her finances, assuring them that she had parted with almost all her jewels to satisfy, in some small degree, her more pressing claimants, and entreated them, before the treaty with England was finally signed, to obtain the payment of her

¹ Thurloe Papers, vol. i. pp. 546, 558.

arrears, which would more than discharge all her liabilities; but should they fail in this, she still urged upon them to forward her journey to the Palatinate, and to persuade her creditors not to insist upon a prolongation of her residence in Holland, which could only serve to involve both them and herself in more serious difficulties.¹

The States accordingly sent earnest and reiterated petitions to the Protector, in which the chief stress was laid upon the all but ruined condition of the tradespeople at the Hague, who had supplied the queen with provisions.² One of Elizabeth's friends also wrote to an English gentleman, known to have considerable influence with Cromwell, assuring him that the creditors of the Queen of Bohemia (among whom are a great number of orphans, widows, and poor people), making a considerable part of the Hague, merit the utmost compassion, and that the Protector, by coming forward to their relief, would make his name venerable for ever.³ In hopes of a favourable response, Elizabeth signified to her son her intention to be with him in the spring; apartments in Heidelberg Castle were consequently ordered to be put into repair for her, and she set about composing her court. Lord Craven promised to attend her, as did several of the exiled English residents at the Hague, feeling that the place would lose its principal charm when the enlivenment of her society was removed. On the other hand, some declined her invitation, from unwillingness to brook the annoyances of the elector's temper.⁴

But once again the queen was doomed to disappointment. The sister of Charles I., the aunt and friend of his children, the earnest supporter and favourer of all exiled royalists, found neither favour nor justice at the hands of Cromwell's parliament. Not only was she refused the monies which were her due from acts passed

¹ Thurloe Papers, vol. ii. p. 33.

² Ibid. pp. 277, 315.

³ Birch MS. 4159, f. 208.

⁴ Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. p. 226.

by her father and brother, but the parliament refused the continuation or arrears of the 2000*l.* pension, granted under their own seal, a few years previously. As a last resource, Elizabeth threw herself upon the charity of the Dutch, whose guest and pensioner she had so long been, imploring such a sum of money as would induce her creditors to consent to her leaving the Hague.

"It is with extreme sorrow, my Lords," she writes, "that after so much assistance and relief which, during our abode, in this country, we have received by your courtesy, instead of acknowledgments which we do so earnestly desire to declare unto you, we on the contrary do find ourselves obliged to make this demand of you. We can assure you, that it is not without violence, that a most urgent necessity hath been able to force it from us. We do hope, my Lords, that the discharge which our departure will give, at the same time, to the expenses which you have hitherto been pleased to contribute during our abode here, will in some sort facilitate this only and last prayer which we are forced to make unto you, and as we do pray and desire you most affectionately, that you would be pleased not only to condescend to it, but also to favour and advance our return into the Palatinate, to the end that, in case our creditors cannot obtain their just pretences there, whereof we hope the contrary, we may so manage our business in the Palatinate as to have wherewithal to content them."

A contemporary, alluding to this application, says;—"The States are very close still: some desires have been made by the Lady Elizabeth, but she is a trouble both to them and the people; she hath contracted large debts, and the people do mutter much at her; many wish she were gone, but then some would lose considerable sums which she owes, and is not like to receive, for any thing I see, if she stays."¹

The States, who were drawing closer the bonds of

¹ Several Proceedings, 1653, 13--20 Jan.

alliance with the rapidly consolidating power of the protectorate, refused her request, and, with a heavy heart, Elizabeth was compelled to face the dreary prospect of dragging out her remainder of life a pauper and an exile. "I had rather feed on a dry crust at a king's table, than feast on dainties at that of an elector," had been her proud exclamation five-and-thirty years before, when urging her husband to accept his ill-fated crown, and now she knew what it was not only to eat a dry crust, but to beg it before she ate it! In the summer of 1655, she succeeded in obtaining from the States the moderate supply of one thousand guilders a month, with which, and the paltry allowance wrung out of the niggardliness of her son, she had barely enough to provide her daily bread.¹ She thus writes to her son on the subject:

"Son,

"I thought to have written to you by Floer: I thought he was but gone to Amsterdam. Because he did not tell me of his going, I staid till now, believing he would have come to me before he went; but now I see he is at Heidelberg, I send this by the post, to let you know that the States have given me, for my kitchen, 1000 guilders a-month, till I shall be able to go from hence, which God knows how and when that will be, for my debts. Wherefore I earnestly entreat you to do so much for me as to augment that money which you give me, and then I shall make a shift to live a little something reasonable; and you did always promise me, that as your country bettered, you would increase my means, till you were able to give me my jointure. I do not ask you much. If you would add but what you did hint, you would do me a great kindness by it, and make me see you have still an affection for me, and put me in a confidence of it; since you cannot yet pay me all that is my due, that will shew to the world that you desire it, if you could. I pray do this for me, you will much comfort me by it, who am in so ill a condition as it takes all my contentment from me. I am making my house as little as I can, that I may subsist by the little I have, till I shall be able to come to you; which since I cannot do, because of my debts, which I am not able to pay, neither the new nor the old, if you do but as I desire you, I am sure I shall not increase [them]. As you love me, I do conjure you to give an answer, and by the time commonly; and you will tie me to continue as I am most truly,

"Yours, &c.

"Hague, $\frac{1}{2}$ Aug. 1655."²

This application seems not to have met with any success.

¹ Thurloe, vol. v. p. 225.

² Bromley Letters, p. 203.

The queen's continued residence in Holland was materially enlivened by her constant association with her favourite niece, Mary, Princess of Orange, and with the princes of the English royal family, who paid transient visits to their sister. The jealousy of the English parliament precluded their long residence at the Hague; yet at Breda, Antwerp, or Brussels, they were occasionally domiciled; and into their varied fortunes, and the strifes and distractions, which too often pervaded the miniature court of Charles II., Elizabeth threw herself with all the warmth and energy of her character. Her favourite amongst the young princes was James, Duke of York, to whom she had stood sponsor, and of whom she always speaks as "my godson;" when he served in the French army, she exulted over the military reputation which he earned;¹ and in the trivial jealousies between him and his brother Charles, to which the indiscretion of their mutual servants occasionally gave rise, not all her strong predilections in favour of kingly rights, could prevent her from taking the part of her favourite.² She also shewed a warm and honest sympathy with her younger nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, during the fierce attempts made by the queen-mother to pervert him from the Protestant faith. She, as it will be remembered, previously had cause to tremble for the steadfastness of her own son Rupert, when exposed to the ardent proselytizing spirit of Henrietta Maria, and therefore felt the more for the boy. "I am sorry," she writes, "the king has so much cause of grief; I beseech God he may speedily remedy it. I believe my dear nephew has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the queen would have proceeded thus."³

A few months later she adds: "By this post I have

¹ Evelyn, vol. ii. pp. 143, 145.

² Bromley Letters p. 292. An interesting letter from this prince to the queen is printed in the Retrospective Review for 1827, p. 290.

³ Elizabeth to Nicholas, Nov. 16, 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 152.

had very good news of the Duke of Gloucester's constancy in his religion, and of my Lord of Ormond's handsome carriage in that business; so as the queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the king will not trust to it, but get him away from thence, which will do the king great right."¹ The duke received and obeyed a summons from his royal brother to join him at Breda, and Elizabeth entreated that he might be allowed to take the Hague *en route*.² Her wishes were gratified, though not till the transpiration of several months, owing to the indisposition of the young prince.

Over the proceedings of Cromwell and his "mock-parliament," as she styled it, the queen kept a vigilant eye, and her correspondence abounds with quaint satirical allusions to them.

A remark reached her which was made by Cromwell on the grasping ambition of the King of Sweden, in endeavouring to seize part of the Brandenburg territory. The Protector expressed his surprise that men took so much pains to reign. "Good man!" exclaims the queen, in a letter to an intimate correspondent, "*he took no pains for it, nor had no ambition!* There never was so great a hypocrite. I wish him as ill a new year as, I thank you, you wish me a good one. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations, that all kings and nations do worship. I wish *him* the like end and speedily!"³

Writing on September 21, 1654, she says: "Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock-parliament begin to dispute their privileges with Cromwell, but I fear they will but too well agree."⁴ A few weeks later she refers to "Cromwell's dissolving his parliament, for being so ungracious as not to do as he would have them. It was confirmed to me last night by one of the

¹ Evelyn, p. 153.

² Elizabeth to Nicholas, Dec. 21, 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 155.

³ Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 158.

⁴ Ibid. p. 148.

States-General, for three of their deputies are come from London, that were sent about the treaty of the ambassadors and the other disputes; they confirm all, but it was so late that I could not hear of the particulars. The same State told me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his precious highness."¹

Deprived by her position of the pastimes common to her station, the queen still practised hunting and shooting, as occasional recreations, and embraced every opportunity that offered to diversify the monotony of existence. She records a visit to Delft, to witness the havoc occasioned by the explosion of a powder magazine, which had thrown down upwards of two hundred houses.² From Delft the queen went on to Breda, whence, a few weeks later, she took a journey into Flanders, to gratify her curiosity by the sight of the far-famed Christina of Sweden, daughter of the great Gustavus, whose voluntary abdication of the crown made her for the time being one of the wonders of the world, and who was then passing through the Low Countries. Elizabeth was not disposed to regard the queen very favourably, having heard of several uncourteous speeches made by her in reference to her English relatives; but we will hear her own account of the matter, given in a letter to Sir E. Nicholas.³

"I saw the Queen of Sweden at the play; she is extravagant in her fashion and apparel, but she has a good, well-favoured face, and a mild countenance. One of the players that knew me told her who I was, but she made no show of it."

"I went the next day to Brussels, where I saw the archduke at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgings."

¹ Elizabeth to Nicholas, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 149; Bromley Letters, p. 287.

² Elizabeth to Nicholas, *ut. sup.* p. 151.

³ The newspapers say that she stole away privately, for fear of being prevented by her creditors, who, when they found her gone, thought she had given them a final slip.—*Merc. Polit.* No. 23.

I lay at Sir Harry de Vic's, who was very careful and diligent to do me all the service he could. I stayed but Sunday at Brussels, and returned to Antwerp upon Monday, and hearing from Duart how the Queen of Sweden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indifferent place, I made the more haste away the next day, because I had no mind to speak with her, since I heard how unhandsomely she had spoken of the king, my dear brother, and of the king, my dear nephew, and indeed of all our nation; so I avoided it, and went away as soon as I had dined. Yet she sent Donoy to me with a very civil message, that she was sorry she could not use that civility to me as she both should do and desired, hoping that one day we might meet together with more freedom. I answered her as civilly as I could, and now, when I went from Berghen, I gave Sir William Swann charge to make her a compliment from me. I came hither upon Tuesday from Berghen, where I was extremely well entertained by the Princess of Zollern,¹ who was with me, and was my guide all my journey, and defrayed me."²

The elector still remained on good terms with the parliament, and it was even proposed in England that a pension should be allowed to the young Duke of Gloucester, on condition of his being sent for education to the court of Heidelberg.³ It was only from fear of the reproaches of his mother that Charles Louis refrained from sending an ambassador to the protectoral court. As it was, his opinions caused much bitterness of feeling in the family. Rupert and Elizabeth especially were vehement royalists; the former quarrelled with his brother, and left him for Vienna; and the latter preferred to retire to the

¹ Francesca, daughter of Frederic Rheingrave, and wife of John George, Prince of Hohenzollern.

² Dec. 3, 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 153.

³ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. p. 188.

court of Brandenburg, and reside with her aunt the dowager electress, rather than remain at Heidelberg; where, independently of their serious differences of opinion, her brother's abandonment of his wife, for the sake of a favourite mistress, whom he created Baroness of Dagenfeldt, produced great uneasiness and disorder.¹

In August, 1655, Charles II. and his court visited Frankfort, which, being in the neighbourhood of Heidelberg, his cousin Charles Louis invited him to pay him a visit, but virtually nullified the request by an intimation, that, as elector of the empire, he should expect to take precedence of the king. Fallen royalty has only its externals to distinguish it from the common level, and to these externals, therefore, it ever tenaciously clings. Charles refused to allow a claim never before urged upon an hereditary sovereign, and declined the visit. The elector met him at the fair at Frankfort; but though Charles Louis had been brought up on English bread, and dependent for years on the private bounty of Charles I., yet he refused to waive an absurd punctilio, and therefore, though he went himself to Frankfort, he did not visit his royal relatives, only meeting them at the opera, where they would not give him the opportunity which he desired of casually conversing with them.² The friends of King Charles knew how sorely troubled the Queen of Bohemia would be by this conduct on the part of her son, and they tried to conceal it from her, but in vain. When the tidings reached her, she declared she was vexed "to some tune," and angry beyond imagination, that "he who should have been most civil to the king, had been the least so"; adding, that she could say more of the elector, but would not, because he was her *son*; but she hoped she should not

¹ Pell to Thurloe, May 7 and June 4, 1657; Vaughan's Protectorate, vol. i. pp. 156, 180. Several of his love letters to the baroness are printed in Lunigius, *Literæ Procerum*, vol. i. pp. 700—704.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 88.

now be blamed for her increasing unwillingness to go and live with him. She expressed her hope that some wine which Charles Louis had sent the king was better than the last he had sent to her, which, she declared, was "stark naught."¹

The Queen of Bohemia was in frequent correspondence with Charles II., whom she ever treated with the respect due from a royal daughter of England to its sovereign. Several of her familiar letters to him are still in existence. Accommodating to his well-known love of pleasure, she relates to him the details of the few diversions which were enjoyed at the Hague; and in reference to some private masking performance, writes—

"We had it two nights; the first time it was deadly cold, but the last time the weather was a little better; the subject, your majesty will see, was not extraordinary, but it was very well danced; our Dutch ministers said nothing against it in the pulpit, but a little French preacher, Carre, said in his sermon we had committed as great a sin as that of Sodom and Gomorrah, which set all the church a laughing: for lack of better stuff I write this."²

Writing a few days later to Secretary Nicholas, she says:—"I believe you will hear at Cologne how I have been debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. We made Friday out, and every night, which lasted till Saturday, at five o'clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of Prince William's child.³ I was at the supper; my niece, the princess dowager, the little prince,⁴ and Prince Maurice, were gossips. The States-General, I mean their deputies and the Council

¹ Holland Corresp. Dec. 3, 1655, State Paper Office.

² Lambeth M.S. 645, art. 82. This ballet is also mentioned in the *Gazettes de France*, 1655, p. 1420.

³ William Frederic, Count and Prince of Nassau-Dietz, who married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

⁴ Afterwards William III. of England.

of State, and myself, and Louise, were there as guests; after supper was dancing; this lasted (till) three o'clock; my little nephew was at the supper, and sat very still all the time; those States that were there were very much taken with him."¹

The king, in reply, wrote his aunt an account of a grand ball given by Hannibal Sestade; but Elizabeth was not at all disposed to admit the superiority of his entertainment. "Though," she writes, "I believe you had more meat and drink at Hannibal Sestade's, yet I am sure our fiddles were better, and dancers: your sister was very well dressed, like an Amazon; the Princess Tarente like a shepherdess; Mademoiselle d'Orange, a nymph. They were all very well dressed, but I wished all the night your majesty had seen Vanderdons: there never was seen the like; he was a gipsy, Nan Hyde was his wife; he had pantaloons close to him of red and yellow striped, with ruffled sleeves; he looked just like Jock-a-lent. They were twenty-six in all, and came till five o'clock in the morning."²

One of the merriest of the queen's later epistles was addressed about this time to Lord Finch, a former friend and minister of Charles I.

"My lord,

"I assure you your letter was very welcome to me, being glad to find you are still heart whole, and that you are in better health, and your cough is gone: as to your appetite, I confess your outlandish messes are not so good as beef and mutton; I pray remember how ill pickled herring did use you here, and brought you many of your hundred and fifty fevers.

"As for the countess, I can tell you heavy news of her, for she is turned quaker, and preaches every day in a tub; your nephew, George, can tell you of her quaking, but her tub preaching is come since he went, I believe; I believe at last she will grow an Adamite. I wish your nephews both had some of her pippins preserved in their noses; it would do them much good.

¹ Jan. 10, 1655, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 159.

² Jan. 17, Lambeth M.S. 645, art. 76.

"I did not hear you were dead, wherefore I hope your promise not to die till you let me know it, but you must also stay till I give you leave to die, which will not be till we meet shooting somewhere, but where that is, God knows best. I can tell little other news here, my chief exercise being to jaunt betwixt this and Teyling, where my niece hath been all this winter. I am now in mourning for my brother-in-law, the Duke of Simmeren's death; my Lady Stanhope and her husband are going, six weeks hence, into France, to the waters of Bourbon, which is all I will say now, only that I am ever your most affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"Hague, March 4.

"I pray remember me to your lady and to my Lord of Winchelsea."

Small as was the now diminished household of the Queen of Bohemia, she yet found occasional difficulties in its management. One of her women named Grenville, visited England, and whilst there was guilty of certain indiscretions of speech, which a certain Captain La Mère mentioned in a letter to Elizabeth, warning her to be cautious of the woman. With her usual good nature, the queen was unwilling to believe any ill; but showed the letter to Sir Charles Cottrell, formerly master of the ceremonies to Charles I., and now her major domo, bidding him take no notice of it to any one. He was not so discreet as his mistress. Grenville, on her return, heard of the letter, demanded to know the writer, and not only caused much disturbance in the household, but behaved in an unseemly manner to the queen herself, who was consequently obliged to dismiss her. Of the particulars of the dismissal, she wrote the following amusing account to Charles II.¹

"My dearest Nephew,

"Hague, March 2, 1654.

"I must trouble your majesty again to let you know the suite of what I wrote to you by the last post concerning Grenville: having done all I could to get her friends to help her away, so as I should not be forced to do it myself, which could not but disgrace her, I could not prevail with them, who answered they would not meddle with her business. I, seeing that, and not being able to suffer any longer her vaunting, upon Tuesday night last I made her go out of my house in a coach, which had

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, Art. 78.

order to set her down where she desired so to be. I did it at night to avoid a noise, and that they should not say I put her into her creditors' hands if I had done it in the day: she went to Mrs. Mohun's. I thought to have sent to the court of Holland about it, but some of my friends counselled me not to do it, but keep them for to help if I had need of them. Yesterday came to me four gentlemen of her friends, who, in civil terms, expostulated with me her putting away in that fashion, and that they had hindered forty English gentlemen from coming to me that morning upon that matter. I assure your majesty there are not by half so many gentlemen of our nation in this town; I am confident they could not have five more beside themselves to have done it: those that never came further than Ned Wood's might, it may be, have been persuaded. I answered that it was their fault that I did it, since they would not help her away otherwise; I had suffered her humours as long as I could, because I do not love to affront any, but I could not suffer it always; and, since they said they would not meddle with it, I must be mistress in my own house, and would not be braved there; I believe they would as little suffer the same of their own servants: they answered it was a great disgrace for her to be sent out so, and in the night. I answered, I did it for the best, to make the less noise; they said it would make people believe it was for La Mère's letter. I told them it was not for that, for then I should have done it presently, but her inquietness and disrespect to me; they desired me that I would give her creditors assurance for her debts, else she would be arrested. I said I should be sorry for it, but could not help it; they would not take *my* word, for I owed some of them much more than she did; besides, I would never meddle with my servants' debts. There passed more discourses, which would be too long to relate. At last I told them I should be very glad if they could find a way to content her creditors, so I were not engaged in it; if her creditors would ask me about it, I should persuade them to let her alone, but I would not be engaged to them for her.

"I will not name the four; your majesty will hear it without my naming it; the one is her cousin, the other her countryman; the third was her gallant before his matrimony; the fourth is none of these, but I think came in for company's sake to make up the four; for the forty Hectors that should have come to have terrified me, they did send it to my Lords Grandison and Colonel Cromwell to have led on the van of these most furious knights; but they very handsomely refused it, saying they would not meddle with any in that kind that had used me so ill. I must now, with great reason, beg your majesty's pardon for this trouble; it is to let you know the truth, if you hear any false reports of this. I will always give your majesty an account of my actions, there being nothing I desire more than to be right in your good opinion, being ever

"Your majesty's most humble and most affectionate aunt and servant,
"ELIZABETH."

To add to the queen's uneasiness, a change of finan-

cial administration in Holland caused her serious apprehensions lest her monthly pension, on which she chiefly depended for support, should fail her; and she wrote in much anxiety about it to the States-General as follows:¹—

“High and puissant lords, our very dear and good friends,

“It is not without confusion that,—after so many benefits which we have so abundantly received of your goodness, from the time that the disaster of our house has constrained us to seek our asylum in your State, our protection in your power, and, for some time past, our very subsistence in your generosity,—instead of being able, by some act of gratitude, to testify the sense of it which we truly feel in the depth of our soul, we find ourselves continually, and even at this very time, constrained to renew our importunity, to solicit your lordships to be pleased to add a last favour to so many others for which we acknowledge ourselves indebted to you. This is to explain to the new Council of War, which is now forming, that they should attach to some fixed revenue, the pension of 10,000 livres a-month, which it has pleased your lordships for some time past to assign to us for our support during our residence in this country. All our consolation in making this prayer, gentlemen, consists in this, that the declaration which you are requested to give will serve no less to your own repose than to our security, since, after this your last act of liberality, we shall have no other prayers to offer, except to the Almighty, to be pleased by his divine goodness to atone for our impotence, by loading your State, your persons, and your families, with all the blessings that he is wont to grant to those who have not refused their assistance to the oppressed.

“These, high and puissant lords, our most dear and good friends, are the wishes of

“Your most affectionate friend,

“ELIZABETH.

“Hague, 16 December, 1657.

“To their high and puissant lordships, our most dear and good friends,
“the States-General of the United Provinces.”

This petition was accorded, and the queen thus removed from apprehensions of the extreme penury from which, in bygone years, she had so severely suffered.

Minor annoyances were soon overlooked in an absorbing affliction which befell the queen towards the close of the year 1657. Of all her numerous family, but one daughter remained with her, the Princess Louise; and

¹ Harl. MS. 4525, f. 635, De Thou's Disp. copy.

she was among the most talented of her family. She had been for many years her mother's constant companion, and in their tastes and feelings much reciprocal sympathy existed. But the temperament of the princess, strongly inclining to the imaginative, rendered her peculiarly susceptible to external impressions; and of this weakness one of her Romanist friends availed herself, to induce her to join a church whose forms of worship are so much more impressive and attractive than those of the Anglican church. Years before, when Queen Henrietta Maria was in Holland, the princess had stolen to mass in her house, and had wept profusely under the impressions there excited; and now, after several secret attendances on Romish worship, she became a convert. But before avowing herself as such, she resolved upon withdrawing from her mother's roof; she neither wished to witness the distress, nor encounter the opposition which she knew her conduct would elicit. On the morning of the 1st of December, 1657, the princess was suddenly missing, and a few hours later, a letter was put into the hands of her mother, as follows:¹—

“Madam,

“The respect which I have for your majesty is too great to permit me to do anything purposely to displease you; and God knows that no impulse, except that of His spirit, could ever have induced me to undertake any action, however reasonable, without having first communicated it to you; but in this contingency, the affair being one of heaven and not of this world, and one in which I should doubtless have found your majesty opposed to the guidings of Divine Providence in my behalf, I could not act otherwise, and all my duty consisted in advertising you of my resolution by the means which I now employ.

“I must tell you, then, madam, that the Christmas festivals being so near, I have been obliged to withdraw from your majesty, from fear of being wished to receive the sacrament against my conscience, since at length it has pleased God to discover to me the surest way of salvation, and to give me to know that the Catholic religion is that only way, out of which there can be no other. As to the reasons and instructions which have thus persuaded me, I shall take the liberty to inform your majesty further, when I am arrived at the place whither I am

¹ Gazettes de France, 1658, p. 34, French.

going, solemnly to embrace this belief; but yet, madam, I trust you will pardon me for a course which is inspired by a power which the powers of earth vainly resist, and which I have only resolved to adopt from the pure motive of assuring the repose of my soul, protesting to your majesty that you shall discover, by the results of this enterprise, that I have no other aim than that of securing a tranquil retreat, where I may have full leisure for the service of God, and to testify to you in all things that I am, and wish to remain all my life, madam,

“Your majesty’s most humble and most obedient servant,
“The 19th December, 1657.”

“LOUISE.

The first shock to the queen was stunning; the more so, because the whole transaction was involved in mystery; she knew not either whither her daughter had fled, nor under whose auspices she had taken so important a step. The princess had left home alone; without even a female attendant, and no confidante in the court possessed her secret. It had been noted that for two months previously an unwonted gravity had marked her demeanour, but no one of the household had any idea of what was brooding in her heart. The queen at first suspected M. de Thou, the French ambassador at the Hague, of being the agent, because his box at the comedy being next to that of the Queen of Bohemia, he had frequently joined her party, and sitting between her and the princess, had the opportunity of private conversation with the latter. He however disclaimed, and with truth, any knowledge of the affair, and the distressed mother having vainly searched every corner of the Hague to find her child, wrote to the States-General, imploring their aid.¹ The subject was one which appealed to the Protestant sympathies of the States, and the result of their deliberations, entered on their registers, was as follows:—

“M. de Merode, president of the assembly, has related that the Queen of Bohemia having communicated to him with excessive grief, and most sensitive

¹ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 690; De Thou’s Despatch, 20th Dec. Harl. MS. 4525, f. 626.

feeling, that the Princess Louise her daughter went away at seven o'clock this morning secretly, and without any knowledge of her majesty, or of any of her court, having left in her room a letter addressed to her majesty, importing that she had forsaken her religion, and embraced the Romanist;—praying, for this reason, that all imaginable means may be employed to catch the said princess, and restore her to her majesty: whereupon, after deliberation, it is said and resolved that letters be written to the governors of Helvoetsluys, Bois-le-duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, and to the commander of Hulst, that in case the said princess be retired there, they shall, with all civility and respect, arrest her and bring her back to the queen her mother; and the said *Sieur de Merode* is requested to communicate the contents of this resolution to her said majesty, and to condole with her on this misfortune, on the part and in the name of their High Mightinesses, and this resolution shall be sent off by dispatches, without any delay.”¹

Fortified with such support, the queen commanded the arrest of a *M. de la Bocage*, a French gentleman, who had brought a letter to the princess on the evening before her departure. She next instituted a strict search in the apartments of her daughter; and in her cabinet were found two letters, which unravelled the mystery.² They were from Elizabeth, Princess of Hohenzollern, daughter and heiress of Count Henry of Bergen-op-Zoom, and wife of Eitel Frederic Prince of Hohenzollern—herself a friend of the queen. In these letters were devised two plots for the escape of Louise. The former suggested that she should request her mother's leave to visit Antwerp, to meet there her brother Edward, on pretence that he had something important to communicate

¹ Extract from the Registers of the States, Wed. 1st, 1657, 3 P.M. Harl. MS. 4525, f. 635.

² *Thurloe*, vol. vi. p. 720.

to her, and had obtained a passport to travel to Antwerp. Either the princess's love of truth shrank from such duplicity, or she thought the plan inexpedient, for she declined it; and the second letter contained the suggestion of that which she ultimately adopted, with the dictation of the sentiments, and almost the very words, of the farewell letter left behind her. From this letter it appeared that a boat had been in waiting to convey the princess to Delftshaven; thence to Bergen-op-Zoom, the residence of the Princess of Hohenzollern, and thence to Antwerp, where she was to enter a convent of Carmelite nuns.¹

The queen, more than ever indignant to find herself thus betrayed by one whom she had loved and trusted, wrote a letter of severe reproach to the Princess of Hohenzollern. The princess replied, by expressions of regret at having incurred the queen's anger; and assured her that she had not influenced Louise's change of religion, but had merely received her confidence, when her decision was made, and assisted her in a case wherein her own conscience, as a Romanist, forbade her to refuse aid. Louise also wrote to vindicate her friend, and take upon herself the sole responsibility of the deed.

Some angry correspondence took place, which the queen laid before the States of Holland.² They declared themselves highly displeased with the conduct of Her Highness of Hohenzollern, and passed a sentence, depriving her of the privilege which she enjoyed, as her father's heiress, of naming the magistracy in Bergen-op-Zoom, the town in which she resided, unless, when the matter was fully investigated, she should be found innocent, which they declared was beyond all expectation.³ The Princess

¹ Harl. MS. 4526, ff. 68, 70; Birch MS. 4159, f. 134.

² Thurloe, vol. vi. pp. 690, 711.

³ Ibid. pp. 738, 746, 753, 779, 811; *Gazettes de France*, 1658, pp. 58, 84.

of Hohenzollern, anxious to avoid the consequences of her actions, made insinuations in reference to the motives of the princess's retirement, highly prejudicial to her honour, and accused the Queen of Bohemia of being under some evil influence, which had changed her usual good disposition, as she refused either to see her or listen to her self-justification. Elizabeth, in increasing irritation, again appealed to the States, complaining bitterly of the calumnies by which the Princess of Hohenzollern aggravated the mischief she had already committed.¹ Prince Rupert also addressed to them a manly letter from Frankfort, thanking them for their kind consideration of his mother, and entreating satisfaction for the slanders so outrageously injurious to his house.² They replied by expressions of warm sympathy, and by a positive refusal to accede to the representations of the Princess of Hohenzollern, who sent deputies to intercede for the restoration of her forfeited privileges.³

Louise, meanwhile, continued at Antwerp, finding some support in the approbation of her brother Edward, now a settled resident in Paris, whose perversion to Romanism, some years previously, has been already noted, and who made preparations to have her received into France.⁴ The queen, in letters to Prince Rupert, dated March 4, thus alludes to a visit paid to Louise by Charles II., the Princess of Orange, and the Duke of York, then residing together at Breda. "The king and my niece, and my other nephew, were at Antwerp, and went to see Louise in the monastery. My nephew and niece did write to me before they saw her, to know if I would be content they should see her, which I told them would be too much honour for her; but since the Princess of Zollern had told so base lies of

¹ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 782.

² Birch MS. 157, f. 154.

³ De Thou's Disp. 12th Sept. 26th Oct. 1658, Harl. MS. 4527.

⁴ He had been the confidant of her flight. A letter from him to her on the subject is printed in Merc. Polit. Dec. 31.

her, they would do a very good action to see her, to justify her innocence. The Princess of Zollern did go to Antwerp twice, and spoke with Louise; I have not yet the particulars, neither in general. Louise writes to Merode that they parted upon very ill terms; I hope this post we shall have what passed betwixt them. By my next you shall have it. The Princess of Zollern, at her return thither, made many believe that she had brought me letters from the king, my niece and Louise, to justify her, and that she had herself given them to me, and talked two hours with me; which is a most impudent lie." "I forgot to tell you that the king and my niece did chide Louise for her change of religion, and leaving me so unhandsomely; she answered that she was very well satisfied with her change, but very sorry that she had displeased me. Just now the French letters are come: — writes to me that the Bishop of Antwerp has written a letter to your brother Edward, where he clears Louise of that base calumny; yet Ned is so wilful as he excuses the Princess of Zollern."¹

The princess was handsomely received in France, and conducted to the nunnery of Chaliot near Paris, where she occupied the apartments of her aunt, Queen Henrietta Maria of England.² "Your sister Louise," writes the queen to Rupert, "is arrived at Chaliot; her brother went and fetched her from Rouen; the queen went to see her the next day; the King of France went thither the week after. They are very civil to her. The queen wrote to me that she will have a care of her as of her own daughter, and begs her pardon; but I have excused it as handsomely as I could, and entreated her not to take it ill, but only to think what she would do if she had had the same misfortune. Ned doth not acknowledge his error in having so good an opinion of the Princess of Zollern. She is detested by Protestant and

¹ Bromley Letters, pp. 286—8.

² Merc. Polit. April 22.

Papist. The next week I hope to have Louise's justification against all her calumnies."¹

On the 20th of April, having repeated the abjuration of Protestantism made at Antwerp, the Princess Louise was confirmed by the papal nuncio; the French queen settled upon her a pension equal to that which she had previously received from Holland, and in the March of the following year, in the midst of a stately assembly, she took the white veil at the Abbey of Maubuisson, where, in 1660, on the termination of her noviciate, she completed her profession. She ultimately became abbess of the monastery, and lived to a mature old age, indulging in her cloistered seclusion the artistic tastes which had marked her earlier life, and enriching her own and the neighbouring churches with the productions of her pencil.²

Her niece, the Duchess of Orleans, thus writes of her: "One cannot believe how pleasant and playful the Princess of Maubuisson was. I always visited her with pleasure; no moment could seem tedious in her company. I was in greater favour with her than all her other nieces, because I could converse with her about everything that she had gone through in her life, which the others could not. She often talked to me in German, which she spoke very well. She told me her comical tales. I asked how she had been able to habituate herself to a stupid cloister life. She laughed, and answered: 'I never speak to the nuns, except to communicate my orders.' She had a deaf nun in her room, that she might not speak; she said she had always liked a country life, and fancied she lived like a country girl. I said: 'But to get up in the night and go into the church!' She answered, laughing, that I knew well what painters were; they liked to see dark places, and the shadows the lights caused, and that this gave her every day fresh taste for painting. She

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 289.

² Gazettes de Franc. 1658, pp. 320, 365, 488; 1659, pp. 299, 644; 1660, p. 885; Pub. Intellig. Jan. 11, 1658.

could turn everything in this way that it should not seem dull." This accomplished lady died at Maubuisson, in 1709, aged eighty-eight.¹

From the trouble into which the apostacy of one daughter had thrown her, the Queen of Bohemia was diverted by the marriage of another. Her youngest daughter Sophia was wooed and won by Prince Ernest Augustus of Hanover, a younger brother of the House of Brunswick, who loved her, for her intrinsic worth, and for the brilliant and playful manners which justly gave her the title of one of the ornaments of her sex.¹ The match was in every respect considered suitable, and Charles Louis made some exertion to give his sister an equipment befitting her position, though on account of his so doing, he withheld from his mother her usual limited supply.²

The marriage took place in October, 1658, and on the 7th of November, the Princess left Heidelberg, to join her husband at Frankfort, and thence proceed to Hanover.³ Charles II. wrote them a congratulatory letter,⁴ to which the Queen of Bohemia thus alludes in a note to her royal nephew. "Sophia and her husband are very proud of the honour your majesty has done them by your letters; they will give your majesty their humble thanks by their own letters, which they had not yet time to do, by reason of the company now at Hanover, which they must entertain. Sophia was very handsomely received there, where she is very well used, which makes me make an humble suit to your majesty that you will be pleased to give my son-in-law the order of the Garter: he will

¹ Many notices of her occur in the correspondence of her niece, the Duchess of Orleans. See also Varnhagen's *Leben Sophia Charlotte of Prussia*, p. 10. A number of her letters, addressed to the superior of the convent of Chaliot, and containing many allusions to James II. and his family, after their retirement into France, are among the Chaliot Papers, now in the Archives du Royaume, Paris.

² Mallet, *Hist. de la Maison de Brunswick*, vol. iii. p. 104.

³ Bromley Letters, p. 299.

⁴ *Gazettes de France*, 1658, p. 1133. The reply of Ernest Augustus, dated 8th November, is in German Correspondence, bundle 85.

take it for a great honour. I will answer for him, he will seek to deserve it in all he can by his humble service, and it will oblige all that house." The request was granted, and the queen thanked her royal nephew in person, during a short visit which she paid to him at Brussels the following spring, at which the two dukes and the princess royal and her son were also present.¹

After her marriage, the Duchess of Brunswick, as Sophia was now styled, her husband not having as yet succeeded to the dukedom of Hanover, was a frequent visitant at the court of her mother. In possession of independant pecuniary resources, the poverty which had before repelled her from the Hague, was now no longer an obstacle. In the summer of 1659, she paid a short visit to the Hague,² and returned there the following November, preferring to remain with her mother and cheer her solitude, rather than to accompany her husband to Rome and Venice, where he intended to pass the winter. She brought with her her niece, Elizabeth Charlotte, the only daughter of the elector Charles Louis, by his unloved and now discarded wife, the Princess of Hesse-Cassel. Sophia had become attached to this little one at Heidelberg, and shrank from leaving her exposed to the caprices of the mistress, who was now paramount at the Elector's court.³ She therefore obtained permission to adopt and educate her. This grandchild of the Queen of Bohemia was afterwards married to Philip of Orleans, younger brother of Louis XIV., and was the Duchess of Orleans, whose clever gossiping letters present so amusing a picture of the French court.

The Duchess of Brunswick remained with her mother till March, 1660, when the dawning of brighter days burst upon the long-exiled Stuarts. The death of Oliver

¹ Dec. 6, 1658, German Corresp.; Merc. Polit. June 30; Occurrences from Foreign Parts, July 12.

² De Thou's Disp. 10th July, 1659, Harl. MS. 4527.

³ Ibid. 20th Nov.; Gaz. de France, 1659, pp. 1187, 1658.

Cromwell, the resignation of his son Richard, the manœuvres of General Monk, and the ultimate recall of Charles Stuart to the throne of his fathers, are subjects belonging to general history. It need scarcely be said that Elizabeth sympathized warmly and earnestly in the successes of her family; she mingled heartily in the state ceremonials at the Hague, which preluded the departure of Charles II., and,—once again restored to her rank as a royal daughter of England,—she received with her wonted majesty and benignity, the deputations both of England and Holland, who came to offer their congratulations on the auspicious event of the restoration. The well-known diarist Pepys, who was one of the party that waited on her, speaks of her as a “very *debonaire* but a plain lady.”¹ At the age of sixty-four, and after a long life of anxiety and trouble, Elizabeth no longer preserved the blooming beauty which had elicited so much admiration in her earlier years, and poverty had done much in depriving her of the externals of majesty.

When the king set sail for England, she accompanied him in a boat to the side of the vessel which was to bear him to her own beloved country,—the country which at last she indulged the hopes of visiting once more.² Charles II. was under obligations to his aunt; for although her position had prevented her from extending important assistance to his distress, yet the whole weight of her personal influence, which was not small, had been exerted in behalf of the fallen family.³ For their sakes, she had

¹ Braybrooke's Pepys, vol. i. p. 85.

² Braybrook's Pepys, p. 92. Fuller details of these events will be found in the subsequent biography of Mary, Princess of Orange. Though the queen was associated with them, they are omitted here, to avoid repetition.

³ Dr. Sprigge, in a sermon on happy poverty, dedicated to her in November 1660, writes:—“I remember with what pleasure I have heard it told that your highness' court hath been, in all these last days of sorrow, a sanctuary to the afflicted, a chapel for the religious, a refectory to them that were in need, and the great dispensative of all men and all things that were excellent.”

affronted the States-General, her friends and protectors at the Hague, by refusing to attend divine service at the English church there, when an interdict was issued to its ministers against praying for Charles II; her pew, at the church, desolate and bare, without cushions or draperies, being a constant eye-sore to the opposite party.¹ She had also discarded her Parliamentary chaplain, and accepted one appointed by Charles II, who restored the use of the Prayer-book. To the queen's sturdy loyalty may be fairly attributed the utter abandonment of her cause by the parliamentary party, and their refusal to give her the slightest pecuniary assistance. If therefore the benefits she had conferred on the royal cause were not solid and substantial, the privations in which it had involved her were both serious and severe, and she naturally looked forward to the restoration as the epoch that was to put an end to all her sufferings.

In the first pressure of business, the Queen of Bohemia and her debts and difficulties were overlooked; her creditors meanwhile clamouring for payment, first to the elector, who referred them to the parliament,² and then to the parliament, to which Sir Charles Cottrell, her agent, had already been dispatched to press her suit. At length, in September, the small but timely supply of 10,000*l.* was voted her,³ at the same time that similar sums were granted to each of the princesses of the blood royal; but on the 8th of December, it was proposed by the commons, and agreed to by the lords, that an additional sum of 10,000*l.* be presented to the Queen of Bohemia, as a token of the high personal esteem which they entertained for her.⁴ Her friend, Lord Craven, who had followed

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 246, 257, 271.

² Proceedings Parl. 31 June, 1650.

³ Journ. Com. vol. viii. p. 175; Journ. Lords, vol. xi. p. 171; Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 796.

⁴ Journ. Lords, vol. xi. p. 230.

Charles II. to England, was ever at hand to exercise his influence on behalf of the queen.

The devoted generosity with which Lord Craven had for years past thrown his heart and fortunes into the cause of the Palatine family, has led to the supposition that some warmer and closer tie than that of a loyal and Platonic friendship united him to the Queen of Bohemia: in fact, that a private marriage had taken place between them. This opinion, however, is incorrect: the whole character of Lord Craven shows him to have been a man of a large heart and noble-spirited benevolence;¹—one of the few chivalric spirits of an age in which selfishness and party feeling were rampant; and he needed no secondary motives to spur him on to generous and high-souled action. The present Earl of Craven is of opinion that no such marriage took place, since neither family documents nor traditions support the notion: it is never once alluded to in the extant correspondence of the day; when the parliamentary scandal-mongers would not have failed to retail a circumstance reflecting upon the disinterestedness of such a royalist as Lord Craven. The report is entirely of later date; and—as though meant to afford it full contradiction,—another rumour was really current at court; viz., that Lord Craven wished to be united to the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, who was only seven years his junior.²

¹ He was so curiously notorious for his exertions in suppressing the fires then so frequent and destructive in London, that it was said his horse knew the smell of fire at a remote distance, and galloped off with his master unguided to the scene of action. A Latin elegy was written on his death, in which his fidelity to his king, his liberality to the poor, his earnest exertions in time of plague and fire, &c., are warmly commended: the following reference to his attentions to the Queen of Bohemia occurs—

“*Reginæ quondam miseræ præbebat asylum*
Vestra domus: miseris sæpe ferebat opem.”

² Hartlib to Worthington, June 4, 1661, Kennet's Chronicle, p. 871.

The tone of the confidential correspondence between the queen and the earl is in itself convincing that no connection more tender than that of manly friendship on the one side, and grateful regard on the other, existed between them. He always addressed her as "your majesty," and signed himself, "your humblest and most obedient servant." The warmest sentence in the extant correspondence occurs in reference to the news which he forwarded to his royal friend, of an infectious disorder which had attacked one of her nieces:—"For God's sake!" he writes, "have a great care of yourself; for if your majesty should miscarry, that loss were never to be repaired. God in his infinite mercy protect you!" He acknowledges a present from the queen as follows:—"I have yesterday received your majesty's gracious present of wormwood-wine, which is extremely good, which in all humbleness I do present my duty and humble thanks for." And again:—"I am so infinitely obliged to your majesty for your gracious favour towards me, that I am not able to express the great sense I have of it: all I can say is, that whilst I have breath I shall pray for your majesty." "I pray God bless your majesty: that prayer I must ever end with." It is self-evident that these expressions are not from the pen of a hopeful lover or affectionate husband, but of a confidential, devoted, and still respectful *friend*.¹

Lord Craven was the news-purveyor of the queen, and from him she regularly learned the tidings of the English court, but those from the royal family were most melancholy. The sudden death of her young nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, distressed her, and scarcely less so the tidings of the *mésalliance* of her favourite nephew and godson, James Duke of York, with the maid of honour of the Princess of Orange, "Nan Hyde," as the

¹ From the original letters, in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

Queen of Bohemia was wont to call her. Lord Craven's correspondence presents some curious particulars of the disclosure of this match, from which we give the following extracts:—

“ Nov. 26th, 1660.—For the present, news is that Mrs. Hyde is brought to bed of a boy, which she avows to be the duke's, and he married to her: she is owned in her father's family to be Duchess of York, but not at Whitehall as yet; but it is very sure that the duke has made her his wife. Your majesty knows it is what I have feared long, although you were not of that opinion. The princess is much discontented at it,¹ as she has reason; when the queen comes, we shall see what will be done about it.”

“ Nov. 28th.—I cannot tell what will become of your godson's business: the child is not yet christened, but it is confidently reported that it shall be within few days, and owned. The princess is very much troubled about it; the queen is politic and says little of it. There is no question to be made but that they are married. They say my lord-chancellor shall be made a duke.”

“ Jan. 11th, 1661.—I have this morning been to wait upon the duchess: she lies here, and the king very kind to her: she takes upon her as if she had been duchess this seven years. She is very civil to me.”²

“ Feb. 23rd, 1661.—The greatest news we have here is, that upon Monday last, the duke and duchess were called before the council, and were to declare when and where they were married, and their answer was that they were married the 3rd of September last, in a chamber at Worcester House; Mr. Crowther married them; nobody but my Lord of Ossory and her maid Nell bye; but that they had been contracted long. This is all that I can hear of the business.”³

¹ Mary, the princess of Orange, then in England.

² From the originals in the Earl of Craven's collection.

³ The last extract is from a letter formerly in M. Donnadieu's col-

In the December of 1660, a blow more afflictive than any from which she had recently suffered, fell upon the Queen of Bohemia in the death of her beloved niece, the Princess Mary, who had left the Hague for England, in the prime of womanly vigour, but three months before. She vented her first burst of sorrow by a visit to Leyden, where the young Prince of Orange, now doubly an orphan, was studying, and folded the desolate boy in her arms in a passion of tears.

Her residence at the Hague became more and more distasteful, and she wrote again to her son, expressing her wish to live in the Palatinate and to have a separate residence prepared for her; requesting that some steps should be taken towards the payment of her debts, so that her creditors might be willing to consent to her departure. The following is an extract from his respectfully worded, but hollow-hearted, reply:—"I am loth to touch anything in answer to your last gracious letter that may trouble your thought at this present with domestic affairs; but I can show, by your own hand, that your majesty was at first not unwilling to live at Heidelberg, whilst another house was preparing for you. When your majesty is here, it will be but one family; for nobody will dare to contest against anything that shall be for your service and convenience; and if any trouble should have been that way, those that would control might in better manners quit the house to your majesty than you to them; which myself would not have refused. As for the creditors, if your majesty had shown any real desire to come away, they might have been dealt withal. But I shall not trouble your majesty at this time with anything farther, because I hope you will give me leave to do it by an express, who will very suddenly wait upon your majesty. In the mean time I pray God to comfort your majesty in all these great afflictions, and to do me the grace that I may be

lection, incorrectly described as from Elizabeth, abbess of Hervorden. From the style it is probably Lord Craven's.

able to contribute something, if not so much as my duty requires, towards it.”¹

The queen responded to this letter by assurances that she was not unreasonable in her demands, giving a detail of the sums which she had received from her son since his restoration, and urging their disproportion to his resources, and their inadequacy to her own wants. The reply of the elector was a mere evasion, and Elizabeth wrote a rejoinder, in a somewhat indignant strain, demanding that as no separate abode could be found for her at Heidelberg, and as the disturbances in the elector's domestic circle rendered her residence at his court unseemly and impossible, her dower palace at Frankenthal should at once be prepared for her reception; and that if the elector would do nothing to pay her debts, he would at least make himself responsible for them, so as to enable her to leave the Hague. He replied as follows:—“Sure your majesty hath forgot in what condition the house at Frankenthal, which they call the Shaffnerey, is in, when you were pleased to write of preparing it for you; for no preparation would have made that fit for your living in it, but a whole new building, which to do on a sudden, or in a few years, my purse was never yet in a condition for it; but I intended to do it by little and little, and had then begun it, if your majesty had come hither. I have done a little last year. As for the accidents falling out in my domestic affairs, it is likely they had not happened if your majesty had been present; and if any other inconvenience had happened in regard of two families, (which was not likely, since one would not have meddled with the other's charge,) it might always have been remedied by a separation. As for the taking your majesty's debts upon me, which were made upon another score, I believe it cannot justly be claimed; and it is believed that if your majesty had showed the States any earnest intention to come

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 228.

hither, they would have taken some order to have appeased your creditors."¹

Thus thwarted, the queen gave up all idea of the Palatinate, and began to turn her thoughts more eagerly towards England.

Much of the correspondence addressed to her by her friends in England is still in existence. Sir Charles Cottrell, her master of the household; Sir Robert Honeywood, and John Dineley, so long her faithful and attached servants; George Beaumont, her chaplain, and the Duke of Norfolk are the principal writers.² These letters abundantly testify the queen's profound interest in the leading movements connected with the remodelling of the English church and constitution, and more especially in the proceedings taken to do honour to the memory of her brother, Charles I.

Elizabeth probably flattered herself that as soon as affairs became more composed, she should receive an invitation to the court of her royal nephew; but she waited long and vainly. Charles II.,—a being of impulse without gratitude, except such as burst forth when the sufferings of those who had endured for his sake were brought palpably before him, and overwhelmed with claims more numerous than it was possible for him to satisfy,—failed to bestow a thought upon an aged relative, who could no longer minister to his pleasure. It was, however, considered by Elizabeth's friends very desirable for her to visit England; that by the influence of her personal presence, she might procure from parliament a settled annual allowance, for which she had applied, and which her friends were endeavouring to gain.³ Still as Charles II. delayed or refused to send for the queen, one of her correspondents, Sir Henry Howard, advised her to write to him in a tone of

¹ Bromley Letters, pp. 236—7.

² See Catalogue of Autograph Letters sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, Jan. 3rd, 1852.

³ Letter from Duke of Norfolk to Queen of Bohemia, in a private collection.

raillery, telling him she is resolved to see him ride in state to his coronation or his wedding, and would not for all the world miss any of those happy sights; that she scarce can sleep in quiet till she kiss English earth again, with the king looking on. Howard hopes that the king will, in reply to this, either send his consent, or some raillery; that he cannot absolutely say *no*: in which case her Majesty, he says, had better come at once, without expecting any positive order for it.¹ This advice coincided with the energy of Elizabeth's temper, but she would not consent to palm herself as a guest on her royal nephew. The obstacle of residence was removed by Lord Craven, who generously placed his own house in Drury Lane at her disposal. Thus supported, the queen suddenly resolved upon the step, and announced her resolution in the following letter to the former Marquis, now Duke of Ormond.

"My Lord,

"Now I hear that the coronation is so happily passed, I have no more patience to stay here, but am resolved to go myself to congratulate that happy action. I would not do it before, not to give the king too much trouble at once, except he had commanded me to go, and now I assure you I shall give very little trouble, for I bring with me not above 26 or 27 persons. I go with a resolution to put myself wholly into his hands, and obey him in all things, and trouble him for nobody. I hope to be gone and embarked at Helvoetsluys on Tuesday next, the 7th of this month. The States furnish me with ships. I shall land at Gravesend. All this I write to you freely, being confident of your friendship. I must also thank you for your civility to Rupert, who is gone towards Vienna this morning. I entreat you to continue your kindness for

"Your most affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"I pray believe that nobody wisheth you more happiness, with greater honour, than I do."²

The French ambassador at the Hague, De Thou, in a letter to Louis XIV. thus records the circumstances connected with her departure:—³

¹ Addit, MS. 18744, f. 35. To the same effect was a letter from Colonel Lane, the saviour of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, to the Queen, in a private collection.

² May $\frac{2}{12}$, 1661, Harl. MS. 7502.

³ Date May 19, 1661, Harl. MS. 4530.

“Your majesty will see by the resolution of the 13th of this month, how the Queen of Bohemia is to pass over into that island (England), with the first wind, in the three war ships provided her by the States, who went yesterday to compliment her upon her departure, as did also the deputies of the other colleges and courts of justice, which are in this place. I too have not failed to visit her on the occasion of this voyage, and she told me very frankly that she would not oppose the interests of France, that she was rejoiced that your majesty was sending an ambassador in ordinary to reside in that court. She talks of returning again to the Hague, but I doubt whether the king, her nephew, will permit her so to do; for assuredly she cannot but be very useful to him, being a good creature, of a temper very civil and always equal, one who has never disoblged anybody, and who is thus capable, in her own person, of securing affection for the whole royal family, and one who, although more than a sexagenarian in age, preserves full vigour of body and mind. Although here she is in debt more than 200,000 crowns, to a number of poor creditors and tradespeople, who have furnished her subsistence during the disgraces of her house, nevertheless, from the friendship they have for her person, they let her go without a murmur, and without any other assurance of their payment than the high opinion they have of her goodness and generosity, and that, as soon as she shall have means to give them satisfaction, she will not, although absent and distant, fail to do it.”¹

One reason of the willingness of the Hague creditors to part with the queen, was their hope that her arrival in England would accelerate the actual payment of the 20,000*l.* voted to her by parliament; but which, being made payable upon funds already burdened with other heavy claims, had not yet been discharged.

¹ De Thou to King, May 19, 1661, Harl. MS. 4530.

Elizabeth received farewell visits from her son Prince Rupert, and her daughter Sophia, with her little grandchild Elizabeth-Charlotte. Duke Ernest of Hanover also arrived to attend her to the coast. On starting for Delft, she sent to the French ambassador, De Thou, to request the loan of a coach, as her own carriages were already sent on board: he cheerfully complied, and came in person to attend her. He rode in the same coach with the queen, and four ladies, the Countess Kinsky, her lady of honour, and Mesdames Merode, Goutrams, and Vandermyle, the latter being daughter of the lady who was so long her hostess. These Dutch ladies, accompanied her to England, as future members of her household, when her resources should enable her to form an establishment suitable to her rank. At Delft she took leave of the friendly ambassador, with many thanks for his courtesies, and entered the boat, in which the Duke and Duchess of Hanover, who had preceded her to the coast, were awaiting her.¹ Between Delft and Delfts Haven, she was met by the captain of a frigate who handed to her a letter, remonstrating against her proposed voyage, as contrary to the wishes of the king. The queen was not taken by surprise: she had already received intimations that her nephew by no means coveted her presence, but she professed to believe that his reluctance arose only from his unwillingness to incur the expenses which her presence at his coronation would have involved; and that, since that was now over, no obstacle remained. She replied to the letter by assurances that as she had taken leave of her friends, and was now actually *en route*, it was impossible for her to return, unless she had some satisfactory excuse, which certainly did not exist.² She therefore proceeded boldly upon her

¹ De Thou's Disp. *ut sup.*; Gazettes de France, 1661, pp. 506, 529.

² Elizabeth to Rupert, ⁹/₁₅ May, Bromley Letters, p. 188; De Thou's Disp. 26th May.

way, and sailed to Helvoetsluys, where three vessels, lent by the States of Holland, were in readiness. Here she bade farewell to her daughter and son-in-law, and, embarking, took her final departure from the country which had sheltered her during forty long and weary years of exile; and on Thursday the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of May, she once again reached the shores of her native country, from which she had been absent nearly half a century!

The queen touched first at Gravesend, and then proceeded by water to London; but as no preparations were made for her formal entry into the city, she did not arrive until evening, probably of set purpose, that the absence of the usual salutes and homage due to royalty, might be attributed to its being night.¹ Still it was loudly whispered in courtly circles, that she was unwelcome. A news-writer records, on May 26th, that "Her Majesty is coming contrary to the will of the king, for which reason she will not reside at Whitehall nor Somerset-house, but at my Lord Craven's, and I do not think that her stay there will be of long duration."

The queen arrived in the midst of the mourning at court for the death of the young Duke of Cambridge, the son of James Duke of York and Anne Hyde. But she was easily consoled for the death of an heir presumptive to the crown, springing from so unregal a stock,² though she little dreamed that the removal of that infant was one link in the chain of events which should raise her own progeny to the throne.

Charles II. was neither obstinate nor unforgiving: he took no offence at the disobedience to orders of his venerable relative, but received her with wonted friendliness. Still he did not appoint her apartments in one of the royal palaces; she remained a few months as Lord Craven's guest, residing at his mansion in Drury Lane.

¹ Mercurius Redivivus, Addit. MS. 10116, f. 342.

² De Thou's Disp. 6th Jan. 26th May, Harl. MS. 4530.

Craven-house was originally built by Sir William Drury, from whom it was purchased by the Craven family. Lord Craven built large additions to it, so as to make it rather resemble several houses placed together. The entrance was through a pair of gates, leading into a large coach yard, and behind was a beautiful and extensive garden. Drury Lane and the Strand were at this period the fashionable parts of London, and chief places of residence of the gentry. Craven House was taken down in 1809.¹

The queen's sense of propriety, however, forbade her intruding long upon the hospitality of her liberal-hearted friend, and therefore she hired from the Earl of Leicester a mansion in Leicester Fields, occupied for the time by ambassadors from Holland, but on which she was to enter when they departed.²

It was suggested that the eldest Palatine princess should come over to England to join her mother; and some supposed that the proposal was made with a view of alliance with Lord Craven.³ She was in a very destitute condition, not receiving from England the pension which had been granted to her by Charles I., nor from her brother the support, which, as head of the family, he was bound to have bestowed; yet she did not chose to abandon Germany, and join her mother in England. It does not seem that between the queen and her eldest daughter, a warm-hearted cordiality subsisted. It will be remembered that they had some little domestic differences in early

¹ Cunningham's Hand-book of London, Drury House, Craven House. It has been frequently asserted that the residence built by Lord Craven at Hampstead Marshall was designed for the Queen of Bohemia, but Lysons, quoting the epitaph on the tomb of the architect, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, states that it was only begun in 1662, in the February of which year she died.

² De Thou's Disp. 26th Aug. 1661; News Letter, 16th Sept. The house in Drury Lane, so long honoured by her presence, was found by Pennant as an inn, bearing for its sign-board the head of the Queen of Bohemia. Trad. Memoirs of James I. 8vo. Edinb. 1811, vol. i. p. 194.

³ Hartlib to Worthington, June 4, 1661, Kennet's Chronicle, p. 571.

life, and from the period when the restoration of her brother enabled her to reside at Heidelberg, the princess did not visit her mother at the Hague. But if there was coolness of feeling, it never amounted to dissension; for not only was the princess herself in frequent correspondence with her mother,¹ but a number of letters, addressed to the Queen of Bohemia, in 1661, by the Dowager-Electress of Brandenburg, her sister-in-law, speak of the princess, and request assistance for her from her mother, in a style plainly intimating that there was no alienation between them. This aunt, with whom, at the court of Berlin, many of Elizabeth's earlier years had been spent, advised her to enter the Protestant nunnery of Hervorden, and obtained a promise from her son, the young elector, to use his influence in securing to her in reversion the rank of abbess. She followed the suggestion, and the superior received her most favourably, and admitted her at once to be coadjutrice.² The princess announced these circumstances in a letter to her brother the elector, in which she assures him of her gratification at being freed from the necessity of incommoding him with her presence, and her hopes that he would now lose his bad temper towards her, "for which," she adds, "I shall labour with all my strength, thinking it so unreasonable that persons, whom nature attaches together by so close a bond that no one of them can hurt another, without being prejudiced thereby, should remain whole years in dissension, that there is nothing consistent with a good conscience which I would not do to remove this reproach from our house." The elector's reply approving this step, was written in a style more cold and satirical than that in which he addressed his mother, and with

¹ The originals of several of these letters are in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

² Six letters from Catherine Sophia to Elizabeth, March to August 1661, in a private collection.

a dash of contemptuousness which he never ventured to use towards her.¹

With her eldest son, the queen's disputes became more and more serious. In prospect of removing to a residence of her own, she sent orders to one of her servants, Michel, who had remained in charge of the Palatine furniture, ever since the decease of King Frederic, charging him to pack and send over to England all that was good for anything, both from her house at the Hague, and from that at Rhenen. Michel was thwarted in the execution of these orders by a message from the elector, who forbade his carrying away anything, until he had had time to communicate with his mother, on the ground that, as heir of the house, the property in question belonged to him rather than to her. A considerable proportion of it had in fact been carried away from Heidelberg, and left at Sedan, by King Frederic, and thence restored to Elizabeth by the zeal and care of one of her faithful followers.² Had this plea been valid, it would doubtless have been urged by Charles Louis, as a reason for taking furniture with him, when he returned to the desolated castle of Heidelberg: but it was an act equally graceless and unjust to attempt to deprive his mother of the worn and faded remains of her former splendour. As such it was regarded by those in whose custody the queen's houses had been left, and, heedless of the *veto* of the prince elector, they persisted in their resolution to obey the commands of their royal mistress, and sent her her property. It was said that Charles's agents went so far as to stir up the queen's creditors at the Hague, suggesting to them the impolicy of allowing the only pledge remaining in their hands to escape them. Charles denied having adopted this expedient, but, at any rate, he was foiled, and such of her

¹ MSS. Geo. IV. No. 140, pp. 417—8.

² Rusdorf Consilia, vol. ii. n. pp. 105, 137.

household goods as were thought worth the packing, were sent over to the queen. She wrote an indignant letter to her son on his conduct, and was so far moved as to utter complaints of him in presence of strangers, which she had never been wont to do. He replied in the tone of forced respect, which he always assumed towards her. "I can easily perceive," he writes, "how willing your majesty is the world should perceive, upon any occasion, that you find fault with me; because I hear that in your presence, before all the company, you have complained to the Brandenburg ambassador of me; which, though I had committed a much greater fault, you would not have done, if you were not willing to have myself and all the world take notice of your constant settled displeasure against me, as you have also showed in many other occasions; all which I must bear with the rest of my misfortunes, yet not neglect, as far as lieth in my power, the humble duty I owe you."¹

This is the latest correspondence extant between the mother and son. Elizabeth appealed to her royal nephew, Charles II., to request his interference with the agents of the elector, then in England, to procure for her a larger portion of her dower revenues than she had hitherto obtained from him. He spoke to them on the subject, but their reply was, that they had no instructions from their master about the queen's affairs. Charles II. expressed his surprise to the elector, who replied as follows:²—"As for the queen my mother's affairs with me, which your majesty is graciously pleased to mention, my envoys should have wanted no power to have treated and concluded, if by their relations, whilst they were in England, I could have found that the representations and offers made on my behalf had been taken into such

¹ Bromley Letters, pp. 223, 224.

² Date Sept. 7, 1661, Anc. Roy. Letters, vol. vi. p. 978, State Paper Office.

consideration as that there might have been a likelihood of a final conclusion. Yet, if hereafter, by any demands made on her majesty's part, proportional to my present condition, I shall find that my offer of such a definite sum as I am now able to perform, over and above what I give at present, and what for the future I have offered indefinitely, may not be rejected, I shall not fail, seeing it is your majesty's pleasure, however difficult it may prove to me (considering the unsettledness of affairs in these parts), to tie myself to what I shall propose, and your majesty be willing to accept, for the queen my mother's satisfaction and my security." The king knew as well as did Elizabeth how futile were such professions, and therefore he granted his aunt a pension of 12,000*l.* per annum, and assured her that he would use his utmost influence to have all her arrears discharged at the approaching parliament.¹ She had herself made an application on the subject; but as the debts of the country to her were involved with those due on many other scores, they could not readily be discharged at once and apart.²

The benignant influence of Elizabeth's personal character was beginning to be felt in the English court, and she increased sensibly in favour with the king. She was frequently with him in public, at the opera, &c., and her presence was always welcomed by the people, who regarded her with reverential affection. On these occasions, Lord Craven was her general attendant.³ She entered into correspondence with the future queen, Catherine of Portugal, then the betrothed bride of Charles II., and that lady replied most cordially to her epistles, addressing her as her aunt, and assuring her that on arriving in England, she should look up to her as to a mother, and should wish to perform a daughter's part towards her.

¹ De Thou's Disp. 22nd Sept. 11th Oct. Harl. MS. 4530.

² Ibid. 22nd July, 1661.

³ Pepy's Diary, vol. i. pp. 207, 215.

The death of the Princess Mary of Orange, and the removal of the queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta to France, left the Queen of Bohemia in the position of the only lady of the blood-royal in England. An interesting glimpse of her within a few weeks of her decease, is extracted from a curious and valuable Italian MS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., entitled "Relation of the Embassy Extraordinary of the Marquis G. L. Durazzo, of Genoa." After describing his first audience with the king, Durazzo adds:¹—"I made the last visit in the evening to the Queen of Bohemia, sister to the late king, and mother to the prince palatine, or of Heidelberg. I went thither conducted by the master of the ceremonies, and found her in her cabinet, where she had assembled many ladies, to receive me with the greater decorum. She sent her attendants to welcome me as I alighted from my coach; and at the head of the stairs, I was met by Lord Craven, proprietor of the house where she lives, and principal director of her court. It is incredible the pleasure which her majesty shewed at this my office, and the familiar courtesy with which she discoursed with me for a very long time upon the state of the most serene republic, and other various matters, even to inviting me to come sometimes to see her. This princess has learned from nature, and continued through the changes of her fortune, an incomparable goodness; and as people ever turn away from her with profit and applause, she has thus often, by this capital alone, sustained in a most depressed estate the respect due to the dignity of her rank. Now, restored to the possession of her appanages, whilst her son enjoys that of his states, she is restored to some authority, and thus is heightened

¹ Middlehill MS. 12,246, f. 193, Sir T. Phillipps's collection. This MS., of 515 quarto pages, contains a graphic description of the king, the court, the ministry, the state of affairs, and more especially of religion, in the early part of the reign of Charles II.

the lustre of that affable manner with which she wonderfully conciliates the esteem and love of the court."

We now come to the last page in the long and changeful history of the royal Elizabeth. On the ^{20th January,}_{8th February,} 1662, she removed from Lord Craven's house to her own residence in Leicester Fields.¹ Leicester House stood in the north-east corner of the square, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, often let it as a town residence for people of fashion. It was a large and elegant mansion, well known in later days as the resort of two Princes of Wales,—the sons of George I. and George II., during the period of their quarrels with their fathers, from which circumstance Pennant happily calls it the "pouting place of princes." Its gardens now form the site of Lisle Street, Leicester Square.²

The queen's residence there was only very brief: she had scarcely arrived when she was seized with a severe illness, which from its very commencement threatened a fatal termination. The symptoms were hemorrhage from the lungs, attended with dropsical swellings. Charles II. became alarmed; and reluctant that a royal daughter of England should die in a hired house, he urged her to accept apartments in Whitehall Palace, but she was now too ill to be removed. Conscious of impending danger, and anxious to put an end to all her worldly cares, she sent for her two nephews, the king and the Duke of York, and for the Chancellor Hyde, and made it her earnest and dying request that the pension which she had so recently obtained, might be continued to her executors for four or five years after her decease, in order to enable them to discharge the outstanding debts still due to her much-enduring creditors at the Hague. After obtaining this promise, she made her will, in which, as matter of form, she constituted her eldest son heir-general, but she had little to bestow saving a few

¹ Kennet's Chron. p. 627.

² Cunningham's Hand-book, Leicester House.

jewels, family papers, and pictures. The jewels, after selecting mementoes for each of her children, she bequeathed to Prince Rupert; the papers and portraits to her faithful friend, Lord Craven, who deposited them at Combe Abbey, which he purchased as his country residence. There they still remain; so that the home of Elizabeth's happy girlhood has become the fitting shrine for these valuable relics of her brilliant and eventful after-life.

Her worldly career was now closed; she requested that the holy sacrament might be administered to her, received it with solemn earnestness, according to the usual rites of the English church, and prepared herself for her dying hour with the same calm and stedfast reliance on God which had been her support through life. She expired, sitting in her chair, early in the morning of the $\frac{13}{14}$ of February, retaining to the last her faculties unimpaired, and her intellect clear and undismayed.¹

The Earl of Leicester, writing to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, says:² "My royal tenant is departed; it seems the fates did not think it fit that I should have the honour, which indeed I never much desired, to be the landlord of a queen. It is pity that she lived not a few hours more to die upon her wedding day, and that there is not as good a poet to make her epitaph as Doctor Donne, who wrote her epithalamium upon that day unto St. Valentine."

Had Elizabeth lived to the morrow's dawning, she would have seen the forty-eighth anniversary of her marriage day. She died at the age of sixty-five years, forty of which had been spent in the sorrows of exile, thirty in the still bitterer woes of widowhood, which, but for the hopeful and buoyant heart within her, had long before sufficed to hurry her to a premature grave. On

¹ Theat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 661; Estrade's Negot. vol. i. p. 253; Diar. Europ. 1662, p. 80.

² Collins' Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 723.

the 16th of February, the Lord Chamberlain issued the following order:—¹

“These are to signify unto your lordship his majesty’s pleasure that you deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto Sir Edward Walker, knight, garter principal king at arms, the several parcels following, for the Queen of Bohemia, lately deceased, viz., two palls of black velvet, a canopy of the like black velvet, lined with black taffeta, and fringed with a deep silk fringe, like as was provided for the funeral of the princess royal, with ten stands to support the same; a regal crown, a cushion of black velvet, a large sheet of fine holland, and 24 ells of diaper for towels, and 6 strong bearing stands; as also that you prepare 6 stands for the great candlesticks and lights, and that you cause the coffin to be covered with black velvet, and likewise the room where the body is to rest is to be hung with black cloth, and the floor thereof to be covered with black baize; and further that you deliver to Arthur Blackmore, arms painter, 6 yards of black satin for 8 escutcheons; and this shall be your lordship’s warrant.

“Given under my hand, this 15th day of February, 1661, in the 14th year of his majesty’s reign.

“MANCHESTER.

“To the right honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich, master of his majesty’s great wardrobe, or to his deputy there.”

On Sunday, the 16th of February, her remains, after embalming, were removed, privately and by night, to Somerset House, the apartments of which had been hung with black, and the nobility and Houses of Parliament were summoned to attend the funeral at eight o’clock on the evening of the following day, Feb. 17. Prince Rupert was the only one of Elizabeth’s children then in England, and he of course was chief mourner; her royal nephews shrank from the gloom of a midnight funeral march.² The procession set forth in the following order:—The earl marshal’s man; servants of the nobility; of the Duke of York, and of the king and the queen; officers at arms; privy councillors; the younger branches of the nobility, in order of precedence; barons; bishops; viscounts; then the great officers of state, with the insignia of their office. Next was the crown, on a cushion, carried by Norroy and

¹ Entries of Warrants to Lady-day, 1633, f. 262, Lord Chamberlain’s Office.

² Townsend’s Diary, Phillipps MS. 12,254, *sub dato*.

Clarencieux, kings at arms, supported on each side by Sir Robert Craven, the queen's master of the horse, and Lord Craven, her chief officer. The coffin was borne by eighteen gentlemen of the king's privy chamber; twelve others carried a canopy, and four young noblemen supported the sweeping regal pall of purple velvet: the gentlemen ushers followed; and then came Prince Rupert, followed by two dukes, one marquis, nineteen English, and four Scotch earls. They went as far as Westminster bridge in barges lined with black cloth, and thence marched in solemn order to the great gates of the abbey, where they were met by the dean and chapter, who commenced the impressive burial service. The procession then moved on, and in the dim light of the wax tapers carried before them, and lining the aisles, they bore their precious burden to the chapel of Henry VII., where it was placed in the royal vault, and Garter king proclaimed aloud—

“That it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life to his divine mercy her royal majesty, the most high, most mighty, and excellent Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia.”¹

The following inscription was placed on the coffin:²—

“The remains of the most serene and powerful Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, relict of Frederic, by the grace of God King of Bohemia, arch-sewer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, and only daughter of James, sister of Charles I., and aunt of Charles, the second of that name, kings of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, who most piously fell asleep in the Lord, on the 13th day of February, in the mansion of the Earl of Leicester, in the year of Christ, 1661,³ in the sixty-sixth of her age.”

¹ Rawlinson MS. B. 178, art. 14, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

² Latin, Add. MS. 12514, f. 190; Account-book of Edward, Earl of Sandwich, 1662, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's.

³ That is 1662, according to the present mode of dating the year from Jan. 1st.

The English court put on mourning for the death of the king's aunt; but Charles II. was too frivolous and pleasure-loving to feel permanent regret for any loss which did not interfere with his personal enjoyments. It was soon whispered at court that the king was not inconsolable; and the French ambassador seems to have repeated these rumours, for Louis XIV. refused to sign the letters of condolence to Charles II. and his brother, which were first prepared by his secretary, remarking that the grief was not great enough for condolence so earnest, and other letters, less profound in their expressions of sympathy,¹ were got up and despatched.

In the presence of Prince Rupert and that of the Duke of York, an inventory of Elizabeth's jewels was made. Excepting one necklace of large, and one of smaller pearls, a few diamonds, watches, bracelets, &c., they consisted almost entirely of family relics, jewel-enchased portraits of her mother, brother, sister-in-law, and grandchild, a small bracelet of diamonds set in gold, with a locket bearing the initials C. H., Christian of Halbertstadt or Brunswick, her gallant cousin, who fell in her cause, and a mourning ring, with the hair of Charles I. set in it, which was long a heir-loom amongst her descendants.²

Of Elizabeth's character, enough has been elicited in the preceding pages to vindicate her claim to the title of "Queen of Hearts," which was the favourite epithet lavished on her when no empire save that of the affections remained to her. In reference to her sons, as much has been recorded as our limits would allow; and of her surviving daughters, we need only add that Elizabeth, Abbess of Hervorden, was said to be the most learned woman; Louise the greatest artist; and Sophia the most accomplished lady, in Europe. Many of her descendants,

¹ Lettres de Louis XIV. Phillipps MS. 3154, ff. 1896, 1906.

² Inventory, German Corresp. March 1, 1662, State Paper Office; Bromley Letters, Introd. p. 31.

in the female line, have occupied prominent positions in the world's history; but strange as it may seem, with so large a family of sons, her male heirs expired in the second generation, and the Palatine possessions devolved upon the younger line of Newburgh. Her eldest direct lineal descendant, through the Duchess of Orleans, only surviving child of her eldest son, was Louis Philippe, late King of the French, whose changeful destinies rivalled her own; and is now the young Comte de Paris, the mysteries of whose future career we in vain strive to penetrate. The descendants of her sixth son, Edward, married into the Houses of Condé, Brunswick, and Modena, and one of them filled the throne of the Cæsars, as wife of the Emperor Joseph I. Her own proudest title, of "queen of hearts," is superadded to that of "queen of nations," in the person of the descendant of her youngest child—her present Majesty Queen Victoria.

MARGARET,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF JAMES I.

Birth—Baptism—Death.

THIS royal child was not, strictly speaking, an English princess, because she was born and died before the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of the sister realm; yet, as the daughter of an English king, her name can scarcely be omitted from our list. She was born on the 24th of December, 1598; her baptismal ceremony was postponed till the ensuing April,¹ and in anticipation, the king issued the following quaint circular to one of his loving lieges:—

“Right trusty friend,

“We greet you well; having appointed the baptism of our dearest daughter to be here at Holyrood House, upon Sunday, the 15th of April next, in such honourable manner as that action craved; we have therefore thought good right effectually to request and desire you to send us such offerings and presents against that day, as is best then in season and convenient for that action, as you regard our honour and will merit our special thanks. So, not doubting to find your greater willingness to pleasure us herein, since you are to be invited to take part of your own good cheer, we commit you to God. From Holyrood House, this 10th day of February, 1598.

JAMES R.

“To our right trusty friend, the Laird of Balfour Bethune elder.”²

The idea of inviting his subjects to a feast which they were previously expected to provide is amusing enough. The king, however, was not quit of all costs on the occa-

¹ That is, 1598-9.

² Arnott's Edinburgh, p. 60.

sion. His accounts record the payment of 400*l.* Scots, to Peter Sanderson, tailor, for certain furniture made by him to their majesties' two daughters against the baptism of the Lady Margaret.¹

The infant princess was committed, with her elder sister Elizabeth, to the custody of Lord and Lady Livingston, under Helena Crichton, who was her mistress nurse. A few unimportant entries relative to her expenses occur previous to March 1600, when she was taken ill. In vain did "Alexander Barclay, apothecary, and Doctor Martene Schenes, mediciner to his majesty," supply "certain drugs, medicaments, and other geer, for the use of the Lady Margaret, during the time of her sickness:" the child died, and the next entries in the accounts speak of spices for her embalming, flannel, and crimson silk, and Florence ribbon, for the decoration of the body; and a kist of lead, to be conveyed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow.² The last item proves that she died at Linlithgow, where was the residence of Lord and Lady Livingston; and as no entries occur in reference to her burial, it is probable that she was privately interred in the abbey of Holyrood.

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, May 1599, quoted in Introduction to King James's Letters, published by the Maitland Club.

² Ibid. March 1600, *ut supra*.

MARY,

THIRD DAUGHTER OF JAMES I.

Preparations—Birth—Christening—Placed with Lord Knyvett—
Death—Funeral—Tomb.

THIS princess was the first child of James I., born after his accession to the English throne, and consequently the first princess of Great Britain. From this circumstance her arrival was anticipated with great excitement; disputes were rife in the courtly circles about the distribution of places in the establishment of the yet unborn infant;¹ and the wardrobe officials were busied in providing a costly trousseau. There is still extant “a note of such necessities as is to be provided for the child,” among which are—“Imprimis, a carnation velvet cradle, fringed with silver fringe, and lined with carnation satin; a double scarlet cloth to lay upon the cradle in the night; a cradle cloth of carnation velvet with a train, laid with silver, and lined with taffety to lay upon the cradle; two small mantles of unshorn velvet, lined with the same velvet; one large bearing cloth of carnation velvet, to be used when the child is brought forth of the chamber, lined with taffety; one great head sheet of cambric for the cradle, containing two breadths, and three yards long, wrought all over with gold and coloured silks, and fringed with gold; six large handkerchiefs of fine cambric, whereof

¹ Nichol's Progresses, vol. i. p. 499.

one to be edged with fair cut work, to lay over the child's face; six veils of lawn, edged with fair bone lace, to pin with the mantles; six gathered bibs of fine lawn with ruffles edged with bone lace; two bibs to wear under them, wrought with gold and coloured silks," &c. &c.

The total value of these and all the cambric and lace, &c., required for the infant's garments, was estimated at 300*l*.¹ The little one, thus well prepared for, was ushered into the world at the palace at Greenwich, about midnight on the $\frac{8}{18}$ th of April, 1605.² Though some disappointment was felt by the English that the child was not a boy, yet bonfires were lighted, church bells were rung all the day long, and other demonstrations of gladness, indulged with an exhilaration, heightened by the fact, that three-quarters of a century had elapsed since a child was born to the sovereign of England.³ Toby Matthews, in one of his witty gossiping letters, after relating the event of the birth, adds,—

"The morrow after, his majesty drank health to his wife and daughter, in the maidenhead of a cup of gold gained in Scotland, which cost 300*l*., and was worth about 50*l*., the rest belike was made up in wit." "Much ado there was who should be the nurse of my lady little one; it hath fallen at last to a poor painter's wife, who for this time doth qualify himself herald."⁴

The king, in the letters announcing the child's birth, declared her to be a "most beautiful infant,"⁵ and punning upon her anticipated name, said, that if he would not pray *to* the Virgin Mary, he would pray *for* the Virgin Mary."⁶

¹ Miscellanea, 3 James I. Chapter House, Westminster.

² Stowe's Annals, p. 862; Nichols, vol. i. p. 505.

³ Beaumont's Disp. 18 May 1605, Ambass. de l'Angleterre, MS. 607, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

⁴ Matthews to Carleton, 19th May, 1605, French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

⁵ James I. to King of Denmark, April 1605, Colbert MS. 6054, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁶ Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 304.

Preparations were forthwith made for a royal christening, which was to take place in the chapel of Greenwich Palace. It was hung with green velvet and cloth of gold. The traverse was erected at the north side, and in the centre, under a stately canopy twelve feet square, raised on a platform of four steps, was placed "a very rich and stately font of silver and gilt, most curiously wrought with figures of beasts, serpents, and other antique works."¹ On the appointed morning, May 5th, "The child was received by the heralds at the lower end of the great chamber, on the king's side, where they used to go into the queen's lodgings, and from thence by the nobility and heralds brought through the great chamber, and through the chamber of presence, and so down a pair of stairs by the privy chamber into the conduit court, at the foot of which stairs, did the chapel,² with the deans of the king's chapel and of Canterbury, assisting the Archbishop of Canterbury, attend the child, from whence the proceeding to the chapel was in this manner following: all the way from thence to the chapel being railed on each side, and covered with rich stained cloth:—First the chapel, then the said two deans; next the Archbishop of Canterbury; then the heralds, with their coats upon their arms; next the nobility; and then one cushion, covered with lawn, on which lay a very rich collar of gold and precious stones, which was carried by a countess, supported by two earls; and then the child was carried by the Countess of Derby, supported by two earls; and the train of the mantle of purple velvet, embroidered round about with gold, and furred with ermines, covering the child, was supported likewise, and borne up by noblemen. After which followed the other ladies; and then the child, being brought into the quire, was placed within the

¹ Nichols, vol. i. p. 572.

² The gentlemen of the chapel.

square; into which also entered he who held the book for reading of the baptism, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the godfathers and godmothers. Then the archbishop christened the child with the sign of the cross, and called it Mary, as the godfather and godmothers, who were Ulric, Duke of Holstein, the queen's brother, and the Lady Arrabella of the blood royal, daughter and sole heir of Charles, Earl of Lennox, and the Countess of Northumberland, who bare the name, had named it. The child being christened, was carried into the traverse, and a basin and ewer were brought into the quire for the gossips to wash. And immediately after the child was christened, the heralds put on their coats, the trumpets sounded.¹

“Then the Earl Marshal and the Lord Chamberlain, placing Seager, Garter Principal King of Arms, between them, Master Garter making low reverence unto the King's Majesty, who stood in the closet window, began to pronounce with a loud voice these words following:—
‘Almighty God, of His infinite grace and goodness, preserve and bless with long life, in health, honour, and all happiness, this high and right noble Lady Mary, daughter to the most high and mighty prince, James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the most excellent Princess Queen Anne. Amen!’²

“After which they returned as they went, except that now the archbishop and the two deans went next before the child, and the best noblemen did carry the presents, which the gossips gave; and then, the child brought home, divers tables were set with banquetting stuff, where amongst other, there were three in the queen's great chamber, and one very long table in the king's great

¹ Harl. MSS. 5877. f. 57, and 6166, f. 155.

² Nichols, vol. i. p. 573.

chamber, furnished with many conceits and devices, for every one that would snatch and catch them."¹

The king further celebrated the christening by the presentation of costly jewels to the royal mother, and by the creation of several new peerages.² The infant was committed to the charge of Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Knyvett, to whose residence at Stanwell, in Middlesex, she was sent on the 1st of June.³ He was allowed 20*l.* per week for the diet of the princess and of her suite, consisting of six rockers, and several inferior attendants;⁴ but the king took upon himself the payment of their wages, the expenses of her removals from house to house, of her apparel, coach and horses, and other extraordinaries.⁵ Lady Knyvett was assiduous in the care which she bestowed upon her royal charge, but it was destined to be of short duration. When the little Mary was about seventeen months old, a violent cold settled upon her lungs,⁶ and burning fever ensued: her guardians took the alarm. The queen was frequent in her visits to the dying bed of her child; but neither tender solicitude nor medical skill availed.⁷ An eyewitness relates that "such was the manner of her death, as bred a kind of admiration in us all that were present to behold it. For, whereas the new-tuned organs of her speech, by reason of her wearisome and tedious sickness, had been so greatly weakened, that for the space of twelve or

¹ Harl. MSS. *ut supra*.

² Domestic Papers, May 18, 1605, State Paper Office; Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 149; Devon's Pell Rolls, p. 49.

³ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 37.

⁴ Devon's Pell Rolls, p. 24.

⁵ Abject. Priv. sig. James I. f. 15 b. Roll's House, date June 13, 1605.

⁶ Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 343.

⁷ Lodge, vol. iii. p. 201; Privy Seal Bills, 11 J. I. No. 8. An extra allowance was granted to Lord Knyvett, for the expenses caused by the frequent visits to the queen and others, and the additional attendance needful during the sickness.

fourteen hours at the least, there was no sound of any word heard breaking from her lips ; yet when it sensibly appeared that she would soon make a peaceable end of a troublesome life, she sighed out these words, 'I go, I go!' and when, not long after, there was something to be ministered unto her by those that attended her in the time of her sickness, fastening her eye upon them with a constant look, again she repeated, 'Away, I go!' And yet, a third time, almost immediately before she offered up herself, a sweet virgin sacrifice, unto Him that made her, faintly cried, 'I go, I go!' The more strange did this appear to us that heard it, in that it was almost incredible that so much vigour should still remain in so weak a body ; and whereas she had used many other words in the time of her extremity, yet that now at last (as if directed by supernatural inspiration) she did so aptly utter these, and none but these."¹

As soon as the royal child expired, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Lisle, and Lord Carew, went to the queen at Hampton Court. As soon as she saw them, she guessed their errand, and thus saved them the painful task of unfolding it. After the first gushings of maternal sorrow, she desired that the king might at once be informed of the child's decease, and expressed anxiety that the body should be opened, and the proximate cause of death fully ascertained, and also that "some charge may be bestowed" on the funeral. The former request was granted, but not the latter. The princess, after being embalmed, was buried privately, without solemnity, on Wednesday September 23rd.²

Her image, in a quaint womanly dress, carved in white ivory, and reclining on a square tomb, is still preserved,

¹ Funeral Sermon for the Princess Mary, by J. Leech, preached in Henry VII.'s chapel, Sept. 23rd, 1607, and dedicated to Lady Knyvett, 24mo. Lond. 1607, p. 37.

² Addit. MS. 12498, f. 147 ; Lodge, vol. iii. p. 204.

comparatively uninjured, in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey. It bears the following inscription in Latin: "I, Mary, daughter of James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Queen Anne, received into heaven in early infancy, found joy for myself, but left longings to my parents, on the 16th of September, 1607. Ye congratulators, condole: she lived only 1 year 5 months and 88 days."¹

¹ Sandford, p. 577.

SOPHIA,

FOURTH DAUGHTER OF JAMES I.

Birth—Death—Tomb.

OF this infant, the following record contains the brief history :—

“The Lady Sophia, daughter to our sovereign lord the king, was born at Greenwich, upon Sunday, the 22nd of June, at three of the clock in the morning, and died the next day, and upon Thursday following, was very solemnly conveyed by barge, covered with black velvet, accompanied with three other barges covered with black cloth, unto the Chapel Royal, in Westminster, and was there interred by Doctor Barlow, Lord Bishop of Rochester, where were present all the great lords of council, with the herald and the chief officers of the court.”¹

The costly wardrobe provided for the infant, the preparations for her baptism, and for tourneys, to be held on the expected visit of the King of Denmark, who was to be her sponsor, were all rendered unavailing by her premature death.² The king's master-sculptor was commissioned to execute a monument for the royal infant; in

¹ Stow's Annals, p. 883.

² Roll of Lady Walsingham, things to be used in the queen's confinement, 4 James I. Audit Office, Somerset House; Boderie Ambassadors, p. 174.

reference to which, a few months later, we find the following order, dated 17 March, 1607 :—

“Whereas, we have appointed a tomb to be made and erected within our collegiate church of St. Peter’s, in Westminster, for our late dear daughter, the Lady Sophia, and have committed the care and charge to see the same perfected, to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor, the Earl of Salisbury, who hath accordingly made a contract for that work with Maximilian Poutrain, *alias* Coult, as by articles of agreement between our said cousin and him, in that behalf made, may plainly appear; we will and command you, that out of our treasure, in the receipt of our exchequer, ye cause be delivered and paid to the said Maximilian Poutrain, or other employed in that work, such sums of money, and at such time or times, as our said cousin of Salisbury shall signify unto you, so as the same exceed not in the whole the sum of 140*l.* for the full payment and discharge of the finishing and erecting the said tomb, according to the above-mentioned articles of agreement. And this our letter shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf.”¹

Other orders occur for the painting and gilding of the tomb, the iron railings to be placed around it, &c., &c.²

The design was an infant, asleep in a cradle, executed in ivory, and raised upon a square altar; it is probably familiar to most of our readers, as still in beautiful preservation in the Chapel of Henry VII., at Westminster Abbey. Old Fuller³ assures us that “therewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more affected (as level to their cognizance, more capable of what is pretty than what is pompous,) than with all the magnificent

¹ Lodge, vol. iii. p. 195,

² Devon’s Pell Rolls, pp. 51, 60; Abject. Priv. Sig. J. I. f. 25.

³ Fuller’s Worthies, vol. i. p. 490.

monuments in Westminster." Her epitaph, written in Latin round the edge of her tomb, is as follows:—

"Sophia, a royal rose-bud, plucked by premature fate, and snatched away from her parents—James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Queen Anne—that she might flourish again in the rosary of Christ, was placed here on the 23rd of June, in the 4th year of the reign of King James, 1606."¹

¹ Sandford, p. 577.

MARY,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER I.

Melancholy fortunes of the daughters of Charles I.—Mary's birth and baptism—Her establishment—Portraits—Efforts to lead her to Popery forbidden—Arrival of Marie de Medicis—Orange match proposed, but negatived—Mary removed to London—Is godmother to her brother Henry—Wooed by Prince William of Orange—Early love of Protestantism—Marriage treaty—Arrival of Prince William—Betrothal ceremony—Portraits and odes—Departure of Prince William—Feast at Guildhall—Mary leaves England for Holland—Reception at the Hague, Amsterdam, &c.—Mary's life at the Hague—Early letter—Departure of the queen—Mary's establishment formed—Marriage—Receptions—Love of rank—Amelia de Solms—Spanish and French parties—Illness of the Prince of Orange—His jealousy of his son—Death—William elected Stadtholder—Coldness of the princess dowager—Mary's letter to her brother—Her first sacrament—Peace with Spain—Mary's ambition—Troubles in England—The Duke of York escapes to his sister—Offers of the English Fleet—The Prince of Wales arrives—The States profess neutrality—Execution of Charles I.—Charles II. recognized—Murder of Dorislaus—The king and Duke of York leave Holland—Mary goes to Spa—Returns to Breda—Charles II.'s expedition to Scotland—Struggle between the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders—His attempt upon Amsterdam—Its failure—His illness—Death—Mary's anguish—Funeral sermon.

THE name of Charles I. brings with it a flood of melancholy associations to both the great political parties which, though first fairly eliminated and brought into collision in his reign, have since preserved, by their mutual struggles the balance of power in our constitution, although under different names and aspects: Cavaliers and Roundheads in the seventeenth century, Tories and Whigs in the eighteenth, Conservatives and Reformers in the nineteenth. Both parties see much to condemn in the tremendous convulsions that rent England in the time

of Charles I. On the one hand was a tenacious clinging to arbitrary rule, an unwillingness to yield to the spirit of the age, a baneful ignorance of the philosophy of government; on the other, steadfast resolution merging into perverseness; patriotism sacrificed to the spirit of self-aggrandizement, the honest zeal for reform urged on into a fanaticism for destruction. All these lend a gloomy aspect to the times in which the daughters of Charles I., inheriting all the beauty, some of the frailties, and many of the sorrows proverbial to the Stuart race, were involved. The career of all of them was brief; two died in infancy, another, broken-hearted for her father's loss, in girlhood, whilst of the other two, early exiled from England, and brought up in foreign courts, neither reached the age of thirty. In tracing out their private history, our object will be to keep aloof from the arena of political strife, and to allude to public events only as their bearing upon the destinies of our royal ladies compels it.

The Princess Mary was the second child and first daughter of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France. A court correspondent thus writes on November 29, 1631, "I have stayed till now the advertisement I owe your lordship, of the blessing God hath lately given us, in the birth of a young princess, of whom her Majesty was safely delivered at St. James's, the 4th of this month, early in the morning, after a few hours' travail. Some apprehension there was at first of danger in the child, whereof his Majesty made a pious use, and caused her forthwith to be baptized by the name of Mary, without other solemnity than the rights of the Church. But, God be thanked, those fears are well passed, and as well our young princess as her majesty are in good and perfect state of health, so as nothing is wanting to make this joy entire, both to his majesty and the kingdom."¹

¹ Hulme to Vane, Nov. 29, 1631, Swed. Corresp. State Paper Office; Laud's Diary, fol. London, 1695, p. 46.

Another correspondent hints a different reason for the privacy of the baptismal ceremony, that it was done to save expense. The lord keeper, Bishop Williams, was godfather, and the Countesses of Carlisle and Denbigh godmothers, the necessity for expedition precluding the solicitation of princely sponsors.¹

A few weeks after her birth, the infant princess was taken seriously ill, and for a time was supposed to be at the point of death; but the skill and assiduity of the court physician, Dr. Mayerne, were instrumental in restoring her.² A strong resemblance, traced or imagined, between the infant and her royal mother, elicited the following lines in an ode to the queen on her birth:

“ But in the princess you are writ so plain
And true, that in her you were born again;
And when we see you both together placed,
You are your daughter, only grown in haste.
In both we may the self-same graces see,
But that they yet in her but infant be.”³

The usual domicile of the royal children was St. James's Palace; the Countess of Roxburgh was appointed governess to the Lady Mary, and a Mrs. Bennett her nurse.⁴ Her establishment consisted of a lady of the bedchamber, a gentleman usher, dry nurse, three watchers, a physician, two pages of the backstairs, a sempstress, laundress, tailor, and shoemaker, two grooms of the great chamber, and one of the robes, five kitchen servants, four footmen, a coachman and a groom, to whom, in due time, was added M. d'Aranjon, a French and writing-master. The household bills for the princess and her numerous attendants shew their daily fare to have been substantial and abundant. Her breakfast, taken alone, consisted of manchetts

¹ Harl. MS. 7000, f. 226; Ellis's Letters. 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 264.

² Gazettes de France, 28th Dec. 1631.

³ Cleaveland Revived, 12mo. Lond. 1660, p. 97.

⁴ When she was dismissed, she had a retiring pension of 100*l.* a-year. See Privy Council Records, 1639, Nov. 13, Council Office, Whitehall.

of fine bread, beer and ale, mutton or chickens. At dinner, the royal children sat at the same table, when Gascony wine, game, and meats of different kinds, custard, pies, and tarts were their fare, with a slight change for fish days and fast days, on both of which they were still allowed the lighter meats. Their supper was an abridged edition of the dinner.¹

The nursery group at St. James's, increased in due time by the birth of another prince and two princesses, was frequently visited by the royal parents, whose arrival was the signal of a general rejoicing. In the summer of 1636, the little ones removed to Richmond; George Coneo, a Papal agent in the service of Queen Henrietta Maria, who accompanied the royal pair on one of their visits, says he was delighted to witness the joy of the children on their arrival: that, after a cheerful evening, the elder ones were allowed to sup with their parents, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York sitting on each side of their father, whilst the Lady Mary was placed next her mother; the little Elizabeth, yet too young to appear at table, was sent to bed. Coneo speaks with enthusiasm of the strong attachment and confidence which bound the members of the royal family together;² and their after history proved that, in the midst of circumstances which severely tested that attachment, it never yielded, but remained firm and all-enduring through life.

In the spring of 1637, the Countess of Roxburgh brought the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to town, where they remained a few weeks, and when they returned to Richmond, it was with an addition to their number, in the infant Princess Anne.³ A charming picture of the royal children was painted about this time, in which the Princess Mary occupies a prominent place in the fore-

¹ Harl. MS. 3791, f. 114; Ibid. 7632.

² Vatican Transcripts, vol. 39, p. 355.

³ Coneo's Disp. 2nd and 23rd March, Vatican Transcripts, *ut sup.*

ground,¹ and shews in this portrait, as well as in a smaller one, head size, painted a few years before, the developments of early grace and beauty, for which she was celebrated in after life, with a matronly gravity not usual in so young a child. A curious specimen of courtly adulation, entitled “*Effigies regis Caroli*,” &c., published in 1636, contains engraved portraits of the king, queen, and each of their children, with laudatory inscriptions in verse. From the description of “*Maria Princess*,” we extract the following stanzas :—

“For outward Beauty, and for grace within,
This princess is the admired magazine ;
And though her greatness is from high-born blood,
Pure virtue is her best and greatest good.
Mild, modest, affable, beloved, and loving,
Discreet and *débonnaire*, attractive, moving
True honour, duty, service, and respect,
From good men, who true goodness do affect.
Above the span of nine years’ pilgrimage,
She is a pattern for her sex and age :
The model, medal, perfect form, and name,
Of her grandmother (that most princely dame),
And as she grows in years, her virtue’s store,
Like unexhausted treasure, still grows more :
And could my humble muse speak half her praise,
My verse would thousand years outlive my days.”

There was much intriguing in the court of Queen Henrietta Maria to evade the stipulations of her marriage treaty, and bring up the princesses in the Romanist faith ; but Charles I. stedfastly opposed it. On one occasion, he was at play in the queen’s apartment, when the prizes were French *bijouterie*, consisting of medals, crucifixes, relic cases, rings, trinkets, &c. He refused at first to play, saying that he should not know what to do with Popish toys if he won them. “Give them to my daughter,” said

¹ Duplicates of this picture, cabinet size, are in the collections of the Earl of Clarendon, at the Grove, and of the Duke of Northumberland, at Sion House. Another juvenile portrait of the princess, painted at the age of nine or ten, is at Combe Abbey, Warwickshire, the residence of the Earl of Craven.—Lady Theresa Lewis’s *Clarendon and his Contemporaries*, vol. iii. p. 312.

the queen, smilingly. "No, no," rejoined the king, "I will give them to George here," pointing to Coneo, the retailer of the anecdote, "and he shall give me such of the other things as he wins." A priest in the service of the queen relates that she placed about her daughter a young lady, who was secretly a Catholic, and who infused into her the sentiments of that holy faith. She represented to her in their conversations, when they were alone, that she was to be married, and, according to all appearance, either to the son of the Emperor of Germany, or to the Dauphin of France, or to the Prince of Spain, who were all Catholics, and, of course, it was requisite that she should be Catholic. "I have no objection," replied the princess; "let me be taken to mass; I shall be very glad to go." She habitually carried a rosary in her pocket, which she took out and showed, in order to please us, when her sharp eyes perceived no Protestants. The Duchess of Chevreuse, one day at Windsor, succeeded in introducing the princess royal to the queen's mass service, and the child, though not eight years of age, knelt the whole time with great devotion; but the circumstance reaching the king's ears, the duchess was solemnly enjoined never to take the princess there again, and every one in attendance upon her received the strictest injunctions that nothing tending to the prejudice of the Protestant faith should reach her ears.¹

Towards the close of the year 1637, the queen-mother of France, Mary de Medicis, having quarrelled with the council of her son Louis XIII. left France, and, after passing a short time in Holland, announced her intention of paying a visit to her daughter, Queen Henrietta Maria. This was opposed strongly by the king, and less firmly by the queen, both fearing lest her reception might give umbrage to the ruling powers in France. Mary de

¹ Coneo's Disp. 25th Sept. 1637, 7th July, 1638. May's Life of Duke of Gloucester and Princess Mary, p. 3. Court and times of Charles I, vol. ii. p. 419.

Medicis, however, was not to be easily daunted, and the next tidings that reached England were that she had embarked, and was already on her way thither. Yielding to a necessity which he could not control, Charles commanded his relative to be courteously received, and apartments were prepared for her in St. James's Palace, contiguous to those sometimes occupied by the royal children. The king went to meet her, and conducted her to St. James's, where Henrietta Maria, with her two sons and two daughters, was awaiting her; after the first embraces, she presented to her mother her lovely group of little ones, who each in turn kneeled to receive her benediction. Mary de Medicis was attended to her apartments by the royal family.¹

The visit of the queen-mother exerted an important influence upon the future destinies of her grandchild and namesake, the Princess Mary. In her passage through Holland, Mary de Medicis had been gratified by the friendly attentions of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, and, eager to shew that she still possessed the power of reciprocating an obligation, she had discussed with him the propriety of a match between his only son, William, and her grand-daughter, Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles I. The prince highly approved of a royal marriage for his son, and Mary de Medicis engaged to do her utmost to promote it at court, whilst her efforts were to be seconded by the *Sieur Heenvliet*, a Dutch nobleman holding a confidential position in the family of the Prince of Orange, who was sent over expressly for that purpose. Charles I., however, did not thank his mother-in-law for her officiousness, as he deemed the match beneath his daughter's rank, and the overtures thus coldly received were dropped for the present.²

Meanwhile troubles were gathering around the monarch,

¹ De la Serre, *Entry of Queen-mother, &c.* 4to. Lond. 1775, vol. ii. p. 48; *Antiq. Repert.* vol. iv. p. 540.

² *Siri Mercurio*, 4to. Casale, 1644, vol. i. p. 224.

and contests with his Scottish subjects induced him to undertake a journey northwards; he requested the queen to remain at Whitehall Palace, under a guard of the city militia, and it was thought advisable that the royal children, especially the Prince of Wales, should join their mother. They came to town accordingly on the 5th of May, 1639; Mary de Medicis was also at Whitehall, and the mother and grandmother were soothed and diverted, amidst their anxieties, by the lively prattle of the young ones.¹ The cheerfulness of the royal nursery was, however, greatly disturbed by the deep distress of the Countess of Roxburgh, the governess. She was of the noble Scottish family of Drummond, long famed for their loyalty; her inclination and position alike influenced her to adhere to the fortunes of Charles I.; but her husband signed the Scottish covenant, and thus identified himself with the opposite party, and his example was followed by her son, and only child, the young Lord Ker, who was consequently confined for some time in prison.

Mary was far too young to understand the bearing of what was passing around her—but she could read in her mother's anxious looks and in the tearful eyes of her governess that all was not right; she missed the pleasant rambles in the gardens and groves of Richmond and Hampton Court, and saw with wonder that she and her brothers and sisters were not allowed to leave the palace walls without an armed escort, whilst day and night was heard the heavy monotonous tread of numerous sentinels, pacing before the gates. Well might her girlish brow wear the strange expression of early sadness, which it is startling to meet with in the portraits of a mere child.²

The first appearance of the princess in public was at the baptism of her youngest brother, Henry, in June, 1640; the two elder princes officiated as godfathers, and

¹ Coneo's Disp. March 29, May 6, 1639, Vatican Transcripts.

² Ibid. 27th May.

Mary was the sole godmother.¹ The next time she had to enact a part in the drama of life was on an occasion more personally important to herself,—that of her early betrothal.

Domestic broils now rendered it most important to King Charles to secure the friendly alliance of a neighbouring power; and a private hint of this reaching the Prince of Orange, he lost no time in sending over a second embassy,² consisting of Brederode, Aersen, and Sommerdyke, three of the principal nobles of Holland. They were received in state, in the Banquetting House at Whitehall, by the king and queen, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and the two elder princesses. They had several audiences, in the course of which it transpired that this time the Prince of Orange solicited for his son not the hand of Elizabeth, the second daughter, but that of the princess royal, Mary.³ The queen vehemently opposed the match: under the influence of the Duchess of Chevreuse, who had been gained over by the court of Spain, she was indulging in dreams of uniting her daughter to the son and heir of his most Catholic Majesty, Philip IV.;⁴ but the princess, in whom at an early age the love of Protestant principles was firmly implanted, expressed strong reluctance to be united to any but a Protestant prince.⁵ “She so early,” writes a contemporary, “and even with her milk, imbibed the reformed religion, that neither the subtlety of temptation nor the power of malice could ever divert her or make her to deviate therefrom. Nay, so firmly was she fixed and grounded therein, that when the paternal love of her father began now to cast his eye abroad to find a fitting match for this his peerless

¹ *Gazettes de France*, 1640, p. 554.

² Vane to Leicester, 10th Dec. 1640, *Foreign various Correspondence*, vol. 87, State Paper Office.

³ Baillie to Presb. Irvine, Jan. 29, 1641, *Baillie's Letters, &c.* p. 238.

⁴ Coneo's *Disp.* 1st May, 1640; *Siri, Mercurio*, vol. i. p. 224.

⁵ *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 107.

daughter, she (though the small number of her years did exact from her a submission to his will, yet), in a kind of womanly resolve, did in a manner declare her dislike to a contrary religion, and humbly desired that her religion and affection might not countercharge each other."¹ Charles I. hesitated about the acceptance of the proposal from Orange; he had been prepared to yield his second daughter, but the demand for the elder one took him by surprise. It was however supported by so many promises of assistance to his cause that he at length granted his consent, and commissions were given to the diplomatists on both sides to prepare the articles of the marriage treaty.² These were that the young prince in person should come over for the marriage ceremony, but that the bride should remain in England till she had reached her twelfth year; that she should be transported to Rotterdam at her father's expense, and thence escorted to the Hague, in a manner suitable to her dignity, by the commissioners of her husband; that her marriage portion should be 40,000*l.*, payable in four half-yearly sums of 10,000*l.* The Prince of Orange, on his part, promised that she should be allowed, for herself and her household, the free exercise of her religion, according to the rites of the Anglican church, which differed materially from those of the Dutch reformed church; that she should retain all the English servants chosen by her father, provided the number did not exceed twenty-six male and fourteen female attendants; and in case of any vacancy occurring in her household, the place should be supplied from England; that the expense of their board and wages, with that of the princess's board, &c., should be supplied by her husband, who should further allow her 1,500*l.* a-year for pocket-money; that her dower, in case of his death, should be 10,000*l.* a-year, with two

¹ May's Life of Princess Mary, p. 3.

² Coneo's Disp. 18th Dec. 1640, 1st and 15th Jan. 1641; Vane to Prince of Orange, 26th Feb. 20th Nov. 1640; Addit. MS. 18738, pts. 66, 68.

princely residences, one at the Hague and one on her dower lands, which were to be placed in the hands of English commissioners for security of payment.¹

These preliminaries concluded, on the 12th of February, 1641, the king, attired in his royal robes, made his appearance in parliament, and announced to his assembled lieges the step he had taken.² Few, indeed, were the points on which King Charles and his Commons thought in unison, but in this instance they sympathised in the only reasons which he assigned to them for the alliance, viz.: his regard for his daughter's religious principles, and his desire to conclude an alliance with Holland, in order to secure the restoration of the Palatinate to the family of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia. He concealed the personal bond between himself and the Prince of Orange, which was the main-spring of the union,³ and ignorant of this, the houses dreamed not that an alliance with a republic could prove a prop to falling royalty. Other States wondered at the marriage, deeming it far below the rank of the eldest daughter of England, as it was uncertain whether the young prince would ever succeed to his father's honours as stadtholder, &c.; Spain was mortified that the hollowness of her own matrimonial proposals for the princess was seen through; and France was displeased that a granddaughter of Henry IV. should be thus married, without the knowledge or consent of that court.⁴

The period between the signing of the treaty and the betrothal passed gloomily in the English court: the trial of the Earl of Strafford was pending in parliament; and young as she was, Mary was taken day by day to the

¹ MS. 575, art. 22, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

² Coneo's Disp. 12 Feb. 1641, Vatican Transcripts.

³ Vane to Boswell, 22nd Jan. 11th Feb., For. various Corresp. vol. 87, State Paper Office; Journ. Lords, vol. iv. p. 157 a.

⁴ Leslie to Roe, 17th October, 1641, German Correspondence, State Paper Office; Mercurio, Siri, vol. i. p. 228.

royal closet, where, with her parents and eldest brother, she witnessed the proceedings, which terminated in the attainder and death of the earl.¹

From a scene so painful, the princess was diverted by the arrival in England of the young prince, her future spouse. King Charles had sent to request the Prince of Orange to hasten his son's departure, and to inform him that twelve English vessels were ready to sail over to escort him. The States hesitated a little before consenting to his journey; but at length it was decided upon, and his father and the Dutch court attended him to the Brill and Helvoetsluys.² On the 20th of April, 1641, he set sail, in a fleet composed of twenty vessels, and headed by the far-famed Dutch admiral, Van Tromp; after a heavy storm at sea, he landed at Gravesend on the 25th, and was received by the Earl of Lindsay, on behalf of the king. The following Tuesday, amidst wide-spread tokens of enthusiasm amongst the populace, he was conducted to London in coaches sent by the king, queen, and Prince of Wales, escorted by many of the nobility, who had gone out to welcome him. As he passed the Tower, one hundred pieces of ordnance were discharged; and about five o'clock in the evening, his train, occupying fifty carriages, was seen approaching Whitehall Palace.³ Guards lined the streets, and strict military discipline was observed, not as a mere mark of respect, but because the rabble, discontented and ferocious, threatened to disturb the proceedings, and a strong protection was therefore necessary.⁴ The ambassadors of the States claimed the honour of presenting the young prince to the king and queen, who received him cordially and affection-

¹ Baillie's Journals, p. 293.

² Gazettes de France, 1641, p. 214; *Leven van Willem den Tweeden*, 8vo. Hague, 1738, vol. i. p. 32.

³ Douce MS. 198, f. 343, Bodleian Library. This MS. contains several contemporaneous accounts of the marriage of the princess royal, one of which is printed in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. v.

⁴ Lansdowne MS. 255, f. 51.

ately: the princess was not present, and after the first ceremonials were over, the prince requested permission to visit her at Somerset House, and also to pay his respects to the queen-mother, who resided at St. James's Palace.¹ The request was granted; and the royal parents, anxious to be present at the introduction, drove off privately to Somerset House, and arrived there before the stately *cortège* of their son-in-law drew up.

Mary was only ten years of age, and her *fiancé* five years older when they first met; but the manners of both were far in advance of their age. The prince, from his earliest childhood, was remarked for the seriousness and taciturnity of his temperament. He despised childish amusements, and for several years past had occupied his seat in the council of the States, and familiarized himself with political details.² His person was prepossessing, and his mental culture had been sedulously regarded. He was well read in history, versed in mathematics, and understood and spoke with facility five European languages, English, Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish.³ "He is as good as he is pretty," writes a court lady who knew him long and familiarly, "which makes him more deserve so good a princess."⁴ Ambitious and enterprising in temperament, the idea of becoming son-in-law to a king was flattering to his pride; with every prepossession in favour of the fair young creature who was now introduced to him as his future wife, he formed for her a strong attachment, which terminated only with his life. The princess was too young fully to reciprocate the feeling, but she was flattered by the attentions of a companion so

¹ Basnage, *Annales des Prov. Unies*, vol. i. p. 313; Commelyn, *Hist. de Fred. Henri*, p. 82.

² Basnage, vol. i. p. 177; Holl. *Corresp.* Nov. 1638, State Paper Office; *Memoirs of Frederick of Orange*, p. 279.

³ Neufville, *Hist. de Hollande*, vol. iii. p. 25.

⁴ Countess Lewenstein to Lord Fairfax, May 14, 1641, from the original in a private collection.

much older than herself, for, at the age of ten, five years make a material difference in seniority. After his compliments were duly paid, the young prince was escorted in state to Arundel House, in the Strand, the residence of the Earl of Arundel, which was fitted up for his reception by the king, who bore the whole expenses of his entertainment and that of his suite during their sojourn in England.¹ The next day the prince dined at Durham House, with the Prince of Wales and Duke of York; and also visited the princess. He had a private garden key to Somerset House, her residence, and availed himself of the privilege thus afforded, of going backwards and forwards without ceremony.

As the dignities of the Prince of Orange were not hereditary, the rank of his son, and the consequent precedence to which he was entitled might have been a dubious matter; but that to avoid contention, he was himself placed at the head of the embassy from the United States, and thus entitled to all the privileges of an ambassador.

This ingenious expedient caused many remarks on the seeming incongruity of a match for the Princess Royal of England with a prince whose rank was *heightened* by his becoming an ambassador!² Meanwhile such preparations as the troublous times admitted were made for the solemnization of the nuptials, which were appointed for the 2nd of May. On the preceding Thursday, the dean of the chapel royal waited on the prince by the king's command, "and there informed his highness what he was to say and what to do, at the celebration of the marriage; leaving with his governor and tutor our liturgy, both in English and French, to the end his highness might the better understand what to answer, and be the more prompt

¹ Issue Book, 1640; 3270*l.* were paid at different times on this account, and 500*l.* for the marriage expenses.

² Queen of Bohemia to Sir T. Roe, 9th June, 1641, German Corresp. State Paper Office.

therein." Whitehall Chapel was richly hung and decorated for the ceremonial, and the great chamber in which the ensuing banquet was to take place was hung with tapestries, the subject of which appealed strongly to the national sympathies of both English and Dutch—the destruction of the Spanish armada, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The peers and peeresses appointed to take part in the ceremony were summoned to be in attendance at ten o'clock; and the king sent the Earl of Arundel, Lord Strange, and others of his privy chamber to Arundel House to escort the bridegroom to Whitehall.¹ His toilet was not quite completed, but they passed their time in discourses until a little after 11 o'clock, when he made his appearance, attired in a dress of rich crimson velvet, with a Vandyke collar of deep point lace. He was attended by Count Brederode, the chief of the Dutch Embassy, and the other noblemen and gentlemen composing his suite. The coaches of the king and queen, and of twelve English noblemen swelled the *cortège*, which speedily drove up to Whitehall. There the Earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain, met the prince on his alighting, and a procession was formed, preceded by pages and footmen; first the English nobles, then the suite of the Dutch ambassadors and of the prince, then the ambassadors, and last of all the prince himself. In this order they passed through the presence-chamber, into the private gallery, where the king and Prince of Wales awaited their arrival. After a most cordial reception, they proceeded in the same form to the queen's chamber, whither the king and Prince of Wales, passing by a private way, arrived before them. There the ladies were assembled, and greetings were exchanged. They then went on to the chapel; the lord chamberlain first conducted the bridegroom, preceded by a gentleman usher, and two officers at arms, and followed by his own train, intermixed with young

¹ Douce MS. 198, f. 312, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

unmarried English noblemen. The principal personages took their stand on the left side of a platform richly hung, erected before the altar. The lord chamberlain then returned for the bride who was preceded by her gentleman usher and two officers at arms, and led in between her two brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. Her dress was simple and graceful, a robe of silver tissue, and her ornaments a garland, necklace, and breast-chain of costly pendant pearls. Her hair was knotted up with silver ribbands. Her train was borne by sixteen young ladies of the noblest houses in England, about her own age, all attired in white satin. Then followed the maids of honour, and the ladies of honour, according to their rank.

Many of the queen's ladies were permitted to swell the train, but the religious scruples of Henrietta Maria precluded her from publicly participating in any Protestant ceremonial. She, with the queen-mother of France and the little Princess Elizabeth, were stationed in a small gallery or closet, where they could privately view the proceedings.¹ The bride, with her immediate suite, occupied the part of the platform on the right hand of the altar, and the Countess of Roxburgh, her governess, stood by her side. The king then entered the chapel in state; the organ, which had played a voluntary during the time occupied by these *entrées*, ceased, and a full anthem was chanted. The youthful pair advanced to the cushions placed for them before the altar, where Wren, bishop of Ely and dean of the chapel royal, with the clerk of the closet, was waiting to receive them. The marriage service was commenced, the details of which are thus given by an eye-witness: "He used no title nor style to either of them, but plainly said it as in the book. 'This man and this woman,' and 'I William take thee

¹ Douce MS. 198. fol. 377-9, 383 Baillie's Journal, &c., vol. i. p. 294.

Mary,' for so the king had before directed him. When he demanded 'Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?' the king took her right hand and gave her to the bishop, who, receiving her upon his knee, then rose up and gave her to the bridegroom. He had been already advertized what to say and do, and so he had a little ring of gold ready to put on her finger. As soon as the blessing was given by the bishop, 'God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless and preserve,' &c., he and the clerk of the closet went to the end of the communion table: the young couple kneeling before the table, the bride upon the right hand, though just without the rail."

The king, with his two sons, now left the platform and retired to his traverse or private pew, the ambassadors taking their places in the opposite one: the choir performed the anthem, "Blessed are all they that fear the Lord," after which the liturgy from the marriage-service was read, and at its close the king went up to his private gallery, whilst the bride and bridegroom occupied that of the queen. Then followed the communion service, which as "the time was so far spent," was considerably shortened, and after the gospel, a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Rochester. The subject of his discourse was the latter part of the 45th Psalm, containing an allegorical description of Christ's church, as "the king's daughter, all glorious within," upon which the bishop had prepared a sermon of considerable length, without sufficiently considering that the fatigue and excitement of the previous service would not predispose the bride, to whom his exhortations were principally addressed, to pay them the attention they deserved. The lord chamberlain, however, gave the bishop a previous warning, in compliance with which he materially shortened his discourse, "yet applied it well to the present business. After the sermon was ended, the anthem and all the other service (excepting the daily

prayer for the king and queen), were omitted, and the blessing was given, and so away they went."¹

On leaving the chapel, the bridegroom attended by the two English princes, now his brothers-in-law, was preceded by bachelors and followed by married nobles. The bride was escorted by the Dutch ambassadors, the maiden nobility preceding, and the matrons following her. Thus they proceeded to the Queen's chamber, where the king, queen, and queen-mother were awaiting them. Mary and her husband kneeled before their royal parents to receive their blessing, and on rising, the prince was kissed by the two queens, and the Dutch ambassador kissed the hand of the princess. The company then dispersed; an entertainment was provided for the ambassadors, and their suites, at the Gate-House, Westminster, the Prince of Orange alone remaining to dine with the royal family. The repast was served in the withdrawing room, soon after three o'clock. The king was seated between the two queens, the bride between her brothers, the Prince of Orange, and the Princess Elizabeth completed the group. At six o'clock, the royal family attended their usual household service in the chapel royal, and a sermon was again preached. They then supped together, after which the young princess, exchanging her robes for a dishabille, was laid in a state-bed of blue velvet in her mother's chamber, which was brilliantly illuminated, in presence of her parents, brothers, the Dutch ambassadors, and the ladies of the court: the king then fetched in the Prince of Orange, attired in a loose robe of embroidered blue and green satin, lined with cloth of silver, and led him to a place in the bed occupied by the princess, but at a respectful distance from her. He kissed her several times on entering the bed, and again on leaving it, about a quarter of an hour afterwards; and this ceremony con-

¹ Douce MS. 198, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

cluded the marriage.¹ The prince, after kneeling to receive the blessing of the king and queen, and kissing his young brothers-in-law, retired to the king's bed-room, which was gorgeously fitted up for his reception, and the party dispersed.²

No festive pageantry, no bonfires or rejoicings, no dances or merriment, commemorated an event which, in happier times, would have been welcomed with enthusiastic gladness. A gloom pervaded alike the court and the country, and it was painfully felt by all that the semblance of mirth, amidst internal distractions, would be a mere mockery; but the arts of painting and poetry, never absent from a Stuart festival, lent their graces to these youthful nuptials. Vandyke painted a charming picture of the bride and bridegroom in the costume of betrothal, which is in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, at Dalkeith Palace; both the faces wear a serious, almost sad expression: the prince's features are somewhat ordinary, whilst those of Mary are characterized by the ancestral beauty of her race. A single portrait of the princess by the same artist, somewhat similar in detail, is engraved as the vignette to the present volume.³ A medal, struck at Amsterdam on their marriage, represents the youthful pair in profile, with their right hands

¹ Douce MS. 198, pp. 342, 347, 403.

² Leland's Collect. vol. v. p. 350.

³ Another early Portrait, in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon, is thus described by Lady Theresa Lewis, in her valuable work entitled *Clarendon and his Contemporaries*, vol. iii. p. 369:—

“Three-quarters length. Hair dressed with small ringlets on the forehead, and full on each side of the head; pearl earrings, with double drops; single row of pearls round the throat; long necklace, with pearls and jewels, hangs from the shoulders. She wears a brown satin gown with tight bodice, with a large *seigné* placed at the top as a brooch; very full sleeves, slashed and turned up with white; at the waist a bow of blue ribbon. The hands are bare, and rest upon a table; the left hand takes a rose out of a basket of roses; the right holds a small crown of jewels. Background consists of the end of a building, and a portion of landscape with trees.”

joined, whilst genii hover over them with myrtle crowns. The city of London is in the distance; the legend for the princess, in Latin, is: "Charles, King of England, and the highest monarch, gave me birth, and commands me to be your wife;" whilst that of the prince declares, "Prince Henry, the most valiant hero of Nassau, gave me birth, and commands me to be your husband." Below is inscribed, "William and Mary, married at London, 1641, 12th May." The reverse bears emblems of peace overcoming war.¹ Out of many epithalamia and bridal odes in Latin and English, the following specimens are selected.

"We are no longer island; speedily
Cement these hands, priest; these our isthmus be.
Nor does the sea divide us, but 's become
Our wedding-ring,—type of our union.
Nor were their hearts linked by the painter's hand
Or legate's voice: such bonds are ropes of sand.
They—their own council—happier steps have trod,
Who not salute the image, but the God.
Should *he* have had a speaker, who (though young),
Carries an ordered Babel in his tongue;
Or should her beauty in faint colours lie,
When there's no tablet worthy but his eye?
This sun and moon may safely join their lips,
Who, by their nearness, banish all eclipse.

To the prince:—

Measure o'er all her limbs, and you will see
No such proportions in geometry.
Instead of heaven's rude globes, survey her eyes;
There lurk no snakes, no scorpion, in those skies.
You 'll there find richer spheres, and blushing tell,
How in those points angels like you do dwell."²

"Amid such heat of business, such state throng,
Disputing right and wrong,
And the fierce jumble of unclosed affairs,
What mean those glorious pairs?
That youth, that virgin, those all drest?
The whole and every face a feast?

* * * * *

¹ Van Loon, *Nederlandsche Historipenning*, vol. iii. p. 383.

² *Cleaveland Revived*, 12mo. Lond. 1660, p. 83.

Though you are young as th' hours
 Of this fresh month's first flowers,
 Yet if love's priest can ought discern
 Fairest, you are not now to learn
 What hopes, what sighs, what tears,
 What joys are, or what fears—
 Ere time to lower souls doth motion bring,
 The great break out, and of themselves take wing."¹

During the short period of his residence in England, many lover-like courtesies were paid by the Prince of Orange to his little bride, and she reciprocated them with a taste, which, if unprompted, was above her years. He was handsomely fêted by several of the nobility; the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, the Countess of Oxford, Lady Strange, &c. The day before his departure, he dined with the royal family, and in the evening took his leave of the king,—from whom he received a rich parting present of a diamond-studded sword,—of the queen, and of the two young princes; but his final parting from Mary was delayed till the last moment. Before nine o'clock on the following morning, he was in her apartments.² He had used his utmost endeavours to persuade the king to allow him to take the princess home with him, but failing in this, he was obliged to bid her farewell, with warmly expressed hopes of their speedy re-union; for he declared that if her father would not permit her to come to him, he should return to her, as soon as ever the summer campaign was over, and spend the winter with her in London. The princess took off a jewel, which she presented to him as a token, and which he gallantly fastened on his breast, whilst she gave to the ambassadors who were in waiting upon him, roses of silver ribband, with which they decorated their hats.³ Lord Grandison and the Earl of Arundel attended the prince from Arundel

¹ Cartwright's Poems, 8vo. Lond. 1651, p. 289.

² Commelyn Hist. de Fred. Henri, Prince d'Orange, fol. Amst. 1656, p. 82.

³ Leland's Collectanea, vol. v. p. 351; Douce MS. 198, fol. 349.

House to the Tower, where a collation had been prepared for him; but as his time was brief, he only alighted for a few moments, and partook of some fruits and sweetmeats in the lodge of the watch guard. Thence, under the salute of 120 guns, he took barge for Gravesend, where a train of thirty coaches awaited him, in which he and his suite proceeded to Rochester, and thence, the day following, to Canterbury and Deal, whence he was to sail. Before he left the shores of England, he wrote a letter to his young wife, which he confided to the charge of the Earl of Holland. Meanwhile, Mary wished to follow him with a token of remembrance, and sent off Sir Peter Killigrew with an embroidered scarf as a present to the prince. She had not well calculated on the rapidity of his movements, for when Sir Peter arrived at Deal, his bark had already sailed; nothing daunted, the trusty messenger took another vessel, posted off to Holland, and never rested till he had placed the precious gift in the hands for which it was destined.¹

The prince on landing paid a hasty visit to his mother, and then joined the army of his father, in the plains of Gemappe; but whether in the field or in the palace, his correspondence with his lady fair was assiduous and frequent.²

Civil discord in England increased daily; and it was the consciousness of the positive perils that were gathering around the royal family which had rendered Prince William the more anxious to carry away his bride with him. Now every rumour of danger filled him with apprehension; and in compliance with his entreaty, as well as from motives of policy, an attempt was made, the following July, to remove the Princess, under her mother's auspices, to her future home, the prince urging it upon King

¹ Douce MS. *ut sup.* p. 351; Memorials of Troubles in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 22, Spalding Society.

² Pennington to Nicolas, 9th Sept. 1641.

Charles, with lover-like impatience.¹ The health of the queen, which was extremely delicate, demanded change of air, and it was thought advisable that she should go over to Holland with her daughter, and avail herself of the proximity to take the Spa-water baths. The king proposed the subject to his parliament. The journey of the queen they regarded with much suspicion, and argued many inconveniences as likely to result from it. It had been noted of late, they said, that many papists had sold their jewels, and used other means to convert their property into ready cash, and thus gone abroad, and as it was suspected that the queen had large quantities of plate, jewels, &c., ready packed up to take away with her, it was thought that her journey would be highly pernicious; the more so as the English fugitives beyond sea would no doubt flock around her, and disturbances would certainly be caused, especially during the king's proposed absence in Scotland.

Dr. Mayerne was questioned as to the queen's health; he declared that she was sick alike in mind and body, and that her own opinion was that she would never recover; but that her "faith had great power over her," and that as she had already taken the Spa-waters twice with benefit, it was very desirable that she should try them again. He added, that the great seat of disorder was in her mind, that nothing but tranquillity would much avail; but that, in her present condition, she could not live long. The Commons, however, on the grounds named above, decided to oppose the journey, and sent word that, as the queen's indisposition was said to be mainly occasioned by her mental anxieties, they begged to assure her that they would be "tender of her health," and "ready to furnish her satisfaction in all things," so far as may stand with their public duties. In reference to the princess, they positively refused to consent that she should leave the

¹ Holland Corresp. 174, State Paper Office.

country;¹ they objected that it would be very disadvantageous for her to join her husband until of age for the accomplishment of her marriage, and also that it would subject her to the chance of being sent home with dishonour, in case the match were broken off. The king and queen therefore wrote to the Prince of Orange, expressing their great regret at their inability to give him the satisfaction he desired concerning their daughter, but renewing their promises that her voyage should take place as early as possible.²

A few months later, in November, 1641, the princess made her last public appearance in England. It was on the occasion of the king's return from Scotland, when, with a delusive appearance of returning cordiality, the civic authorities of London went out to greet him. The queen, with her three elder children, had gone as far as the palace of Theobalds, to meet the king: thence they set out, the whole royal family riding in the same coach, to Stamford Hill, where the sheriffs of London and Middlesex met and welcomed them; and thence by Kingsland to Moorgate. There they found a splendid seat erected, and the Lord Mayor of London, with other civic officers and many of the nobility were in waiting to welcome their monarch. The king graciously received his lieges, who were all presented and kissed hands; and his majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on the mayor and recorder. Meanwhile the queen and her children were spectators of the scene; and when it was concluded, the king and prince each mounted a horse richly caparisoned, provided for them by the city; whilst for the use of the queen and her daughter, a magnificent coach was prepared. A grand procession of all the civic companies then defiled before

¹ Queen of Bohemia to Sir T. Roe, 2nd Aug. 1641, German Corresp. State Paper Office.

² From the originals in the private collection of Miss Richardson Currer, of Eshton Hall.

them; the royal family rode next, followed by an escort of guards, amidst the acclamations of thousands of the people who swelled the rear.

In this order they proceeded to Guildhall, where a grand civic fête was prepared for them. For the first time Mary dined in public, and her girlish wonder would naturally be excited by the dazzle and the crowd with which she was surrounded; but seated between her mother and the Duke of York, she conducted herself with due decorum.¹

This was the last gleam of sunshine that irradiated the stormy career of Charles I. Portentous clouds were gathering thick and fast in the political horizon; without foreign pecuniary aid it seemed impossible for the king to stem the torrent that was rising against him. No agent seemed alike so able, and so willing, for the important enterprise of obtaining it as the queen, Henrietta Maria. It was therefore resolved that she should go abroad, for the double purpose of procuring arms and money in Holland, by pawning or selling her own and the crown jewels; and of visiting France, in order that by her personal influence with the king her brother, she might obtain potent aid for her husband. To throw a veil over the real object of her voyage, it was given out that she was going to conduct her young daughter, the Princess Mary, to her affianced husband, and also to drink the Spa waters. A formal announcement was therefore set forth, that "his majesty being very much pressed by the States' ambassador to send the princess his daughter immediately into Holland, and being likewise earnestly desired by his royal consort the queen to give her majesty leave to accompany her daughter thither, hath thought fit to consent to both desires, and to make this his majesty's consent and her majesty's reso-

¹ Somers' Historic Tracts, vol. iv. pp. 143, 146; Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 429.

lution known to this parliament."¹ The Commons yielded a reluctant and ungracious assent, and preparations were hastily forwarded.

The royal family had all removed in the beginning of the year to Windsor, where they spent a few weeks of domestic reunion; and thence, early in February, the queen and princess set out on their journey. The king accompanied them first to Hampton Court, then to Greenwich, where they arrived on Thursday the 10th of February; they spent one night there, slept the following night at Cobham Hall, the residence of the Brookes, formerly Barons of Cobham, and reached Dover on the Saturday.² Here they awaited the squadron of fifteen Dutch ships, under the Admiral van Tromp, which was to form the honorary escort of the princess. It speedily arrived, and was welcomed with military honours and salutes by the garrison of Dover, whilst van Tromp received the honours of knighthood from the king. But the same wind which favoured the passage of the Holland fleet was adverse to the royal ladies, and they waited for some days at Dover Castle, before they could set sail. At length, on Monday, February 23rd, they embarked on board the ship of the Vice-Admiral Sir William Pennington, accompanied by the Earls of Arundel and Denbigh, Lord Goring, the Duchess of Richmond, the Countess of Denbigh, and all the queen's French attendants. The parting of Charles I. from his wife and daughter was a scene of such emotion that it drew tears from the spectators. His farewell to the queen was fraught with forebodings of all that each might have to suffer before they met again; and to his daughter with a presentiment but too true, that in this world he might never again look upon the gravely beautiful face that was so unutterably dear. He pressed

¹ Collection of Remonstrances, &c. 4to. Lond. 1643; Domestic Various Papers, bundle 394, State Paper Office.

² Diurnal of Occurrences, Feb. 11 and 21.

her to his breast over and over again, covered her with tearful kisses, and when she had actually stepped on board, when the anchor was heaved, and the vessel under sail, he mounted the battlements of Dover Castle, and as long as ever it was in sight, repeated his salutations.¹

In the meantime, busy preparations were making in Holland to do honour to the royal guests. Although, in the first instance, the sturdy republicans had shewn some jealousy at the marriage of their prince with the daughter of a king, yet all outward semblance of it vanished before the *prestige* of royalty, while the joy of young William was unbounded at the prospect of the arrival of his *fiancée*. Before she left Dover, he had commissioned the resident ambassador of the States to follow her thither, and convey to her his warm anticipations of the pleasure of once again beholding her. Messengers in light vessels were on the alert to pass swiftly between England and Holland, that, through their medium, he might be informed, with the utmost promptness, of the time of her embarkation, the progress of the fleet, &c.,² and, after all necessary orders for their reception at the Hague had been given, the Prince of Orange, Prince William, and the nobles of their court, hastened to Helvoetsluys to meet and welcome the expected guests.

The voyage, however, was unpropitious: the fleet at first sped bravely, and reached Flushing in fifteen hours, but the intricate navigation of the Dutch coast was rendered still more difficult by contrary winds, and, though at length the weary voyagers reached Helvoetsluys in safety, it was with the loss of one vessel, containing part of their equipage, which went down at the very entrance of the port. It was uncertain at what place the royal ladies would land; but, the instant that tidings of their

¹ Gazettes de France, 1642, p. 253; Siri, Mercurio, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 285.

² Fred. Henri d'Orange, Mémoires, p. 301.

arrival were received, Prince William flew on wings of love to meet them; his instructions were to attend them by water to Rotterdam, but they had suffered so severely from sea-sickness, that they declined any further storm-tossing beyond what was indispensable. They crossed the island of Voorne, therefore, to the Brill, where the Prince of Orange, summoned by his son, met them, and then, sailing across the mouth of the Maes, they landed, on the 1st of March, at Hounslerdike.¹ A salute of seventy pieces of cannon, ranged for the purpose on the neighbouring heights, proclaimed the moment when the queen and princess set foot on shore, and the Princes of Orange and their suites escorted them to the coaches which were in waiting to conduct them to the Hague.

At some distance from the city, they were met by Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, only sister of Charles I., aunt to the princess, with her son, Prince Rupert, and two of her daughters. She welcomed her royal relatives with much affection, and the procession formed for entering the town. The two queens were seated side by side in a large state coach of crimson velvet; Prince William and the Princess Mary opposite them; whilst at the doors of the coach sat the Prince of Orange and Prince Rupert on the one side, and on the other the two Princesses Palatine, daughters of the Queen of Bohemia. Their trains, with the nobility and gentry, who had come to meet the queen and princess, amounted to more than 300 persons. As they approached the town, the principal citizens marched out, fully armed, to meet them; bells rang, fire-works were discharged, and eighty pieces of cannon, placed in the court of the old palace, fired a triple salute. Thus, amidst tumultuous signs of republican rejoicings, the daughter of Charles I. was escorted to the palace fitted up for the reception of the queen during the period of

¹ *Gazettes de France*, pp. 263, 268; *Mém. Pr. d'Orange*, p. 301; *Gamache's Diary, Court and Times of Charles I.* vol. ii. p. 349.

her stay in Holland. It was that entitled the New Palace, in the Staedt-straat, one of the principal streets of the town, and the Prince of Orange placed soldier sentinels, as a guard of honour, always in attendance.¹

Prince William was by no means satisfied with an arrangement that separated him from his bride, and he pleaded so earnestly with the queen that she consented for her daughter to share the princely abode of her husband and father-in-law. The removal took place at night; the short space intervening between the two palaces was lined on both sides with torch bearers, and the Prince of Orange, attended by his son and a numerous *cortège*, went in state to the residence of the queen; the princess was given into his charge, and he led her to the home which she was henceforth to occupy.² The respect with which he habitually treated her is thus alluded to by a contemporary:—

“The princess, being now in the Low Countries, was received by her father-in-law, the old Prince of Orange, as did become the daughter of so great a king, into whose presence he would never approach but with a reverence more like a subject towards his sovereign than the freedom of a father towards his son’s wife; by no means suffering either himself or his son, much less his servants, to come near the place of her residence but bare-headed, and to his dying day—yea, even in his death-bed,—maintained the same, as due to the greatness of her birth and excellent virtues.”³

This deference to royalty was anything but agreeable to the democratic party in Holland; they had all along regarded the English alliance with suspicious dislike, and it was increased by a circumstance which transpired at the

¹ Newspapers, March 1641–2, King’s Pamphlets.

² Fred. Pr. d’Orange, *Vie de*,³ p. 304, Boswell to Roe, March 13, 1612, German Corresp. State Paper Office.

³ May’s *Life of Duke of Gloucester and Princess Mary*, 18mo. Lond. 1661, p. 14.

very juncture of Mary's arrival. A supper was given by the prince and his officers in honour of the event; and when the toasts were proposed, the health of the Prince of Orange was drunk before that of the States-General. The burgomasters took offence; they said that the prince was but their servant, and received their pay the same as the meanest soldier in their army, and that it was insulting to drink his health before that of his betters. A French captain of the horse haughtily retorted that a prince who had married his son to a daughter of England, and a granddaughter of France, would scorn to be considered a servant of brewers, bakers, and felt-makers. The indignant burghers cited the offender to appear before the tribunal of the States-General at the Hague. An army coalition was formed in his defence; if the burghers had money, they said, they had swords with which to defend their prince and his son, and swore that they would so do to the very last.¹ Thus began an open contest between the royal and republican principles which caused the princess many a struggle in after-life.

To this jealousy was added another, much more groundless, of popish influences prevailing in the minds of those who were so immediately connected with Henrietta Maria. "Out of Holland it is informed," writes a contemporary newsmonger, "that the Queen of England ordinarily maketh her daughter and son-in-law to hear mass, and observe all popish rites and ceremonies, without any contradiction from the Prince of Orange."² This report was one of the many unfounded rumours spread by those who loved to foment rather than to quell disturbances.

Before she had been many weeks in Holland, Mary received the following letter from her brother, the Prince of Wales:—

¹ Letter of La Fin, page of the Prince of Orange, to his brother, 10th March, 1641.

² Memorable Accidents, 2nd Jan 1643

"To the hands of the Lady Marie, princess of Auriana, these present :

"Most Royal Sister,

"Methinks, although I cannot enjoy that former happiness which I was wont, in the fruition of your society, being barred those joys by the parting waves, yet I cannot so forget the kindness I owe unto so dear a sister, as not to write, also expecting the like salutation from you, that thereby (although awhile dissevered) we may reciprocally understand of each other's welfare. I could heartily, and with a fervent devotion, wish your return, were it not to lessen your delights in your loyal spouse, the Prince of Orange, who, as I conceived by his last letter, was as joyful for your presence as we are sad and mourning for your absence.

"My father is very much disconsolate and troubled, partly for my royal mother's and your absence, and partly for the disturbances of this kingdom.

"Dear sister, we are, as much as we may, merry ; and more than we would, sad, in respect we cannot alter the present distempers of these troublesome times. My father's resolution is now for York, where he intends to reside, to see the event or sequel to these bad unpropitious beginnings; whither you direct your letter. Thus much desiring your comfortable answer to these my sad lines, I rest,

"Your loving brother,

"Royston, March 9, 1642."

"CAROL. PRINCERS.¹

Henrietta Maria, eagerly intent upon the chief object of her voyage—that of collecting funds for the relief of her husband, announced her intention of paying an early visit to Amsterdam, in acceptance of an invitation sent to her and the princess from the burgesses of that town. She would gladly have paid her visit privately, but the gallantry of the citizens forbade: brief as was the notice, preparations for the reception of the queen and princess were made on a magnificent scale. Attended by the Prince of Orange and Prince William, they left the Hague on the $\frac{8}{18}$ th of May for Rotterdam, where they were received with state honours by the senate and burgesses in arms; the following night they slept at Haarlem, and proceeded onwards the day after, the 20th, but it was six o'clock in the evening before their *cortège* appeared in sight of the long-expectant people of Amsterdam. First came the baggage-

¹ Ellis's Letters, vol. iv. p. 2.

chariots, then the state coaches of the queen and Prince of Orange, in the sixth of which they were both seated, with the young prince and princess. Six other coaches followed, and a train of 150 mounted cavaliers, burgesses of the town, who had met the queen at Haarlem, to swell her procession. As they neared the place, the dykes on both sides were lined with armed burgesses, ranged under twenty banners, and three triumphal arches spanned the road. On approaching the first, the procession was met by the civic authorities, who saluted the queen and princess with an harangue of welcome, pointing out to their attention the motto on the arch, which forbade any person to wonder at an alliance between the houses of England and Nassau, since a precedent existed in the marriage of Raynald, Duke of Gueldres, with Eleonora, daughter of Edward II. This arch bore the emblems and motto of the order of the garter: the second, the imperial arms, between those of England and Nassau, in remembrance that the house of Nassau had once given an emperor to Europe; the third was hung with orange ribbons, and representations of the warlike deeds of the Prince of Orange. Passing along the Boulevard le Velours, the queen and her train reached the principal canal, where "there met her upon the water a most rich and costly barge, in which her majesty being entered, without help of oars or sails, she was conveyed into the city by divers living swans, which were fastened to the foresaid barge; and as she passed along, was entertained with divers triumphs upon the water. Likewise when she landed, as she passed the streets, divers pageants and other shows did present themselves unto her, which, for cost and magnificence, the like was never seen in Holland before."¹

The royal party at length reached the palace, where they were duly complimented by the senate; the twenty companies of burgesses defiled before them, presenting

¹ News from Holland, Hague, May $\frac{10}{20}$, 1642.

arms, and when at length these ceremonies were concluded, the Princes of Orange and their train departed, and the wearied queen and her daughter retired to their own apartments.¹

The festivities were painfully checked by the death of the Princess Isabella, one of the younger daughters of the Prince of Orange: he departed suddenly to the burial of his child, which was performed without much ceremony at Delft, on the 24th of May, and the queen and princess returned privately to the Hague.

The Prince of Orange was preparing to join his army, and he left the Hague on the 27th, after first eliciting a promise that the queen and princess would visit and inspect the troops. In compliance with his wishes, on the 1st of June, Queen Henrietta and her daughter, escorted by Prince William, and accompanied by many of the English and Dutch nobility, set out for the camp, which was between Gouda and Utrecht. Half a league from the former place, they were received by twenty-four of the principal burgesses, who formed their escort to the town, where they were again doomed to listen to a specimen of civic eloquence in the shape of a long Dutch harangue from the burgomaster. The following day they went by Tregord to Bueren, where the Prince of Orange met them, and after a day's repose, conducted them to his camp at Voorneschantz. On the 4th a grand mock fight took place in honour of the royal visitors. The Prince of Orange marched before the queen at the head of the foot. Prince William, young as he was, led his father's cavalry; and in the enthusiasm of appearing

¹ Siri, Mercurio, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 285; Gaz. de France, pp. 488, 515, 517. A medal was struck to commemorate their entrance into Amsterdam. It represents the prince and princess at the entry of a garden: she holds a rose in the left hand; the right is given to her husband. The legend is: "Enter, goddess, into this garden, whither Mars and Love call you; liberty will here produce fruit of which you shall be the mother."—*Registre Hist. Métal. de la Hollande.*

in his martial character before his bride, he exerted himself to render the military display as brilliant as possible. Charge after charge of horse and foot and artillery, mocking the tumult and the din of actual war, was made and repelled, before the wondering gaze of the princess, who had never before witnessed a military spectacle; and then Mary passed with her mother into the tent of the Prince of Orange, at the entrance of which they stood, whilst the whole army defiled before them, presenting arms.¹

The following day, Mary took leave of her husband, who was to remain with the army during the campaign, and set out with her mother for Utrecht. The deputies of the States-General, and knights and burgesses, forming a procession of sixty coaches, met them at some distance from the town: and after receiving the usual honours, and spending the night there, they set off the following day for Leyden, to which place also they were specially invited, and thence returned to the Hague.²

The summer passed heavily with the young princess; the queen was too much engrossed by the weighty political cares which almost overwhelmed her, to devote much time or attention to her child; and in the cypher correspondence of Henrietta Maria with Charles I., during her stay at the Hague, which is remarkably full and confidential, the name of Mary very rarely occurs.

The absence of the two princes, father and son, rendered the court less gay than usual. The stately hall, nearly as large as that at Westminster, and hung round with trophies taken from the Spaniards;—the gardens full of ornamental walks, statues of marble, fountains, and grottoes, shrubs and flowers, could not amuse her anxious

¹ Siri, Mercurio, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 285; Gazettes de France, pp. 488, 515, 517; Lord Chesterfield's Diary, Addit. MS. 19,253, Brit. Mus.

² Gazettes de France, pp. 547, 792; Boswell to Roe, June 2nd, 1642, German Corresp. State Paper Office.

gaze for ever; and truly glad was Mary when the chill winds of October caused the breaking up of the army.¹ The Princes of Orange now returned home; and happy in the society of her husband, Mary could more fully enjoy the court festivities which welcomed the arrival of several illustrious guests;—the Duke of Lenox, just come from England, and the Countess of East Friesland, whose object was to pay her respects to one of the young Princesses of Orange, promised in marriage to her son.

On the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of October, the baptism of a newly born daughter of the House of Orange was celebrated: the province of Utrecht, represented by one of its deputies, and the Queen of England, were the selected sponsors; but as the latter could never be persuaded to attend Protestant ceremonies, her daughter took her place, held her little sister-in-law at the font, and gave her her own name,—Mary.²

The earliest specimen of Mary's correspondence occurs about this time: it proves how much too soon, for her own education, she was removed from the quiet of the school-room to the prominence of active life. It is addressed to one of her early companions,—the Lady Lillias Drummond, and is given *verbatim et literatim*:—

“Deare lady Lillies

“Believe me I have not forgott you for nott writing to you. I loue you as well as euer I did and Prays you to continue your letters: for neuse, I pray do not expete eny from me, for I hiere non butt what comes from you, the Queene, and the Princes of Orange, and I hes had a Presant from the East Endy house; soe Pray Believe I am constantly,

“deare lady Lillies,

“Your most feathfull and louing freand

“MARIE.

“Haye this 8 of

“December 1642

“For my dear lady

“Lillies Drummond”³

¹ Evelyn's Diary, Bray, vol. i. p. 14.

² Gazettes de France, pp. 1013, 1066.

³ Addit. MS. 18,827, f. 28.

The penmanship of this letter is on a par with its composition and orthography, bearing a tolerable resemblance to that of the lower class of female servants at the present day.

The stay of Henrietta Maria in Holland had now been protracted far beyond her original intentions, and the tendency of her visit was not propitious to the future happiness of her child, as it brought into fuller development the jealousies which already existed between the Prince of Orange and the States. The former warmly espoused the cause of the queen, exerted himself to procure for her supplies of arms and money, and endeavoured but in vain to infuse his own sentiments into the sturdy republicans. In answer to an application from the queen, they professed themselves willing to mediate between the king and his parliament, but declined to supply Charles with troops to be used against his own subjects, notwithstanding their expressions of obligation for the "conjunction of the nations," by "the most auspicious marriage" of their young prince with "the most hopeful Lady Mary."¹ Through the medium of the Prince of Orange, however, Henrietta Maria succeeded in obtaining warlike stores to a considerable amount, and the prince lent her the aid of some of his more experienced officers, who were dispatched into England.

After the delay of another month, on the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸th of January, 1643, the queen embarked for England, and Mary took leave of her mother at Scheveling, shedding a torrent of tears at parting with her. But a terrible tempest ensued: the queen was driven back, with her vessel almost a wreck, to the coast of Holland, and once again returned to the Hague. Nothing daunted, after the delay of only a few weeks, she again resolved to set sail. She was attended to Scheveling by her daughter and Prince

¹ Answer of States to Queen, July 12, 1642.

William, the Prince of Orange, the Queen of Bohemia, and all the nobility of the Hague.¹ Several days passed before the weather permitted the embarkation: at length the sorrowful farewells were once more exchanged, and Henrietta Maria proceeded on her peril-fraught mission.

Immediately after her mother's departure, the establishment of the young princess was definitely formed, on a scale accordant rather with her rank by birth, than with her present position.² Before she was of age to learn the art of governing, she was placed at the head of a large train of attendants, and thus became early subjected to the influences of favoritism, and threw herself into the arms of those about her who were more enterprising and ambitious than the rest, with a warmth and earnestness which proved a serious drawback to the comfort of her after-life. Even at this early period of her rule, one of her attendants—a French maid, placed with the princess by her mother—became so insolent in her conduct, that the Princess of Orange interfered and ordered her away. Mademoiselle was compelled to withdraw, but she still remained at the Hague, and refused to receive her ultimate dismissal from any but the Queen of England. This was sent, however, and submission thus became inevitable.³

Mary passed several of the spring months at Bueren, a town in Gelderland, where was a country residence of her father-in-law; her husband spent some time with her, but his presence was occasionally required at home, and he was preparing to take the field, in his father's summer campaign. On the 20th of June, accompanied by Count William of Nassau, he paid a farewell visit to his wife, and thence hastened to the camp, where he signaled his

¹ *Gazettes de France*, pp. 130, 148, 208; *Fred. d'Orange Mém.* p. 313.

² *Holland Papers*, 174. *State Paper Office List of Servants of the Princess.*

³ *Queen of Bohemia to Sir T. Roe*, July 6, 1643.

first active campaign, as lieutenant-general of the Dutch cavalry, by a brilliant exploit against the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Antwerp.¹

In the autumn he rejoined Mary at the Hague, and as the November of the year 1643, completed the age of twelve years, at which marriage was to confirm the betrothal of the princess, the ceremony was performed, but privately, and with little state. The Prince of Orange was unwell, and Mary's aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, was prevented appearing in public by a rumour that her son, Prince Maurice, was dangerously ill. It was not, however, till the February of the following year, 1644, that Mary was fully installed in her conjugal position.² She now gave audiences, received foreign ambassadors, and fulfilled the other functions of state with a gravity and decorum, almost amusing at her age.³ The following month, she mingled in a series of court festivities on the occasion of a recent alliance between France and Holland, and presided over an entertainment given by her husband to the French deputies, the Count d'Avaux and Sieur de Servient.

About this time a family group was painted, which was afterwards engraved, of the Prince and Princess of Orange, their son,—depicted as a round-faced, unintelligent boy, very different from the character of his Vandyke portraits,—the princess his wife, and two young daughters of the House of Orange.⁴

In May, the princess was again left at the Hague, whilst her husband and father-in-law were prosecuting the long-continued warfare with Spain; they returned in autumn, and the following November, the whole family removed to their palace of Hounslerdike, a magnificent

¹ Gazette Franç. p. 805.

² Leven Wilhelm Orange, p. 120.

³ Segulier Papers, Harl. MS. 4534, f. 1107.

⁴ A copy of this scarce Print is in a volume of German Ballads on the Thirty Years' War, in the British Museum.

quadrangular cloistered building, standing in the midst of beautiful gardens, and a park planted with lime trees, where some time was spent in rural sports, amidst a large assembly of the Dutch nobility.¹ Prince William received about this time, from his father-in-law, King Charles I., the title of Admiral of England, a dignity little more than titular, but gratifying to the ambition of its young recipient; he was further complimented by the order of the garter, sent to him the following year, 1646.

The leaven of royalty interfused into the house of Orange, was not without effect upon its chiefs; they affected the title of "your royal highness," instead of "your excellence," which they had formerly borne. France gratified them by conceding it, and they were anxious to establish it as a permanent right.² But it was argued that, though due to the princess, who could not lose her rank by her marriage, it did not of right belong to the house of Orange; nor was the prince's further request that the names of himself and his family should be introduced into the public prayers more successful.³ Mary herself was strenuous in upholding her dignity, and her firmness was called into exercise on occasion of a marriage festival, which took place at the Hague, in December, 1646. The young elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, was united to Louisa, eldest daughter of the Prince of Orange. Her brother, Prince William, led the bride to church, the Queen of Bohemia, with her daughters, and the Princess of Orange were present, but Mary refused to attend either the nuptials or a splendid fête given afterwards by Count Maurice of Nassau, because it was asserted that the bride, being now an electress, had the right of precedence over royalty itself. This precedence

¹ *Gazettes de France*, p. 974; *Bray's Evelyn*, vol. i. p. 19.

² *Mém. de Richelieu et de Mazarin*, 18mo. Hagne, 1689, p. 182; *Marmontel, Choix des Mercuries*, vol. 51, p. 34; *Tallemont, Histoires*, p. 331.

³ *Gazettes de France*, p. 440.

Mary resolutely denied, and as she would not consent to accept an inferior position, and was unwilling to mar the festivities by contests of etiquette, she absented herself altogether.¹ With the struggles of her father, to maintain the cause of sinking royalty in England, Mary warmly sympathized. The king was about this time at Newcastle, after his self-surrender to the Scots, when a man-of-war arrived thither from Holland, on pretence of needing repair. A newspaper account states that "on the stern, which is richly gilded, the young Prince of Orange and his lady are accurately carved, and an orange-tree between them, laden with fruit. The captain hath had access unto his majesty, and presented a letter from the princess to him, which letter was given to him for that purpose by Van Tromp the admiral."² It was strongly surmised that the object of this vessel, which long hovered near, was to convey Charles I. to Holland, if he chose to escape. His guard was therefore doubled.

The arrival of the vessel suggested to a sharp-witted young woman a curious imposture. She personated the Princess Mary as having recently landed, and that so well as to obtain extensive credence. "A woman that gave out at Morpeth to be wife to the young Prince of Orange, and the king's daughter, by her cunning behaviour had got both apparel and attendance much answerable: and some came, believing her to be so, and kissed her hand. The business being reported to his majesty, he demanded what colour her hair was, and being told black, he said it was some counterfeit. Being brought to Newcastle, she was, by direction from his majesty, sent to the mayor who examined her; she confessed her name was Bridges, born at Bradford, in Yorkshire, and had been formerly employed to carry letters into the king's quarters, and that her necessity put her

¹ Moderate Intelligencer, Dec. 10, 17, 24, 31, 1646.

² Weekly Intel. December 1, 1646; Jan. 12, 1647.

upon this mountebank way. She was whipped out of town."¹

Separated from her own family, Mary formed an intimate attachment to her almost maternal relative the Queen of Bohemia. Elizabeth's warm heart closely entwined itself around her brother's child, and she was ever ready to give her the counsel and succour which her youth and inexperience demanded.² Another person at the court of Orange was equally alert, but less tender and judicious in her advices and dictations. This was her mother-in-law, Amelia de Solms, Princess of Orange, a lady of a noble family in the Palatinate of the Rhine, formerly a maid of honour in the Court of the Queen of Bohemia, who, possessing considerable talents, combined with a strong love of rule, obtained an influence over her husband, which became formidable to the young prince and princess, as in political matters, she and her son differed widely in their predilections. France and Spain were both wooers, earnest though secret, for the favour of the House of Orange. Its influence was not *per se* sufficient to make it of very material importance; but, in the event of a rupture between the two powers, it was all important to Spain to be secure from incursions upon the Spanish Netherlands, from the side of Holland, and equally so to the French, to secure, by means of the Hollanders, a large diversion of the Spanish forces. These two powers therefore paid assiduous court to the Princess of Orange. The French plied her with promises, protestations, and gifts; the Spaniards with gold and lands, and the latter prevailed. The princess, secretly gained over to the Spanish faction, opposed the war party, and advised peace;³ Prince William, on the other hand,

¹ December 24, Moderate Intelligencer.

² Gazettes de France, pp. 209, 695.

³ Grammont, Mém. de, vol. i. p. 202; Guiche, Comte de, Mémoires, p. 13; Estrades, Negociations, 18mo. Lond. 1743, vol. i. p. 57; Mercurio, Siri, vol. vi. pp. 1094, 1385.

was strongly attached to the interests of France: his marriage with a granddaughter of Henri Quatre, and his passion for military glory, cemented that attachment; and he as warmly advocated the prosecution of the war. A coldness between mother and son ensued, during which the Prince of Orange was taken seriously ill. His disease which was paralysis, much affected his brain: he became moody and overbearing, quite incapable of conducting the war with discretion, and so timid that the sight of a naked sword made him tremble; yet, with the weakness often contingent upon mental imbecility, he was jealous in the extreme of any intrenchment upon his authority. The proposal of the States-General that he should confide his troops to his son, and permit him to continue the war, under the control of a council, threw him into a frenzy of rage: he called the prince a young rascal that had still to pass through his noviciate in arms, had never seen war, nor done anything worthy a prince, and was utterly incapable of commanding. He protested that they wanted to bury him before he was dead: that *he* needed no son to take his place, that he was able to fulfil his own duties; and his exasperation reached such a pitch that he refused to see the prince, and the very sound of his voice led to a tempest of passion. It was even whispered that he wished to lure him into a snare by which he would scarcely escape falling into the hands of the Spaniards.¹

William, sincerely sympathizing in his father's malady, bore with magnanimity not only the personal wrongs inflicted upon himself, but the still more harassing military blunders which he saw, without the power of rectifying. One of the most eager aims of the Prince of Orange had been the possession of Antwerp; often had he exclaimed, that were that stronghold in his power, he could die content the next hour. Everything now promised fair for the

¹ Mercurio, Siri, vol. vi. pp. 106, 1094, vol. vii. p. 752.

enterprise ; the Marshal Grammont, sent by Louis XIII. at the head of a fine body of French troops, was ready to march at his orders, and, joining the prince in his camp, proposed an immediate attack. The prince replied by gravely asking the marshal to dance a courante with him ! The marshal remonstrated to Prince William that the fine forces which were sent to aid in the war, should not thus be wasting in inaction ; but the prince, shrugging his shoulders, declared that, deeply as he regretted the misrule occasioned by his father's pitiable condition, it was utterly out of his power to rectify it ; that he wished his father to be obeyed, but, that as to himself, though he had not consciously failed in his filial respect, he was regarded with such distrust by the prince that his opinion was not of the slightest weight, and his influence worse than useless. At this juncture, the Princess of Orange joined her husband, and still more effectually frustrated all hope of active warlike measures ; the 6,000 troops sent by France were dismissed, and the prince returned home, so that an opportunity, the fairest that had occurred for years, of humbling Spanish power in the Low Countries, was entirely thrown away.¹

Distressed at being witness to this state of inefficiency and disorder, Prince William begged permission to visit France, under pretext of obtaining the reversionary inauguration to the principality of Orange, which was a fief of the French crown. Though his absence would have been rather a relief to the morbid and diseased mind of his father, the nobles were extremely unwilling that he should leave Holland at such a juncture, and they therefore persuaded the Prince of Orange to refuse his permission, but at the same time to invite to his court a number of French singers, actors, ballet-dancers, &c., whose talents, they hoped, would divert the father from his

¹ Grammont, Maréchal, Mém. de, 12mo. Amst. 1717, vol. i. p. 202 ; Neufville, Hist. d'Hollande, vol. ii. p. 240.

moodiness, and be some compensation to the son for his disappointment.¹ The court became so gay that several of the resident ministers reprehended their exuberances in plain and stern language from the pulpit. Not sufficiently cautious, the worthy men spoke of these French sports in terms personally offensive to the resident French ambassador, who demanded, and succeeded in obtaining, an apology.²

All festivities, however, were cut short by the serious and aggravated illness of the Prince of Orange. He was extremely weak, and wasted by the ravages of slow fever, the departure of which, it was well known, would but herald in his dissolution. The solemn influence of God's awful messenger was felt in the family, and in his presence all jealousies and rivalries were set aside. The father and son met again, and no vain etiquette could prevent Mary from joining with her mother and sisters-in-law in attending upon the dying bed of one who had ever treated her with the tenderness of a father. The deputies of the States assembling in haste, sent a few of their number to take leave of the expiring prince, and to receive any commands he might please to entrust to them. One only, the chief pensioner, was admitted into the sick-room. He found the Princess of Orange keeping her post by the pillow of her husband's bed; Prince William and his wife, with the young princesses, sitting or standing about the room, in all the *abandon* of grief, whilst the ante-rooms were crowded with anxious inquirers.³ Three days later, on March $\frac{4}{14}$, 1647, the Prince of Orange expired. Though his death did not take place till five o'clock, P.M., the eagerness of the States to show their esteem for Prince William was such, that the very same evening they summoned a meeting of the States, elected him successor to his father as stadtholder and

¹ Ulitius to Heinsius, Jan. 29, 1646-7; Epist. Verum Illustrium, vol. iii. p. 704.

² Wiquefort, Provinces Unies, fol. Hague, 1719, p. 227.

³ Ibid.

leader of their armies, and received from him the customary oaths.¹ The following day William wrote in a respectful tone to his royal father-in-law, informing him of the recent event, and begging for himself the continuance of those friendly relationships which had been maintained between the king and his late father. This letter was followed by a deputation formally to announce his own election to the offices filled by the late prince.² One by one all the minor honours and offices to which the late prince had been elected by the different States were devolved upon his son.³

Forgetting and forgiving the wrongs inflicted on him by his father's caprices, Prince William, now Prince of Orange, employed himself diligently in making preparations for his funeral, and in showing all possible honour to his memory. Black banners were ordered to be hung out by all the troops, in garrison as well as in the field; a new mourning barge was constructed to convey the remains from the Hague to Delft, and on the 10th of May, after a delay of several weeks, in order to secure the presence of the Elector of Brandenburg, the obsequies were performed with all possible ceremony, attended by the prince in person, as chief mourner.⁴

William and Mary were now placed in a new position, at the head of the court in which they had been regarded for some time past with jealousy and suspicion; the prince by his father, the princess by her mother-in-law. Amelia of Orange never sincerely loved the wife of her son; she was jealous of the pre-eminence which her royal birth gave her, and this feeling was increased when the princess royal, as she was always called, in contradistinc-

¹ *Gazettes de France*, p. 270.

² *Turner's Hist. MSS.* vol. ii. No. 10. As a wondrous act of courtesy on the part of the Parliament, Charles I., then their prisoner, was allowed to receive and read these letters.

³ *Wiquefort, Prov. Unies, Preuves*, pp. 235 to 245.

⁴ *Gazettes de France*, pp. 338, 364, 388; *Du Puy MS.* 648, f. 210; *Bibl. Nationale*, Paris.

tion to her mother-in-law, came to occupy the first position, and she herself had to retire to a secondary one. William knew this feeling on his mother's part but too well; and though he wished to pay her the respect due to her relationship, yet his warm attachment to his wife rendered him extremely unwilling that Mary should be subjected to any of the minor species of persecution often involved in domestic disagreements. He was preparing to make a tour through the provinces of which he was now stadtholder; and before he set out, he removed his wife from the Hague to a country hunting-seat, in the neighbourhood of Woerden, where she remained during his absence. On his return he took her back with him to the Hague, and it was soon found expedient that the princess dowager should retire to Spa, to drink the waters. At this retreat, or at the courts of one or other of her married daughters, the Electress of Brandenburg and the Countess of Nassau, the princess dowager and her younger daughters contrived to spend the principal part of the three ensuing years.¹

With her own family, Mary still kept up a correspondence as frequent as circumstances permitted; but as she was by no means fluent in the use of the pen, and as confidential correspondence with England could not be carried on save by those versed in the mysteries of cyphers, to which she made no pretensions, she confined herself to the interchange of expressions of friendly good-will, of which the following, addressed to Prince Charles, is a specimen:—

“ Dear brother,

“ Though I am afraid to be troublesome, yet that cannot hinder me from writing to you, hoping by this means to keep me still in your memory, since there is nothing I should esteem myself more happy in

¹ *Gazettes de France*, pp. 448, 492, 616.

than to have that happiness as to assure you, by word of mouth, how much I am, and ever will be, dear brother,

“Your most affectionate sister and friend,
“For the prince my dear brother.” “MARY.”

Endorsed,

“Received the 27th of June, 1647, by Sir John Berkley, from the young Princess of Orange.”¹

William of Orange was now prepared to make his entrée into the town of Breda, of which he was baron. The princely residence in that place being one of the dower-palaces settled on Mary, she would gladly have accompanied him; but as her situation promised him an heir to his honours,—an object to him of the deepest interest,—and as she showed considerable delicacy, it was thought better for her to remain at home. Scarcely had the prince returned to the Hague from Breda, when he was summoned to Cleves, on account of the dangerous illness of his sister, the young Electress of Brandenburg. The disease, however took a favourable turn, and leaving the invalid at Vianen, in charge of her mother, William hastened back to his own home, there to meet with a painful disappointment of his hopes, owing to the miscarriage of the princess, which had taken place two days before, on the 1st of October. He found her still ill and in bed; but her youth, and her naturally good constitution, enabled her soon to rally.² The queen, her mother, had purposed paying her a visit, to watch over her in her time of trial; but the States took the liberty of informing the queen that if that were the sole object of her visit, it would now be rendered unnecessary. Henrietta-Maria took the hint, and did not visit Holland.³

A newspaper writer informs us, under the date of January, 1648, that “the princess royal is now persuaded

¹ MS. Historical Letters, vol ii. Art. 14, late in the Collection of Dawson Turner, Esq.

² Gazettes de France, pp. 739, 791, 941, 972; Moderate Intelligencer, Oct. 14, 1647.

³ Mod. Intelligencer, Oct 28.

by her clerk of the closet to receive the Sacrament, which yet she hath not done. This clerk is Doctor Thomas Brown, one of Christ Church, in Oxford, one of the king's chaplains, but a most superstitious one; that would receive openly with bowings and other innovated rights, but they are not permitted; for though they plead articles of marriage towards it, yet Brown is so offensive to these churches by his superstitious carriage, that they have forbidden him public officiating."¹

A peace with Spain, which was on the point of conclusion on the death of the late prince, was formally signed in the spring of 1648; a private treaty between his father and the King of Spain had been previously concluded and confirmed by the present prince, which, as it was partially brought about through the influence of the princess dowager over her husband, was very advantageous to her; for she was presented with the towns and lordships of Turnhout, Sevenbergen, and Monfort, in Brabant. The announcement of the peace was not welcomed by the Dutch in general; but as it contained a specific recognition of their national independence, it involved the most important object of the recent long-protracted struggle. William was strongly averse to the Spanish faction by which the peace had been brought about; yet he did not regret a result which, while it promised him a restoration to his rights in Flanders and Burgundy, left him more at liberty to indulge in certain projects which lay very near his heart, and which were in themselves closely connected.² They were the supply of a powerful aid to the struggling and all but sinking cause of his royal father-in-law; and should royalty in England become re-established, the erection, by the aid of that power, of his own honours and appanages in Holland, if not upon a monarchical basis, at least upon one of hereditary right. Was it to be tolerated,

¹ Moderate Intelligencer, Jan. and March, 1648.

² Gazettes de France, p. 778.

the princess would urge, that *her* son, should she ever be blessed with a boy, should be dependent for his honours upon the Dutch brewers, and bakers, and tailors? Such sentiments found a response but too ready in the ambitious heart of her youthful husband; but for the present, all eyes were turned upon England, where weighty affairs were pending, on the issue of which must depend much of the success of their high-flown designs.

Charles I. was now a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and a Dutch fleet was constantly off Cowes with the vain hope of securing his escape.¹ The Prince of Wales had retired to France, but three of the younger children, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, remained in the hands of the Parliament. In May, 1648, the Duke of York contrived to elope, and landing in Holland in female disguise, sent an intimation of his arrival to his sister. In a tumult of joyous excitement, the princess loaded with praises and rewards the faithful valet who had aided her brother's flight. Tailors were set to work to prepare seemly attire for him, and the Prince of Orange sent his own yacht to Dort, to convey him to Hounslerdike. The prince went out in another yacht to meet him on his approach, and when they landed, so great was Mary's impatience that she ran down to the street door of her palace, and regardless of the presence of bystanders, embraced her brother with passionate tenderness.² The young duke then set out, in company with his sister and brother-in-law for the Hague, where the States also, after some deliberation, sent two of their number to offer their compliments.³

Early in June, it was announced that the vice-admiral of the English fleet had brought away with him five large vessels, and three frigates, which chose to

¹ Perf. occur. Nov. 19. ² Clar. State Papers, vol. ii. Append. p. 45.

³ Gamache's Diary, Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 397; Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, 8vo. Oxf. 1819, vol. iii. p. 188; Wiquefort Prov. Unies, p. 321; Gazettes de France, p. 661.

espouse the king's cause, and that they were waiting at Helvoetsluys, in hope that the Duke of York would assume the command. Overjoyed with these tidings, the princess accompanied her brother, in state, with a long train of 200 coaches to Helvoetsluys, where a chaloupe waited to conduct them on board the admiral's ship. There, after partaking of a costly collation, the captains of the vessels came on board, were presented to the royal brother and sister, and protested, each and all, that they were willing to shed the last drop of their blood in the service of their monarch and his children. They then urged upon the young duke to become their admiral, some of the sailors even falling upon their knees before him, and conjuring him not to refuse. He hesitated awhile, but at length told them that, with permission of his royal father, he was willing to consent, provided they would take a solemn oath that they would not, under any circumstances, deliver him up to the parliamentarians.

Mary was very uneasy, and her husband not less so, when this resolution was communicated to them; they dreaded lest the whole was a plot to decoy the duke into the power of his enemies, and though they allowed him to raise levies of English troops in Holland, they were unwilling that he should leave the friendly shelter of their shores, without some more definite pledge of the fidelity of his new friends.¹ He therefore returned with them to the Hague, where, a few days later, their party was increased by the arrival of the Prince of Wales, who was sent over from Paris in great haste, to prevent any mischief that might accrue from his brother's possession of the fleet. The princess gave a family *fête* on the occasion, at which she and her husband, her two brothers, their three cousins, the Princes Rupert, Maurice, and Philip, with several English noblemen, royalists, dined together, in her palace.² The usual

¹ Moderate Intelligencer, July 20, 1648; Gaz. de France, p. 921.

² Parl. Kite, July, 1648, King's Pamphlets.

etiquette at her court, when royal relatives were her guests, was for her and them to dine alone, whilst the Prince of Orange presided at another table, to which, according to the custom of his house, he invited such officers of his army, or such of the States' deputies as he thought proper to entertain, but who could not, without breach of ceremony, have sat down to table with the sons of a king.¹

The Prince of Wales frustrated the wishes of his brother, by taking upon himself the command of the revolted fleet, with which he cruised along the English coast, and did some damage even in the mouth of the Thames. Both the royalist and parliamentary fleets endeavoured, but vainly, to obtain the support of the States, and made appeal and counter appeal against each other; but their High Mightinesses remained imperturbable in their neutrality.² The Prince of Wales returned in September, and the States gave him a formal reception at the Hague, which he entered with a train of thirty coaches, and was attended by them to the house usually assigned to foreign ambassadors, and which they offered for his use; but after a few days' residence there, he preferred accepting the hospitality of his sister. He had a formal audience from the States-General, at which they received him with royal honours, and listened respectfully to his earnest entreaty that they would interfere to rescue his father from his present dangerous position; but their reply was cold and constrained, and carefully couched in terms which should not compromise them with the parliament. It was to the effect that they greatly regretted the disorders in England, and proffered the only aid which their neutrality permitted, viz.; that of sending an ambassador extraordinary to mediate between the contending parties.³

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 234.

² Wiquefort, *Preuves*, pp. 325-329.

³ Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. vii. p. 1268; Carte's *Ormond Papers*, vol. i. p. 174; Wiquefort, p. 331.

Early in November the Prince of Wales became seriously unwell, and much alarm was excited when it was found that his disease was the small-pox. The Prince of Orange, trembling for the safety of his beloved Mary, instantly removed her, with the Duke of York, to the palace of Teiling, near Haarlem, where they remained till the prince was fully recovered and all danger of infection over.¹ They returned to the Hague for the Christmas, and early in January the young Duke of York took leave of his sister, and set out for Paris, to join the queen his mother.

A few days later was enacted the tragedy which filled every regal court in Europe with consternation,—the execution of Charles I., by his own subjects. In spite of all premonitions of this event, those whom it most concerned found it so difficult to believe that it would ever be perpetrated, that the shock was to them overwhelming. Mary dearly loved her father; her attachment to him had ever been stronger than to her mother, between whom and herself the difference of religion placed a barrier: she had corresponded with him during his imprisonment; a form of prayer for his preservation and deliverance had been constantly read at her chapel, and his death was felt by her with intense bitterness.² Even the Dutch republicans regarded it with horror; and after waiting a few days to give time for the first ebullitions of filial grief, they waited upon Prince Charles, now Charles II., whom they acknowledged as lawful sovereign and upon the princess royal, with addresses expressive of deep sympathy with their sorrows, and extreme regret at what had transpired; though it was observed that the terms in which they spoke of the perpetrators of the deed savoured too much of caution to be quite agreeable. The ministers who preached in vehement terms against the

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii. pp. 1319, 1328, 1337; Gaz. de France, p. 1532; Moderate Intellig. Feb. 15, 1649.

² Moderate Intellig. Feb. 1648.

murderers of the late king, were also reproved by the States for undue warmth.¹ The popular feeling, however, was so strong in sympathy with the royalists, that the parliamentary agent, Strickland, dared not leave his house, for fear of being torn in pieces by the mob; and not all the influence of those in authority could prevent them from breaking his windows, throwing in dirt, and parading before his house with loud shouts of "Long live King Charles and the princess royal."²

The Prince of Orange exercised great liberality towards his royal brother-in-law. He supplied him and his suite with all that was needful for their mourning; and requesting that a list might be sent in of such servants as the young king required, he ordered their wages to be paid out of his own exchequer, after the same ratio as was allowed to those of similar grade in his own household.³ Gratified with this treatment, and auguring from it happy omens for the future, Charles II. proposed remaining with his brother and sister, till arrangements could be completed for his journey to Scotland, where he was already proclaimed king;⁴ but an unforeseen circumstance occasioned his early removal, and caused much trouble to the princess. An agent from the English parliament—Dr. Dorislaus—came on a semi-official mission, the object of which was to solicit an alliance between the two republics of England and Holland. His arrival was of course extremely disgusting to the royalists; and some of the

¹ Wiquefort, p. 543. The Bishop of Down, then in Holland, preached a sermon at Breda before the Princess of Orange and Charles II., in which he drew a parallel, in a style more courtierly than reverent, between the seizure, condemnation, and crucifixion of our Saviour, and that of the late king, making it out that the preponderance of guilt was upon the heads of the murderers of Charles I.—*Martyrdom of King Charles*, 4 Heyne, 1649.

² Carte's Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 223; Neufville, vol. iii. pp. 8, 29; Journ. Commons, May 8, 1649; Moderate Intellig. 5 & 22 March.

³ Carte's Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 208.

⁴ Merc. Pragm. Kingdom's Weekly Intellig., Moderate Intellig. March 1649

cavaliers,—numbers of whom, exiled and in poverty, were lingering about the person of the young king—resolved that no fresh agent of an assembly which had murdered their sovereign should be received in the State in which they were. The very evening of Dr. Dorislaus's arrival, as he was sitting at supper, six armed men in masks entered the apartment, bade the rest of the company not to be alarmed, as they sought only the agent of the rebels of England, plunged their swords into his body, and then departed, without noise or tumult, and quietly withdrew from the Hague. The Prince of Orange was compelled, by his position as chief magistrate, to issue a declaration against the murderers, but the popular voice murmured that Dorislaus had but met his just deserts, for venturing into a city inhabited by a son and daughter of the late king, with hands still stained with his blood.¹ The State, however, proceeded to sit in judgment upon the offenders, and the Prince of Orange, who had already received remonstrances upon the inadvisability of the protracted residence of Charles II. at his court, now concurred in the propriety of his withdrawing, as the queen-mother had sent repeated and pressing entreaties that he would visit her at Paris before proceeding to Scotland or Ireland. Mary urged him, though against the wishes of most of his council, to comply with the request of their sole remaining parent.²

On the 10th of June, 1649, about six o'clock in the morning, Charles II., with the princess royal, the Prince of Orange, the Queen of Bohemia, and many lords and ladies, left the Hague for Delft, where they were received and complimented by the magistrates and burgesses, as also by those of Rotterdam, who gave them a royal salute in the market-place; thence they went on to Dort, where boats were in waiting to convey them to Breda. The Prince of Orange, though his guest was a daily

¹ *Gaz. de France*, p. 328; *Neufville*, vol. iii. f. 8.

² *Carte's Ormond Papers*, vol. i. p. 234.

pensioner on his bounty, treated him with all the distinction due to a king; and during his stay at Breda, a magnificent fête was given in his honour, at which the princess royal presided.¹

Charles II. left Breda on the 29th of June. It was observed or surmised, by those whose wishes were perhaps "father to the thought," that while his parting from his sister was marked by strong and genuine tokens of mutual love and regret, the farewell of the Prince of Orange "favoured more of compliment and outward show."² It cannot be surprising if, in spite of his sympathies for his unfortunate brother-in-law, the prince felt some relief in the departure of a guest whose anomalous position caused him constant embarrassment; but he prevailed on the States to allow the young king seven ships to convey his baggage to Flanders, and he lent him 20,000*l.* for his expenses,—a munificent sum, where a loan was almost synonymous with a gift.³ Mary, whose health had suffered from the shock of her father's death, complied with the solicitations of her husband, in consenting to try the restorative influences of the far-famed waters of the Spa, near Liege, in Westphalia. William was unable to accompany her, his presence being necessary in Holland, both for his own affairs and those of the exiled Stuarts. The princess travelled with a numerous suite, by way of Maestricht: three miles from the town she was met by the Rhinegrave of Neufville, its governor, with his officers, eleven cornets of cavalry, and all the magistracy: she entered the place amidst the roar of cannon, was honourably entertained at the castle, and the next day was escorted by the governor three miles on her onward route. Arrived at Spa,—the original place whose medicinal waters have given a name to all those subsequently discovered,—the princess was charmed with the quiet beauty of its situation, and derived so much benefit from

¹ *Gaz. de France*, pp. 396, 430, 448; *Perf. diurnal*, June 14, 25.

² *Newspapers*, June 1650.

³ *Clarend. Hist.* vol. iii p. 466.

its salubrious waters, that it became a favourite resort with her. After remaining there nearly a month, early in August she set out on her homeward journey, travelling by Aix-la-Chapelle and Maestricht, at both which places she was received with royal honours.¹

On her return, her husband, who had spent the period of her absence in visits to several of the provinces of Holland, where he was endeavouring, though silently, to strengthen his own particular interests, returned to the Hague, and was soon afterwards seized with a short but rather severe attack of illness, from which he rapidly recovered.² Early in the spring, the princess removed to Breda, to meet her brother Charles, who was returning thither from Jersey, where he had passed several months after visiting his mother in France. The Scottish commissioners who, having failed once, were sent a second time to proffer terms of assistance, were to meet him in Holland, and as the States hinted that the king would not be welcome at the Hague, it was agreed that they should meet at Breda. Manifold were the discussions and disputations about the best plans to be adopted by Charles II. in his efforts to regain his lost kingdoms. The numerous divisions in his council, the individual jealousies, the prevalence of particular over general interests, and the absence of that large-heartedness which is willing to take broad and comprehensive views, and to sacrifice private to public good, give to these movements an impression of littleness of object which renders their details uninteresting and almost disgusting.³ Among the few characters that stand out in pleasant contrast to the rest, are the Prince and Princess of Orange: the prince was willing to exert a noble and disinterested generosity, and gave his advice to

¹ Gaz. de France, 1649, pp. 591, 748; Merc. Polit. July 10.

² Ibid. 1649, p. 1089.

³ Clarendon's Rebel. vol. iii. *passim*; Gaz. de France, 1649, p. 1089 1650, pp. 451, 486.

his brother-in-law with the calmness and judgment of an experienced statesman; whilst Mary, whose natural disposition inclined her to favouritism and partisanship, held the opinions of her husband in such respect, that she seconded them without committing herself to any of the cabals that disturbed her brother's miniature court. It was resolved at length that Charles should accept the proffered conditions of the Scots, which though very distasteful, were still the most favourable he could obtain; and with a princely gift of arms, ammunition, men, money, and ships, from his brother-in-law, he bade farewell to his sister, and set forth on the ill-starred expedition which terminated in the battle of Worcester, and the apparent extinction of all his hopes of royalty.¹

Meanwhile William and Mary were fighting on their own behalf, as well as on his, the battle between the aristocratic and the democratic principles. A good criterion of the moods of the several parties composing the States-General was to be found in their consent or refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the English republic, by receiving its agent Sir Walter Strickland.

For the clear comprehension of the ensuing details, it must be kept in mind that the governing power in the United Provinces was the States-General, consisting of deputies from each of the seven provinces; the number of the deputies was not limited, but each province had only one vote, and no public measure could be passed without the concurrence of the seven votes: this arrangement often rendered business tardy. The States-General was usually represented by a council, always sitting for business, and the whole States were not summoned except on special occasions. Holland, although now giving its name to the whole country, was then only one of the seven provinces; but its wealth and position rendered it

¹ Gaz. de France, 1650, *passim*; Harris' Charles II. p. 79.

the most potent and influential. Each province had its own separate meeting of its States, which transacted its private business, and elected the deputies to represent it in the States-General. By the expression "The States of Holland," therefore, is simply meant the meeting of the deputies of that particular province, which as well as that of the States-General, took place at the Hague.¹

The people of Holland and Friesland being decidedly democratic in their tendencies, were the first to concede the point of recognizing the parliament of England, and thereby incurred the serious displeasure of the Prince of Orange.² Some steps which the prince had recently taken, and which were thought to savour a little too much of a love of rule, excited jealousy in the people, and at an assembly of the States-General, it was proposed, as Holland was now at peace with Spain, to diminish the number of the standing troops. William was well aware that this was an indirect attempt to retrench his authority, since he had the sole command of the army, and he opposed it with all his might.³ Mary entered heartily into his views; and as the decision pended upon the votes of the deputies of the States-General, her eagerness for success was such, that, throwing down the pale of courtly etiquette within which she had hitherto jealously entrenched herself, she tried to conciliate the wives of the deputies, by inviting them to her palace, and even visiting them in their houses. The *ruse* was only partially successful; the reduction of the troops was voted by a small majority.

The Province of Holland, however, not thus content, proposed further reforms, which were disapproved, yet notwithstanding this, they carried them out, beyond, and in direct opposition to, the votes of the States-General, who on their part issued counter-orders. William re-

¹ Bentivoglio, Description of United Provinces, fol. Lond. 1692.

² Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 112, 116, 118, *et. seq.*

³ Wiquefort, Preuves, pp. 412-4.

solved to have a personal audience with the Holland States; and, supported by deputies from the States-General, he presented himself in their assembly, and urged upon them not to persist in a course which was in opposition to the feeling of so many of their compatriots.¹ He retired during their deliberations, but the result was that they still persisted in adherence to their former resolutions. On the following day William and his deputies had a second audience, in which one of the latter declared, on behalf of the rest, that the conduct of the Province of Holland was totally at variance with the Articles of Union; and that, by their peremptory refusal to submit to the majority, they had transgressed the law, and laid themselves open to prosecution. The States refused any reply, beyond complaints and threats of castigation to the deputy, for the language he had used.² The States-General then proposed that the prince, attended by their deputies, should visit in person several of the principal towns in Holland, and argue the matter with the magistracy.³ This resolution was accompanied by the important proviso that William should take such measures as under these circumstances seemed to him needful, to secure peace and union.

Thus authorized, he set out, at the head of a deputation of his own selection.⁴ His strong opposition to the reduction of the army increased the suspicions already entertained in the Province of Holland, that he was aiming at more than the mere conservation of his ancestral honours. The daughter of a king, it was said, was urging him on to make her a queen, and that had royalty prevailed in England, the Stuart monarchs would have made William king of Holland; that there would be no bounds to the ambition of a prince who was himself a lover of power, and who was incessantly spurred on to effort by his wife. In consequence of these apprehen-

¹ Wiquefort, pp. 470-2.

³ Ibid. pp. 440, *et seq.*

² Ibid. pp. 473-

⁴ Ibid. p. 142.

sions, which were not altogether groundless, several of the towns, especially Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Delft, resolutely refused to comply with the wishes of the prince, or even to grant him an audience, in his capacity as head of the deputation. Indignant in the extreme, William returned to the Hague, refused terms of accommodation offered by the Holland deputies; and whilst the States of Holland were sitting in conclave, he summoned his soldiers, many troops of whom had been brought into the Hague, to the place of their assembly, guarded all the entrances, seized six of the obnoxious deputies, at the head of whom was Cornelius de Wit, and committed them to custody, as his Uncle Maurice had done, years before, with Barnevelt and Grotius.¹

This bold step was immediately followed by another still bolder: the troops were wholly devoted to their prince, and their enthusiasm in his favour was increased by his warm championship of their cause. They were therefore prepared blindly to obey his behests. He, hoping by a decisive stroke, to intimidate his opponents, ordered bodies of men to march by different routes, and in the darkness of night, towards Amsterdam: the first company to enter by the canal, in the boats of the tradespeople, to seize the Hôtel de Ville, open the gates to their companions, and make themselves masters of the town. Unfortunately for the success of this well-concerted plan, a Hamburgh postman, travelling by night on his mission, perceived a body of troops on march towards Amsterdam, and hastened on to give warning to the magistrates. They, all unconscious who the enemy might be, carefully shut up the town, and barred all ingress; so that when band after band of soldiers appeared, not only was all chance of a surprise cut off, but the citizens showed signs of preparation for a firm and vigorous resistance;

¹ Raynal, *Hist. de Stadthouderat*, vol. i. p. 191; *Epist. virorum Illus.* vol. i. p. 731; *Négociations de Pomponne*, vol. ii. MS. 601; *Bibl. Arsenal, Paris*; *Basnage, Annales des Prov. Unies*, vol. i. p. 179; *Trevor, Life of Will. III.* 8vo. Lond. 1835, vol. i. p. 7; *Wiquefort*, pp. 187-9.

and absolutely refused entrance to his troops, although furnished with a written order of admission from himself.¹ William, who to avoid suspicion, had remained in the Hague till he supposed the deed accomplished, and the town in the power of his army, now marched forth; but when he approached the town, he found his troops outside the walls, and a muster of 12,000 men prepared to resist them.

In spite of these untoward circumstances, William's firmness did not forsake him; he resolutely demanded entrance, told the citizens that he had come to secure the public peace, and repress sedition in Amsterdam, at the head of 30,000 of the very men who, in his father's time, caused Spain to tremble; and that if they hoped that a few inexperienced citizens would be able to resist him, they would find themselves mistaken. Such was his reputation for military skill, that the city authorities dreaded to exasperate him by a resolute refusal. They therefore skilfully prolonged their conferences, until time was afforded for opening the sluices, by which great part of the level country round the town was laid under water, and thus free access debarred the soldiers. The prince was thus a second time outwitted; and strong in their natural defences, and in the consciousness of the sympathies of many of their fellow-countrymen, the Amsterdammers refused to open their gates to the soldiery; but they consented that the prince should enter with only his body-guard. A compromise was then agreed upon: William obtained the deposition of the obnoxious deputies, on condition of his liberating them from confinement, and consenting to a reduction of the troops, though much smaller than that originally proposed.²

The agreement took place on August 3rd, 1650. In point of actual advantage, the Prince of Orange was a

¹ This letter, addressed to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, is printed in the "Perfect weekly account," 7th August, 1650.

² Stadthouderat, p. 191; *Négot. de Pomponne, ut sup.*; Neufville, *Hist. Holl.* vol. iii. p. 40.

gainer by this transaction ; but, in popularity and *prestige*, he lost far more than he had gained. It was very evident that some grand scheme for the subjugation of the democratic party had been planned, and had failed, and the Hague was filled with satirical verses and pasquinades. It was said that the bank of Amsterdam had been the chief object of the late attack, and was to have afforded the sinews of war for the subjugation of the other provinces ; that France and Sweden were in secret alliance with the Prince of Orange ; that it was agreed for him to become Earl of Flanders and Holland, and Duke of Brabant, and take his position as an independent prince.¹

William was unwilling to return to the Hague ; he shrunk from the derision to which he felt that the failure of his project had exposed him ; and he was also afraid lest the unpopularity which he had incurred would prevent the States from meeting and welcoming him with customary ceremony ; yet he was anxious to rejoin his wife, who was plunged into sorrow by the tidings of the recent death of her sister Elizabeth, at Carisbrook Castle. Mary's situation precluded her from any exertion or excitement, and rendered it imprudent for her to travel to him. His friend, Count Horn, therefore arranged that he should return privately, as from a hunting expedition, rather than from a military enterprise, and thus dispense with ceremonial.²

Mary sincerely sympathised in her husband's mortification, which was felt quite as keenly by her as by himself : still they had hopes for the future, and the princess was much comforted by the conclusion of a treaty with France, involving two points : the first, a breach with Spain, which would increase her husband's power by making his mili-

¹ Merc. Politicus, Dec. 19, 1650 ; Neufville, vol. iii. p. 40 ; The Disturbed Amsterdammer, 4to. Lond. 1650 ; Treaty States Holl. and Pr. Or. 4to. Lond. 1650.

² Basnage, vol. i. p. 177.

tary services essential to the State ; the second, a resolution to revenge the death of her father, dethrone Cromwell, and restore Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.¹

Unwilling to lose any opportunity of strengthening his interests, William took a journey into Guelderland, the province which most warmly espoused his cause, to be present at the meeting of the States of that province. On his return, he stayed a short time at Dieren to hunt, but symptoms of indisposition hastened his journey homewards.² Scarcely had he reached the Hague when fever appeared, slight at first, but afterwards increasing, and the disease was pronounced to be small-pox, though of a mild type. Mary was extremely uneasy at the indisposition of her husband, but the dictates of prudence, enforced by his wishes, strictly forbade her personal attendance upon him, as she was expecting within a fortnight to become a mother. She was reassured by the physicians, who characterized the attack as slight, and expressed great hope of the speedy recovery of their patient. He expressed a wish to make a more formal will, but they assured him that the precaution was unnecessary. A sudden change, however, took place for the worse. The physicians, all along sanguine as to the result, never spoke of death till he was almost past consciousness, and then his chaplain, with more regard to his situation as a prince than as a dying man, directed "his most serene highness" to behold, with the eye of faith, heaven opened, and the Son of God sitting at the right hand of the Father, and stretching out the arms of mercy to receive him; but added not a word of the necessity of preparation for the solemn change impending.³ The Prince expired at nine o'clock P.M., on the 6th of November, 1650, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

It was at first attempted to conceal the melancholy tidings from the princess, and to delude her with false

¹ Estrade's Negotiations, vol. i. pp. 99, 101 ; *Négociat. de Pomponne*, vol. ii. MS. 601, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris.

² Basnage, vol. i. p. 177 ; Sellius, *Hist. des Prov. Unies*, 4to. Paris, 1757, vol. i. p. 293.

³ Le Clerc, *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, fol. Amst. 1737, vol. ii. p. 288 ; *Merc. Polit.* 7-14, Nov.

reports, until the hour of nature's trial should be over; but this was found impossible. Her restless spirit drew perpetual auguries of ill; her nose had bled profusely; she was haunted with visions of her dead father. All this she thought ominous, and her quick ear, ever on the alert to anything that transpired in the sick chamber, detected the confusion, the tread of hurrying feet which told of something unusual, and her inquiries were too earnest, too agonizing, to brook evasion or subterfuge. Informed of the fatal truth, Mary rushed away from her attendants to the room where her dead husband was laid; and, heedless of danger or remonstrance, threw herself, with dishevelled hair, upon his corpse, and clung to his cold lips, filling the palace with wild shrieks and passionate lamentations, and wishes that she too had died with him. She fell at length into a fainting fit, and, when roused by means of scents and stimulants, was restored to something like calmness, and in this interval was carried out of the apartment. But the calmness was only transient: again aroused to the consciousness of a life that was almost hateful, her sorrow bordered upon distraction; in all the restlessness of agonized feeling, she rambled about the palace till long after midnight, when the exhaustion of nature compelled her to fling herself upon her widowed couch, and sleep brought with it some relief.¹ The Spanish ambassador, who waited upon her to request an audience, was postponed admission until the following day, when etiquette required that the young widow should receive him. In the evening of that day, she also gave an audience to a deputation of the States-General, who waited upon her with condolences, but her emotion so overcame her that she could only articulate, amidst her sobs, these few broken words: "I thank you, my lords, for the comfort you give me, and do recommend unto you the miserable condition of my person."¹

Rumours were widely spread, but not generally believed, that the negligence and unskilfulness of the physicians, or the treachery of some of his opponents, who

¹ Westhovius, Wilh. Hen. Pr. Aur. Vita, 4to. Dort. 1695, p. 2; Leven Wm. Orange, pp. 742, 747; Merc. Polit. 7-14 Nov.

administered poison to the prince in a glass of lemonade, had caused the sudden and fatal termination of his sickness. Poison was not a Dutch mode of revenge; and, if secondary agencies were to blame, the fault was probably in the medical theories of the day, which prescribed profuse bleedings to a patient already sinking and exhausted by fever: a system which subsequently proved fatal to several of the royal family of England. "Madam," writes a resident at the Hague to the Marchioness of Ormond, "I dare not give you my apprehensions upon this sad disaster; they are too melancholy for your condition. I only say that the excellentest youth that I ever knew is lost, and that I think his wife will soon follow, for she is within ten days of being brought to bed, and is so seized with grief that no consideration can prevail with her to think of life. Though her sorrows be immoderate, yet they are much to be pardoned, considering that she has not only lost a husband, but a passionate lover, and the kindest friend to her family that could be desired."¹

The following eloquent passage occurs in a sermon preached at the funeral of the prince by one of his chaplains.¹ After alluding to the virtues of the deceased, the hopes still fondly dwelling upon his unborn infant, and the sorrow occasioned by his loss, he adds:—

"But all words fail us when we come to cast our eyes upon the desolate young princess; young a widow, and with child, and sooner a widow than a mother! How many swords have pierced her soul! how many calamities have beaten upon her, like so many crowding waves, one upon the back of another! what deeps has she seen rolling over her, and ready to swallow her! She has nothing to direct her eyes to but to heaven, for she can never so little cast her eyes down to the earth, but she finds herself obliged to groan for horror and sorrow of heart; a mother in banishment, a brother in trouble, a father upon the scaffold, and, to fill the measure brim-full, a husband in a coffin. Let us draw a curtain before it, as Timantes of old did, for *this* sorrow admits no colours."

¹ By Morus, 4to. Lond. 1694.

MARY,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH of a young Prince of Orange—His Baptism—Funeral of the late prince—Disputes about the position of the young prince—And his tutorship—Will of the late prince in favour of Mary—Questioned and opposed—Appeal to law—Decision in her favour—Different opinions on it—Protest entered—Joint tutors appointed—Republicanism of Holland—Mary's attachment to the Stuart cause—Keeps the anniversary of her father's death—Annoyed at the reception of Parliamentary Ambassadors—Duke of York at the Hague—Requested to withdraw—Prince William of Friesland—Charles II. lands in Holland—Buckingham reported to woo the princess—Factions in the court of Charles II.—Mary embraces the Chancellor's party—Attempts to recover the Scotch regalia—Lady Stanhope and Heenvliet suspected of making a tool of the princess—Mary's warm defence of them—Charles II. fails in reconciling her to the princess dowager—Illness of the young prince—Arrival of the Duke of Gloucester—Mary wishes to adopt him—The queen summons him to Paris—Mary desires to follow him—But is opposed—Efforts of the Orange faction—Cromwell's negotiations—Mary's letter to Nicolas—Charles II. proposes to visit his sister—The States object—Mary helps her brother in secret—Two parties in the States—Bill of exclusion against the young prince passed—Mary's distress—Joint remonstrances of his tutors—De Wit—The prince's household remodelled—Principality of Orange—Diversions at the Hague—Mary's removal to Breda—Joins her brother at Spa—Spy detected—They go to Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne—Visit the Duke of Neuburgh—Part at Santen.

THE emotions excited in Holland by the death of the Prince of Orange were of the most conflicting character. Those deputies who had been deposed regarded it as an interposition from heaven, for they were now honourably restored to their former offices, and the people of Am-

sterdam, whose liberties had been attacked, fired *feux de joie*, shewed other tokens of rejoicing, and even struck a medal insulting to his memory.¹ On the other hand, the court party wrote, and spoke of him as one of whom the world was not worthy, and whose decease would be followed by terrible calamities. Both parties awaited with much anxiety the accouchement of the princess royal, since on the sex of her expected infant much was felt to depend. Unbounded, therefore, was the exultation in the courtly circle when, on the evening of the $\frac{4}{14}$ th of November, 1650, her nineteenth birthday, and within eight days after the death of her husband, Mary gave birth to a son. The tidings spread like wild-fire that a young prince was born. Messenger after messenger, deputed or voluntary, came to announce it to the president of the States, who immediately sent couriers to convey it into all the provinces, and bonfires blazed at the Hague till five o'clock in the morning.² An academic oration was delivered by Spanheim, speaking of his birth like that of another Isaac, coming when almost beyond hopes, as the most fortunate circumstance that could have happened to still the rage of faction, which would now only roar to its own destruction. Many a courtly lyric was poured forth, in which wailing and rejoicing were strangely blended, in the mourning for the dead prince, and the gratulations over his new-born son.³

But, if thus welcome to his party, how much more so was her infant boy to his mother! The gushings of newly-awakened maternity first aroused the young widow from the deep melancholy into which she had been plunged, and led her once more to look upon life with

¹ Phaeton thrown out from the chariot of the Sun, with the motto, "*Magnis excidit ausis*," and on the reverse, a restive horse prancing before the town of Amsterdam, with the legend, "*Crimine ab uno disce omnes*, 1650, 30 July"; Basnage, *Annales Prov. Unies*, vol. i. p. 178.

² Wiquefort, vol. i. p. 768.

³ A number of these are collected in a volume of Dutch Political Tracts of the period, in the British Museum.

interest, and to feel that in the charge confided to her she had still something to love and to live for.

Though the remains of the father still lay unburied, awaiting the interval needed for funeral preparations, the young prince was publicly baptized on the $\frac{5}{15}$ th of January; but this first ceremonial, in which he bore a part, was a fitting antetype of his future career, for it was fraught with dissension and discord. A collision between his mother and grandmother, Amelia of Orange, took place in reference to his name. Mary wished the boy to bear the name of her father and brother—CHARLES. The princess dowager objected to it strongly as of too sinister omen, and urged that he should rather be called after his own father, whose virtues it was hoped he would emulate, and she carried her point. The godfathers were the States-General, and those of Holland and Zealand, who offered their services on the occasion,¹ and the towns of Delft, Leyden, and Amsterdam; the godmothers, the Queen of Bohemia and Princess Dowager. The latter wished the infant to be carried to church by the Duke of York, then at the Hague; but Mary objected, and to please his sister the duke declined. The babe was therefore borne by a Dutch lady, daughter of the *Sieur de Brederode*, and wife of Count Christian of Dohna, and was presented at the font by his aunt, *Mdlle. Albertine of Orange*. The States-General bestowed on the infant prince a pension of 8000 livres, to which those of Holland added 5000. The republican party noticed with jealousy that the child was robed in ermine, that the procession consisted of no less than thirty mourning coaches, with six horses each, and that halberdiers rode by the side of his state coach, a parade which they considered an undue affectation of royalty.²

¹ Wiquefort, *Preuves*, p. 302.

² Basnage, vol. i. p. 118; *Gaz. de Fr.* 1651, p. 188; *Merc. Polit.* Jan. 23.

On the 8th of March, four months after his decease, the body of the late prince was conveyed to the tomb of his fathers at Delft. A body of 400 guards, with lowered muskets and trailing pikes, preceded the open mourning chariot in which the coffin was placed; then followed the Duke of York, the princes of Portugal, and Edward Prince Palatine, as chief mourners, with other princes and counts of the house of Nassau; the officers of the household, heralds, ensign, and standard bearers; the Dutch nobility, the States-General, officers of the council, deputies of provinces and towns, &c. Sixteen companies of burgesses closed the procession, and with feelings of regret, perchance, in some cases, overbalanced by self-gratulation, consigned to the dust the ashes of him who was at once the hope, the pride, and the dread of his country. But even a ceremonial so solemn was not allowed to pass without disputes of etiquette. James, Duke of York, considering himself to represent his widowed sister, claimed the post of chief mourner, which was disputed by the princes of Portugal, as being blood relatives to the deceased prince. The wishes of the royal widow were so far fulfilled that her brother was maintained in his post; but the Portuguese princes quitted the church before the solemnity was over.¹

The princess ordered a coin to be struck, jointly commemorative of herself and her husband, bearing on the obverse his bust, with his legend, whilst the reverse bore a portrait bust of herself, in the toga dress, with her hair elaborately braided; circumscribed "Mary, by God's grace princess of Great Britain, dowager of Orange," &c.²

Two important points, in reference to the infant Prince of Orange, were now to be settled, upon the decision of

¹ Gaz. de France, p. 332, Account of the Funeral; Domestic papers, various, bundle 363, art. 21, State Paper Office; Merc. Politicus, March 20, 27.

² Van Loon, *Nederlandsche Historipenning*, vol. iii. p. 352.

one of which hinged the very principles of the government of Holland, and on that of the other, the future position of his royal mother.

The first question was, whether the prince should or should not be at once elected to the offices in the republic filled by his late father. They had been hereditary in the House of Orange since the emancipation of the United Provinces from the Spanish yoke, but the princes who had filled them had been bold and brave men, who had worthily led the armies of the republic. As the charges were such as involved active military service, their bestowal upon a mere infant, whose place would have to be supplied by a deputy, would in fact be a recognition of the right of hereditary government, which the sturdy republicans had hitherto stoutly opposed. Immediately on his birth his grandmother, the princess dowager, had written to all the provinces that she was persuaded of the delight they would feel in the knowledge that the race of the founders of the republic was not extinct, and that the son just born would strengthen the edifice raised by his ancestors, and she expressed her hope that they would not fail to confer on the infant the charges of Stadtholder and Captain-General.¹ Prince William of Nassau, governor of Friesland, and next male heir to the House of Orange, had also written to offer himself for the fulfilment of any office the States might be pleased to devolve upon him.

The States-General had already been in deliberation, and agreed to suspend their private differences at a crisis so important, and unite together for the general good. They had refused to receive a deputy who was sent to occupy the place of first noble, usually held by the family of Orange, during the interim elapsing before the birth of the young prince, on the ground that that position was elective and not hereditary; and their subsequent move-

¹ Basnage, vol. i. p. 181; Boyd, *Life of Will. III.* vol. i. p. 9; Wiquefort, *Preuves*, p. 779.

ments tended in the direction of absorbing into their own hands the power formerly exercised by the Orange princes. They agreed that the nomination to the vacant magistracies, which was a privilege usually enjoyed by the Stadtholder, should now devolve upon the several cities, and refused to listen to the court party, who requested that it might remain in abeyance till the prince was old enough to exercise his power;¹ they even ordained that not only the ordinary soldiers, but the guards of the Prince of Orange should take an oath of fidelity to the States.²

The second question was, who was to exercise the office of guardian to the young prince; the candidates being his mother, his grandmother, the Elector of Brandenburg, his uncle by marriage, and Emmanuel and Louis, princes of Portugal, descended from William I. of Orange.

Before the princess was able to leave her sick chamber, she sent for the Chief Pensioner, and placed in his hands a paper which she begged he would faithfully convey and read to the States. It contained a request that no resolution should be passed, subversive of her claim as mother to be tutrix, till the will of the late prince, her husband, had been examined, which she declared herself ready to produce.³ They requested to see it, and accordingly she placed in their hands a document found in the cabinet of the prince, which was a will in the handwriting of his secretary, with a codicil dated 21st December, 1649; by which he conferred on the princess the office of tutrix to his children, should he leave any, and increased her dower revenue to 20,000*l.* a-year, if she had a child, or 15,000*l.* if she was childless, and also left her for life the use of all his residences, furniture, &c.⁴ This document was read with attention, in spite of the protestations of Amelia

¹ *Gaz. de France*, 1650, pp. 1542, 1656.

² *Hist. des Princes d'Orange*, 12mo. Amst. 1693, p. 148.

³ *Wiquefort, Prov. Unies*, p. 780.

⁴ *Ibid. Preuves*, p. 782.

of Orange and the Elector of Brandenburg, who remonstrated warmly against its informality, and even called in question its authenticity. The princess royal averred that according to the decision of lawyers, the simple indication of a parent's will is sufficient to decide on the election of a tutor, and claimed the office, though she was willing that the accounts of her son's revenue should be audited by commissioners selected by the princess dowager, and that persons chosen by the State should assist her with their counsels. The princess dowager, on the other hand, objected that her daughter-in-law was still in her minority, and therefore incapable of the office of tutrix: that it would moreover be dangerous to entrust it to her, as her tenderness for the exiled Stuarts, her brothers, would lead her to courses most injurious to the interests of the House of Orange. She also reiterated her strong opinion that the will produced should not be regarded as a valid document, because it was destitute of some of the usual legal formulæ. As, however, it was signed by the prince and one witness, sealed in three places with his private seal, and folded in an envelope which recorded its due registration before the public notary at the Hague, any attempt to invalidate it proved fruitless.¹

The princess royal, impatient of delays, began at once to exercise the functions of the still undecided tutelage; she retrenched some useless expenses, filled up several vacancies in the magistracy of Breda, and declared that she would act in a similar manner in all places over which her son had any rights. The States referred the decision to the court of justice, and during its tardy deliberations, another document turned up of great service to Mary's cause. It was the copy of an ordinance from the late prince to Count Dhona, governor of the town of Orange, commanding him to maintain the place for the princess

¹ Wiquefort, *Preuves*, p. 781.

royal, in case of his death, and to obey no orders but hers. The original of this order, duly signed and sealed, had been placed by the prince in the hands of Count Dhona, with orders not to open it whilst he, the prince, was living, and the count had taken an oath to execute faithfully the unknown orders it contained, should he survive the prince. Still as Dhona was a subject of the house of Brandenburg, and a relative of the princess dowager, Mary feared the non-fulfilment of his promise. She therefore sent an agent to Orange to secure the point, but by the contrivance of the princess dowager who warned Dhona of his arrival, the agent was taken prisoner. Dhona was then confirmed in his government by the States-General.

Meanwhile the Elector of Brandenburg arrived at the Hague, to support the interests of his mother-in-law. He wrote a threatening letter to M. de Beverweert, one of the States' deputies, who was suspected of guiding the princess royal by his counsels, and another, still sterner, to Heenvliet, the superintendent of her house, accusing him of being the cause of these domestic disorders, and adding that he had arms long enough to make him repent it. Heenvliet replied that the late King of England had given him commission to watch over his daughter's interests, and that neither menaces nor persuasions would induce him to relinquish his charge; but that his attention was confined to her domestic affairs, and that with the tutorship he did not meddle. Beverweert also disclaimed having sown divisions, declared he should still continue to counsel the princess to the best of his ability, and complained to the States of the elector's threats.¹

Whilst the court was engaged in weighing these rival claims, with Dutch tardiness, the two ladies, principals in the contest, were growing more and more exasperated against each other. The princess dowager sent a warning

¹ Brienne Papers, Harl. MS. 4551, f. 80.

letter to the council of her grandson, that she should hold as null all their actions, and threatened them with her future resentment if they obeyed her rival. The princess royal, who had a strong advantage in possessing the person of her child, induced all his officers to take oaths to her.¹ Whilst both parties waited with impatience the verdict of the court, another danger supervened, which had well nigh rendered nugatory all their consultations. The infant prince, a delicate child, was seized with convulsions so severe, that it was considered impossible for him long to survive, unless they could be checked. It was at first supposed that his Dutch wet-nurse did not suit his constitution, and an English woman was sought out and substituted, but still the fits continued, day by day, and at one time he was supposed to have actually expired. The anxiety of his mother was terrible, as she hung over the little frame in which the life, so doubly precious to her, seemed to be quivering, and all but extinct. The rough anti-royalists surlily observed, that Madame Tarquin, as they named this branch of the Stuarts, need not trouble herself so much to have her young brat made Stadtholder, for he was a sickly thing, and would never live to be good for anything. To the surprise of all, the boy took a turn for the better, and rallying with the elastic rapidity of childhood, he soon recovered his usual health.²

His recovery renewed the necessity of a decision in reference to the tutelage; and, after a tedious deliberation, it was given in favour of the princess royal. It purported that she should be tutrix of the person of her son, and disposer of all vacant offices about him and in his possession, whilst the princess dowager and the elector of Brandenburg should be joint inspectors of his property. This decision was regarded with different eyes by different

¹ *Gazettes de France*, p. 271.

² *Perfect Account*, and *Mercur. Polit.* April, 1651.

parties. A red-hot republican informs us, referring to the deceased prince, "that though this young man be both dead and buried, yet his ghost haunts us still, and we are under somewhat more than an ordinary pupillage to the surviving faction; which is one cause why the arguments and insinuations of the princess royal have been so effectual as to crush the designs of the old dowager, and gain the guardianship of the young thing to herself".¹

The warm-hearted Queen of Bohemia, on the other hand, writes: "You will understand by this dispatch, how our dear niece has got just sentence of being declared absolute tutoress of her son. Most of the people of this town were as much joyed at it as we were; but, indeed, I hear of none that were not satisfied with it, except those that lost their designs by it."

A royalist at the Hague thus details the circumstances in a letter to Lord Culpepper:—"The princess royal hath obtained a favourable sentence in the court of Holland, but hath met with some ill accidents since; at first a great mutiny of the people against her friends in Zealand, in which province she thought herself most secure;—secondly, the misfortune of her messenger she sent to Orange, who is imprisoned by the governor (being of the house of Dhona and nephew of the princess dowager), and a declaration made by him to hold the town for the young Prince of Orange, without acknowledging the princess royal, although it appears that the Prince of Orange had, in his life-time, given him a mandate, sealed up, not to be opened but in case of the prince's death, and had made him swear, or faithfully promise, to perform the contents of it, which was to obey the princess royal; but the interests of the princess dowager prevailed more with him.—A third thing is, that the Elector of Brandenburg, who, by the sentence is joined with the

¹ Mercurius Politicus, March 13, 1651.

princess dowager, is said to be coming hither. I was always of opinion, and am still, that a reasonable accommodation with the princess dowager might have been very useful for the princess royal, but it could not stand with the advantages of some other persons."¹

It had indeed been well if the proud spirit of Mary had been willing to conciliate her mother-in-law; but angry feelings ran so high between them that the princess-dowager, dissatisfied with the verdict already given, pleaded for and obtained a revision. Meanwhile, the elector of Brandenburg, with his wife, Louisa of Orange, arrived at the Hague; and the princess-dowager, availing herself of the still unsettled contest between Mary and the electress on the point of precedence, prevailed on the latter not to visit her sister-in-law, nor take the slightest notice of her. The electress was anxious to see her nephew, the young Prince of Orange; but in order to do so, she paid him an unexpected visit on the Sunday morning, when it was well known that the royal mother would be absent at public worship. On the Tuesday following, she and her husband left the Hague, without having even seen the princess royal.²

Mary was still further disturbed by the proceedings of the States-General, who were closely examining the secretaries of her late husband, touching the design upon Amsterdam, with the evident intention of implicating and of punishing Herr van Sommerdyk, a firm friend of the House of Orange, and one of the wealthiest men in the States. They failed in his inculpation; but so much was elicited in proof of the ambition of the late prince, which it appeared had been opposed by his mother and encouraged by his wife, that an impression was made decidedly to the disadvantage of Mary, which contributed materially

¹ Robert Long to Lord Culpepper, Hague, June, 1651, Birch MS. 4162, fol. 200.

² Holland Corresp. bundle 175, State Paper Office.

to produce a change in the decree respecting the tutelage given at first in her favour.¹ By this last sentence, four joint tutors were assigned,—the princess dowager and Elector of Brandenburg on the one part, the princess royal and Count of Landsberg, a grandson of the House of Orange,² on the other; but as this latter noble, who was merely put in as a make-weight on the side of the princess royal, begged to be excused from acting, it was agreed that she should have a double vote, equivalent to the other two united. The decree, therefore, ran to the following effect:—

1. That the tutelage shall be divided into two voices, of which the princess royal shall have one, as mother of the prince, and the Elector of Brandenburg and Princess of Orange the other, as tutors on the father's side.

2. This tutelage to include the person and property of the prince, with the preservation of his rights, privileges, and pre-eminences, and the administration of his domains, in all which they are to act in common accord.

3. This shall include also the disposal of his revenues, arrangement of his household, and management of his person, in which they shall agree as to the annual expenditure necessary.

4. The dispute in reference to the validity of the act by which the late Prince of Orange bequeathed the principality of Orange to his widow, shall be decided by the courts of justice within a fortnight, as shall also the right claimed by the princess royal, and disputed by her rivals, to dispose of all vacant offices in her dower lands.

5. Both parties shall agree to consider the judgment of the court as final, and to make no further appeal.

6. All disposal of benefits and charges, in places not

¹ Carte's Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 44.

² His father was son of John, Duke of Deux-Ponts; his mother, Amelia, daughter of William I, Prince of Orange.

belonging to the princess by dower-right, shall be equally divided between herself and the princess dowager.

7. A few exceptions in behalf of each to be made to this article.

8. The five councillors comprising the late prince's council, to be re-appointed by both parties, each adding one member of her own choosing.

9. The officers dependant on the council to be appointed alternately by both parties.

10. All grants of either party to be issued under the name of the Prince of Orange, and by commission of the three tutors.

11. All benefices to be bestowed on suitable persons, without bribe or purchase-money.

12. Should fresh disputes arise, they shall be submitted to the arbitrage of four persons, two chosen by each party, who may be empowered to choose a fifth to give a casting vote if needful.

13. All law-suits arising from former disputes for the tutelage, to be nullified.

These terms disconcerted Mary, since instead of possessing half the power uncontrolled, as would have been the result of the first arrangement, her authority was now divided with others. She spoke at first of making an appeal against the decree.¹ A little mature reflection shewed the princess that as the current in her favour was

¹ During this interval of hesitation, her views are explained, both with reference to the decree and to the Principality of Orange, in the following letter to one of her friends in Orange :—

“ Mons. S.,

“ Hague, August 2, 1651.

“ Being much gratified by your zeal and fidelity for my service, and that of the prince my son, according to the account given me by your brother and the testimony of the letter which he has conveyed to me from you, I would assure you of my good will, the effects of which you shall not fail to experience according to the opportunities I may have of remembering your merits.

“ For the sake of avoiding the embarrassment of an extraordinary convocation of the Parliament at Orange, I have thought it fitting to

rather ebbing than flowing, it would be wiser policy to submit to the decree, than to urge its reconsideration. Another inducement to do so arose from the fact that she had herself been guilty of an informality which laid her open to attack. On the decease of the late prince, following the natural impulse of a wife who had been loved and trusted by her husband, she had opened his private cabinet, examined its contents, and made what use she

wait its ordinary meeting in October, in order then to be acknowledged Regent, according to what is done in such cases and according to the declaration which that Parliament has already sent me, being still resolved to have copies given to them from the registers which are here, of the forms observed in this kind of declaration. I do not think that the other party will wish to take advantage of pretexts, as of the sentence which has here been given at the Great Council, to cause the Parliament to assemble at Orange; for that would force me to make a protestation of violence and nullity, because it is against my intention and my orders; never having thought of submitting the affairs of Orange to any court of justice, which will be observed in the very express exceptions which I have always made, even in the terms of accommodation; and this as much because it would have been derogatory to the order of the Parliament of Orange, to which alone it belongs, as an independent and sovereign court, to make this declaration, as because the regency of a sovereign state is altogether different from the tutelage of a private property. Besides that, the late prince has committed to me the direction of Orange by a special act, written and signed with his own hand, and if he had left a similar one, equally authentic, in regard to his other possessions, there would have been neither law-suit nor dispute. But for all this, the sentence above-said is yet not decisive (subject besides to divers interpretations between my side and that of the House of the deceased), there being another appeal here, called Revision, which is presently to be attempted, in order to hinder the execution of the sentence and to enable me to hold all together. This revision will commence with the month of September, and afterwards will last little more than two or three weeks, and may overturn all preceding decrees if the points in dispute are not meanwhile settled in some other way. I will add nothing to these particulars, except my persuasion that in Orange they will not act otherwise than according to equity, to ordinary forms, the express wishes of the late prince, and the aforesaid declaration; and that you will always contribute to it what you can. Assuring you that I am, Monsieur S.,

“Your very true friend,

“MARY.”

[*From the French original, late in the collection of M. Donnadieu.*]

pleased of the papers, instead of affixing a seal to the cabinet, and leaving it until proper authority was given for its inspection. This act of imprudence exposed her to a charge which without doubt was groundless,—of having forged the draught will which she had produced from this receptacle; and her unwitting offence was only to be passed over on condition of her giving a solemn promise to replace everything in the same order that she had found it. It was at first proposed to exact her oath on the subject, but that indignity was spared her. This circumstance, by affording her rival an advantage over her, rendered Mary more willing to accede to the proposed compromise.¹

Accordingly, on August 15th, 1651, both parties signed the decree, solemnly pledging themselves to the observance of its stipulations, the fulfilment of one of which involved a moral impossibility; as it decreed that two high-spirited women, already exasperated against each other, should “act in accord,” and that upon points where their interests were not always in unison.² On one subject, however, they fully agreed, and that was the importance of procuring for their infant charge the honours enjoyed by his late father; but their united efforts were ineffectual. In spite of the enthusiasm of the people in some of the provinces, in favour of the House of Orange, the sturdy Amsterdammers remembered too well their recent dangers; the States of Holland absolutely refused consent, and the spreading influence of English democracy in Holland increased the difficulty of obtaining place and power for the grandson of Charles I. A stern republican, after warmly repudiating the doctrine of hereditary government, writes: “Do not we see at this present, how, upon the princess royal’s delivery, the court-spaniels prate

¹ Basnage, vol. i. p. 184.

² Holland Corresp. *ut. sup.*

and keep ado, as if the state was necessarily obliged, there being a young prince, to admit him to the charge of governor-general and stadtholder? Hath not there been an intimation presented already that these things might not be debated; for, proceeded in, they may turn to the prejudice of her issue." In reference to the child himself, he says that he will ever be aspiring to the titles of "your highness" and "your majesty," "seeing that he will be brought up by a mother whose family interest shall swallow up all other, and ever be preferred before those of our state, our trade, and our own welfare."¹

The accusation that Mary preferred the interest of her own family before that of the state into which she was now adopted, clung to her through life, and not without cause. What else, indeed, could be expected from a warm-hearted girl of nineteen, brought up under such notions of royal prerogative as she was likely to learn from Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, with her prejudices sharpened into tenfold intensity by the crimes which democracy let loose in England; which had brought her father to the scaffold, and left her brothers wanderers at foreign courts, here received with cold courtesy, there rejected altogether, and absolutely dependent upon charity for the very bread they ate. Had Mary failed to throw her whole energies into the cause of her oppressed relatives, she had been more or less than woman, and she was neither. Her whole nature was essentially feminine: in the intensity of love, at once its strength and its weakness, and in the prevalence of feeling, and sometimes, too, it must be owned, of prejudice, over the calmer dictates of judgment, or the deductions of philosophic reasoning. Beautiful, brilliant, and aristocratic, the youthful Stuart was ill fitted for mingling with the rude but sterling spirits with whom

¹ Advertisements to the patriots of Holland, on the death of the Prince of Orange, 4to. 1650.

she was thrown into daily contact, and she lacked either the desire or the ability to make the differences between them as little obvious as might be.

The first positive collision between the princess and the States-General, in reference to her personal conduct, had occurred on the 30th of January, 1650, the anniversary of her father's death,—which she, with the Duke of York, then at the Hague, and the Queen of Bohemia, their aunt,—set apart as a solemn fast, and appointed a sermon to be preached before them, appropriate to the mournful reminiscences of the day. A proceeding so offensive to the English Parliament was prohibited by the States of Holland. A republican news monger at the Hague writes to a friend in England:—

“Your thirtieth of January, which was your thanksgiving, was by the courts and royal kindred here appointed for a solemn fast for the old king's death, but was comically disappointed; for when they all met in the French church, where your English missals also are performed, the great Hall sent one to command them to silence, and to depart: they disdainfully refused; the messenger told them he had command to turn the key and shut them in, if he could not shut them out, upon which they departed; yet it turned to a lesser conventicle in the princess royal's presence-chamber. Truly this is an unparalleled affront.”

A little later, the princess found, to her intense mortification, that ambassadors from the English Parliament to the States-General, to whom, during her husband's life-time, all recognition or audience had been refused, were now to be received, and the authority of the republic of England to be thereby acknowledged. This could not be matter of surprise, when a recognition had already been obtained from many of the regal courts of Europe; but it elicited very painful feeling.¹ Mary consulted with her

¹ Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. pp. 112-120, 193.

brother, the Duke of York, upon the best plan to be adopted to avoid unpleasant collisions. He frankly told her that, although he was willing to stay with her if she desired it, he should strongly prefer leaving the Hague before the arrival of the "things called ambassadors," "having in great indignation the reception of his blessed father's murderers." They finally resolved to go together to Mary's dower residence at Breda, taking with them the infant Prince of Orange.¹

The ambassador, Sir Walter Strickland, the former agent, with Mr. St. John as his associate, arrived, with a pompous train of 200 persons, and was received in form by the States-General; but they were in constant fear of insult from the populace, who, whenever they appeared in the streets, followed them with shouts and hootings which no authority sufficed to repress, and carried their audacity so far that, on a rumour arising of the death of Oliver Cromwell, they lighted a bonfire before the house of the ambassadors. This was an insult not to be endured. A tumult arose, and blood was shed on both sides, before the combatants could be dispersed.²

After the reception of the ambassadors was over, Mary returned to the Hague, and her brother, the Duke of York, presently afterwards paid her an unexpected visit,

¹ *Gazettes de France*, 1651, p. 372; *Merc. Polit.* March 27; *Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 25.

² *Carte's Ormond*, vol. i. p. 431; *Merc. Polit.* April 3; *Gazettes de France*, p. 472. A news-letter, written by a private Royalist from London, on April 13th, 1651, records that:—"Two ordinaries have arrived from Flanders; the Parliament have withheld a large quantity of letters, but all their precaution has not prevented its being known how the two English ambassadors were received on their arrival at the Hague. It is true that the States gave them a rich and abundant supper, and there was no lack of sweetmeats, but these were not sufficient to sweeten the bitterness that they experienced on their landing—more than 3000 persons running to meet them, exclaiming,—“Oh the rebels, the traitors, the barbarians, the regicides, the hangmen, the tyrants, that have killed their king; they ought to be killed and not received! Some of their suite laying hold of their swords, were hurt, and even mortally wounded, and in the night all the windows of their residence were broken.”

which he intended to be only for a day or two; but, yielding to her entreaties, he remained a little longer.¹ They soon found that it was seriously discussed between the States and the English ambassadors whether the son and daughter of Charles I. should not be requested to retire from the Hague, during the deliberations then to ensue, lest their presence should excite disturbance. To the honour of both parties, the proposal was not carried into effect.² By an unfortunate coincidence, however, the duke met one of the ambassadors in a public walk at the Hague. He required precedence; it was refused, on which he bade the ambassador uncover to the brother of his sovereign. The ambassador replied that he owned no other master than the Parliament of England, and sternly refused compliance, laying his hand significantly on his sword. A crowd assembled, which took part with the duke, and therefore the ambassador was compelled to retire; but the States, anxious to avoid future collisions, sent a suggestion, which was considered equivalent to a mandate, that the prince should retire to Hounslerdyke, the country residence of his sister, and he complied.³ Mary accompanied him; and from that place is dated one of the earliest specimens of her notes which remain. It is addressed to Newcastle, the tried friend of her family:—

“My Lord,

“Hounslerdyke, 15 August, 1651.

“I have so much cause to be ashamed of what I send you, that were it not to excuse it, I would not acknowledge it so far as to write. But when you shall consider, that it is only my condition hinders me from doing that which my affection leads me to, you will not think, I hope, there has been anything omitted that lay in my power, to shew myself to be,

“My Lord,

“Your truly affectionate friend,

“To the Marquis of Newcastle.”⁴

“MARIE.”

¹ Carte's Ormond, vol. i. p. 468, May 4th, 1651.

² Gazettes de France, pp. 444, 567.

³ Neufville, Hist. de Holland, vol. iii. pp. 29, 30.

⁴ Harl. MS. 7003, f. 13.

The Duke of York, at this juncture, was an object of particular attention to both the friends and the foes of the House of Stuart. The young king was in Scotland on the perilous enterprize of recovering his lost kingdoms; the Duke of Gloucester, the younger son, was in the hands of the English parliamentarians, and York was the only male of the Stuart line who was free and unfettered. Against him, therefore, the first efforts of the English ambassador in Holland were directed, with a view of driving him away from the safeguard of his sister's protection. He proposed, as a token of friendship between the republics, that neither should consent to afford shelter, within its limits, to any person who was declared an enemy of the other; and that if the offender did not voluntarily retire within fifteen days after due notice, he should be banished, with confiscation of his goods.¹ Mary, anxious to avoid any insult to her brother, despatched a messenger to Paris to request that the queen would send for the Duke of York to join her there; which, after some little delay, on account of the difficulty of providing money for his journey, was done; and, early in June, he took leave of the princess, and set out for Paris.

The mortification of Mary was a good deal alleviated when she found that the English ambassadors, unsuccessful in their mission, which was to conclude a close alliance with Holland, had returned homewards.² The States-General were rather disconcerted at their abrupt departure, as they had intended to postpone, rather than to refuse the negotiation; but it was celebrated with great rejoicings in the courts of the Queen of Bohemia and the princess royal. To the influence of the princess's party in the state was mainly attributed the failure of the proposed alliance.³

¹ Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. pp. 2, 11.

² Thurloe, vol. i. p. 193.

³ Merc. Polit. April, 1651; Whitelock, p. 495.

The princess dowager soon left the Hague to go with her daughter, the Electress of Brandenburg, to Spa. She returned in autumn, bringing in her suite Prince William Frederic of Nassau Dietz, who was about to be married to her younger daughter, the Princess Albertine. This prince was Stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen, and therefore had considerable influence in the United Provinces; he always assumed the forms of respect towards his intended mother-in-law; but in private, among his own friends, disclaimed all idea of being guided by her counsel. He professed great devotion to the young Prince of Orange, and lived in the appearance of friendship with the princess royal, though Mary never cordially trusted him, because of an old grudge between him and her late father-in-law, Frederic Henry of Orange.¹

In October, 1651, a message reached the princess that her brother, Charles II., whose defeat at Worcester and subsequent disappearance, none knew whither, had caused her the most serious uneasiness, had now landed at Helvoetsluys, disguised in skipper's clothes, almost alone, without money, or any means of procuring ordinary necessities, and that he was extremely anxious that the place of his retreat should be kept a secret for some time, in order not to involve in risk those who had aided his escape. Mary did not even communicate the tidings to the old and tried servants of the family, but immediately went herself, as privately as possible, to Helvoetsluys, where she made such provision for her brother as could be done without ostentation, and domiciled him in one of her country residences, at Teyling; she then returned to the Hague, still keeping her own counsel. But the arrival of Charles could not long remain secret, and many a faithful cavalier

¹ Carte Papers, vol. ii. pp. 18, 22; 'Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 182.

stole away to Teyling to kiss the hand of his king, whom he had almost despaired of seeing again alive and in safety.¹

After a brief interval of repose, Charles went on to Paris without visiting the Hague; but his brilliant and handsome courtier, Buckingham, who had accompanied him, followed the princess royal to her court, professing himself her devoted admirer in terms so unbounded in their enthusiasm, and paying her such assiduous attentions, that he laid both himself and the princess open to unpleasant remark. It was rumoured that he would carry his presumption so far as to offer her his hand, and even that his personal fascinations had produced some impression upon her heart. The report reached Paris; but Charles II. treated it with deserved contempt; he said the folly and madness of such an idea were so self-evident, that he had too much confidence in his sister to believe her capable of entertaining it. The queen-mother was more moved, being informed that she herself was reported to be favourable to the match. She declared, in impetuous anger, that could she believe her daughter capable of such an act of self-degradation, she would tear her to pieces with her own hands, rather than suffer her to be guilty of it.²

The concern of the queen was shared by many of the Dutch, who, for reasons differing though equally strong, were annoyed at the idea of their princess uniting herself to an English noble, with little to recommend him beyond a handsome face, and courtly, dashing manners. A worthy citizen of Leyden, one Michael Goedthaert, though personally unknown to the princess, took the liberty of writing her a respectful but serious lecture on the subject of her re-marriage, assuring her that could she, in disguise, be a passenger on the packets of Leyden or Haar-

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. pp. 29, *et. seq.*: Newspapers, Oct. 1651.

² Hyde to Nicholas, March 2, 1652, Clarendon Papers, vol. iii.

lem, she would find conjectures about her second marriage rife in every one's mouth. He admits that it would be unjust to bury in solitary widowhood the rare treasures of beauty, grace, virtue, and wit, which are concentrated in her, but exhorts her to the utmost caution, seeing that she is the only sure resource of her exiled brother. Her future husband, he suggests, should be the hero to replace him on the throne, and should therefore possess not only valour and influence, but wealth, as her dower of 150,000 florins, though a handsome income for a widow, would not suffice for her support when she had increased expenses, and when, moreover, by her re-marriage, she lost the tutorship of her son. He therefore entreats her serious attention to the advice of one of her most faithful and disinterested servants.¹

They knew not the deep-rooted pride of blood which beat in every pulse of the princess royal, who dreamed that she could entertain more than a passing regard for a person in the position of the Duke of Buckingham. No sooner was she aware of the manner in which public opinion associated their names, than she dismissed him from her court, and though he was daring enough afterwards to return to the Hague, in the hope of regaining her favour, she positively refused to see him.²

It was greatly to the advantage of those who wished to have direction in the councils of the exiled Charles Stuart, to secure the favour of his sister; and this was the more necessary, as there never perhaps was a court, even in the full tide of prosperity, with places and pensions at disposal, which was so rent by faction as that of the wandering Charles II., without money, without influence, without allies, and relying almost for subsistence upon the bounty of the princess royal. Walker, in his

¹ Holland Corresp. bundle 176, State Paper Office.

² Grammont, Mem. p. 84.

history of the Independants, says that the tender love and zeal of their sister to the exiled princes was such, that it deserved to be engraved with a diamond pen, upon tablets of brass, that its memory might never pass away. If Charles II., heedless, selfish, and pleasure-loving as he was, could ever be said truly to love any living being beside himself, it was his sister Mary. They were nearly the same age, with sufficient similarity of taste to render their companionship pleasant, but in the qualities which ennoble humanity, Mary far outshone her brother, whilst her warm affection for him rendered her the less susceptible to a consciousness of his defects. Amongst his counsellors, Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards the great Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state, were those who stood highest in the favour of the princess royal. She had chosen well, for they were certainly the most disinterested, as well as the most judicious friends of the king. At first it had been feared that the princess, guided by her affection for her mother, would implicitly follow the faction at the head of which were the queen and Lord Jermyn; but those who knew her better, surmised rightly that, though Mary would not fail in filial duty to her only surviving parent, she was not likely to be much influenced by the queen whilst at a distance from her; and they took pains to prevent the mother and daughter from meeting, as they had projected, either by Mary's visiting in France, or the queen's joining her at some place in Germany or the Netherlands.¹

The correspondence between Hyde and Nicholas, the latter of whom was long a resident at the Hague, is replete with remarks showing the importance attached to the good-will of the princess royal. Hyde gives courtier-like counsels to Nicholas, when first introduced to her

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. March 9, 23.

court, in reference to the demeanour by which he might hope to win and retain her favour; assuring him that with her prepossessions in his behalf, from the recommendations of the king, if he do not secure it, it will be solely owing to his want of tact. He tells Nicholas that the princess in her temperament somewhat resembles her father; that she is never forward to introduce subjects of conversation, but always pleased and ready to fall in with those who speak to her with respectful freedom on the subjects which interest her.¹ When himself absent in attendance upon his royal master, Hyde appealed to Nicholas to support his credit at the court of the Hague, whenever he was maligned by his adversaries, and also to forward with punctuality and dispatch, the opinions of the princess, respecting the prospective movements of her brother, who chiefly depended upon her for guidance, especially in his negotiations with some of the German princes who were inclined to favour his cause. They also sought her influence with the king to induce him to lessen his train as much as possible, on account of his paucity of resources. This she could do with the more grace, because at that very juncture, Charles was soliciting from her an important service.

The Castle of Dunottar in Scotland, a strong sea-coast fortress, which still held out for Charles II., and contained the Scottish regalia and much of the royal furniture, was in danger of siege by the parliamentary forces. Its preservation was a most important point, on account of its local advantage as a place of defence, and also for the treasures it contained, which, it was estimated, would realize, apart from the regalia, 20,000*l.* in the market of Amsterdam. The king, therefore, earnestly requested that his sister would fit out a vessel on her own responsibility, and send it to Dunottar, to accomplish, if not the

¹ Hyde to Nicholas, 3 Feb. 1652, *Clar. Papers*, vol. iii.

permanent preservation of the fortress, yet the rescue of its valuables; and that she would send her orders to the governor in reference to the delivery of the goods to the captain of the vessel, whom the king nominated; he begged that if she consented to the scheme, she would give an audience to the captain, who was a bold, brave man, and would be greatly encouraged by a presentation to one of the royal family.¹ The party who, it was hoped, would supply the immediate funds, on condition of the princess accepting the responsibility of their ultimate repayment, was Mr. Webster, a rich merchant of Amsterdam, who on several occasions had afforded pecuniary aid to the exiled Stuarts: for Charles was well aware that as his sister derived her support from her jointure, the amount of which was rendered as yet uncertain, by the vexatious interference of the princess dowager,² she was not able at once and promptly to advance so large a sum as would be required.

Mary willingly consented to perform her share of the task, and the king issued an order, commanding the governor of Dunottar to deliver to the person appointed by the princess royal all the treasures in his custody. Mr. Webster, however, without refusing to fulfil his part of the scheme, permitted needless delays to occur in its execution: meanwhile, tidings of it reached England, Dunottar was at once besieged, parliamentary vessels were stationed on the sea-girt side of the fort, and the idea of dispatching the vessel from Holland was relinquished, as a bootless expense.³

Charles II. and his sister were very anxious to meet in the course of this summer, either at Spa,⁴ at Frankfort,

¹ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. Hyde's Despatches, Jan. to May, 1652.

² Merc. Polit. March 8, 1652.

³ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. Despatches, June.

⁴ "The only talk," writes Hyde to Nicholas, June 22, 1652, "is about going to Spa, to meet the princess, for which the jollity is the

or at Breda; the latter place was preferred, provided the princess could influence the States to give her brother an invitation into their territory, without which he did not think it accordant with his dignity to return to the United Provinces. But a cloud, dark though brief, shaded the loving sunshine which usually brightened the intercourse of brother and sister.

Mary, as already observed, was inclined to favouritism, and allowed herself to be too strongly under the influence of those by whom she was surrounded. Her principal friend and adviser was Catherine, Lady Stanhope, who had accompanied her to Holland, in the capacity of governess, and since remained with her as chief lady of honour. In 1640, after the death of her first husband, Lady Stanhope married John Vander Kerkhoven, Lord of Heenvliet, in Holland, whose father was professor of divinity, at Leyden.¹ He had raised himself to office and distinction by his diplomatic ability, and was one of the ambassadors sent to the court of Charles I, to negotiate the alliance of the Prince of Orange. Here he attracted the attention of Lady Stanhope; they were married in England, and she returned with him to Holland, taking with her her young son, Philip Stanhope, afterwards second Earl of Chesterfield,² and her two daughters, Catherine and Mary. When Charles I. and his queen had

only consideration, and will, I doubt, produce great scandal, and therefore I wish the thought of that place might be prevented."—Clar. Papers, vol. iii. p. 78.

¹ For a good account of Heenvliet's father, see Paquot, *Hist. Littéraire des Pays-Bas*, vol. i. 528, where a history of his works and also a brief sketch of his life are given, with the inscription on his tomb, erected by his son at the church of St. Peter, in Leyden, where he died, in 1646. This latter also re-erected the chateau of Heenvliet, with an inscription in affectionate commemoration of his ancestors.

² The Earl of Chesterfield, in his *Diary*, Addit. MS. 19,253, writes as follows, under the year 1640 :—"My mother marrying Monsieur de Henflet, ambassador from the Prince of Orange to King Charles the First, I went over with her into Holland, and lived that year at the Prince of Orange's court at Buren."

to select a governess for their daughter, who at an early age was to fill an important place in a foreign court, this lady presented herself to their minds as the most fitting person for the post. She soon won the confidence and affection of her royal charge, and as long as the Prince of Orange lived, all went on well and smoothly. Mary's heart was wholly her husband's, and his strong will and commanding mind left to no other the possibility of usurping undue influence over his wife: but after his death the state of affairs was much changed; the clinging nature of the princess needed some prop on which continually to lean. The dissensions existing between herself and her mother-in-law rendered intimate association with the ladies of the House of Orange impossible: her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, though warmly attached to her, had still her own court, small and poverty-stricken though it was, in which to preside, and the interests of her own children necessarily absorbed much of her attention. The chief confidants of the princess therefore were Lady Stanhope—as, notwithstanding her second marriage, she still continued to be called—and her husband Heenvliet, who held the post of superintendant of her household. Charles was anxious to enlist these important personages in his favour, and therefore he created their young son, Charles Henry Kirkhoven, Baron Wotton of Wotton, the title of his maternal grandfather, who had died without heir male. He also treated them both personally, and through his agents, with a respect and confidence calculated to secure their goodwill.

Rumours, however, reached the Court of St. Germain, where the King and the Queen-dowager of England were now residing, injurious to Lady Stanhope and her husband, accusing them of managing the princess as they pleased, with regard to their own advancement, rather than to her interest or that of her brother, and the king was requested to put his sister upon her guard against

committing herself too exclusively to their guidance. Charles hesitated; he knew Mary's strong attachment to Lady Stanhope, and hoping that the reports were groundless or at least exaggerated, he declined to interfere, until Sir Edward Nicholas, who was still at the Hague, gave so serious an account of the matter that he resolved to address his sister, as gently as possible, on the subject, using every precaution to prevent her discovering from what quarter he had received the intelligence.¹ Carefully as his letter was worded, Mary was greatly agitated, and replied by a warm and passionate defence of her favourite, declared the accusation to be "as false as the devil," and conjured him to tell her who had thus maligned Lady Stanhope, naming the Duke of Buckingham, and several other persons whom she suspected, and protesting against them in the strongest terms. She wrote in the same hasty tone to the queen. Charles mildly replied that, though he could not name his authority, yet it was such as he dared not mistrust. Hyde expressed great regret that some one did not come forward publicly to accuse Heenvliet and his lady, and thus open the eyes of the princess.² None such appeared: and Mary, firmly believing the accusations to be the result of sheer malice, had her womanly feelings more than ever aroused to defend those whom she loved. The other party could only lament *her* waywardness, in subjecting herself so completely to the domination of Heenvliet and his lady, whose influence they strongly asserted to be neither that of honesty nor wisdom; whilst those who wished to stand well with the princess, found it necessary to "fool with Lady Stanhope," or to "talk to Heenvliet," as the surest mode of gaining favour.³

Whilst one of her *protégées* was thus the cause of

¹ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. pp. 127, 31. 126, 138.

² Ibid. p. 101.

³ Ibid. vol. iii. pp. 81, 83, 89, 95.

painful feeling between the princess and her brother, another excited renewed discord between her and her mother-in-law. M. de Beverweert, the counsellor already named, whose influence over Mary had excited the jealousy of the Elector of Brandenburg, still continued to sway her opinions in political matters. Beverweert was strongly prejudiced against Count William of Nassau, whose recent marriage with the Princess Albertine of Orange associated him closely with the party of the princess-dowager; and Mary, through the influence of her counsellor, treated the count with marked coldness. This proceeding was the more injudicious, since there was a movement in several of the northern provinces to promote the young Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership; if this were done, it would become necessary to appoint a lieutenant to act for him during his minority, and ancestral connection, personal ability, and military rank, combined to point out Count William as the man for this office. Yet, unless he and the mother of the prince whose place he should take, acted in harmony, nothing but confusion could ensue. Charles II., always wiser in judging for others than for himself, was concerned at the ill effects likely to result from this state of things, not only to his sister, but to his own cause, which demanded the strengthening of her influence in Holland. In reply to his representations on the subject, she promised to treat Count William with more civility, but declared herself unable to change her opinion of him. The king refrained from writing to the count, lest his sister should be displeased by his so doing; but he addressed the Earl of Norwich, then at the Hague, requesting him to interpose his mediation. "For the differences between my sister and the princess-dowager," he writes, "you know my mind, and how much I am troubled for their and my own sake, as having a great share of suffering by it; and I wish with all my heart that you would do good offices

between them, and dispose them both to such an union that our common enemies may get no more advantage from those contests, and you may let the princess-dowager know how exceedingly I desire it, and how much I would take myself beholden to her for any compliance and indulgence on her part, and if you advise me what I may do in order thereunto, will gladly perform it.”¹

Norwich conveyed the king's message to the princess-dowager, but it only made matters worse: she had already treated Mary with slight and disdain, and she now gave it out that Charles strongly disapproved of his sister's conduct, that he had urged, and even commanded her to conciliation, but that she refused compliance. This still farther irritated Mary, and the breach became so serious that parties who visited at the one court, were hardly received at the other. The princess royal wrote an angry epistle to her brother, accusing Lord Norwich of partiality, and bitterly complaining of the letter which Charles had written to him. Mary's temper, however, was by no means implacable; after the first burst of feeling, she was generally willing to listen to reason, but, in this instance, she was withheld by Beverweert, whose services were valuable to her, and who protested that he would abandon her party, if she made friends with Count William.²

On the $\frac{4}{14}$ th of November, 1652, the princess celebrated, with much festivity, the birthday of her young son, which was also the twenty-first anniversary of her own birth. A few weeks after, considerable alarm was excited about the child: he was taken suddenly and seriously ill; it was at first thought to be the result of an over-loaded stomach; but he became convulsed, and

¹ Polwhele's Traditions, 8vo. Lond. 1826, vol. i. p. 23, date Oct. 5, 1652.

² Clar. Papers, vol. iii. pp. 98, 103, 108, 110-5.

his mother was in the deepest anxiety about his life. Mutual apprehensions for the object of their devoted love drew the mother and grandmother together, and when their careful watchings were rewarded by the recovery of their precious charge, they passed the Christmas in visitings and festivities, which augured well for their future amity.¹

The idea that she stood ill with her brother, and that her conduct was disapproved both by him and by her mother, sorely rankled in the loving heart of Mary. Convinced that nothing short of a personal explanation could satisfactorily settle the disputed points, she hastily resolved on a journey to France. Such a step was considered by the royal council the height of imprudence, both because the present juncture of her son's affairs required her personal influence in Holland, and because the unsettled state of the French court, to which she had received no invitation, would render her presence there embarrassing to all parties.²

A happy diversion led the thoughts of the princess into a fresh channel. Her youngest brother, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, having at length obtained permission from the Parliament to leave England, hastened to seek the protection of his sister. Mary had left this brother, who was her godson, a blooming infant two years old; when she met him at Delft, she found a noble youth of thirteen, in whom early suffering, without effacing the hereditary grace and beauty of the Stuarts, had wrought a premature manliness of judgment, and firmness of temper. His youth and misfortunes created for him in her warm heart, an interest more tender, if possible, than that which she entertained for her other brothers: she hastened with him to the Hague, and presented him to his scarcely

¹ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. p. 108; Newspapers, Nov. 1652.

² Ibid. vol. iii. p. 148, 152.

less delighted aunt, the Queen of Bohemia; and cordially did both rejoice in the rescue of this last surviving scion of their house from the hands of his father's foes.¹

The companionship of the boy, and the cares which she lavished upon him, proved to Mary so delightful a variety in her existence, that for her own sake, as well as his, she sent off one of her gentlemen ushers to Paris, to request Charles II., with whom, as their sovereign, rested the disposal of his brothers, to allow Henry permanently to remain with her. This request gave great satisfaction to the king; for he was proposing to send for his brother to France, lest his presence in Holland should be inconvenient to the princess, but he knew not how to provide for his support, and therefore readily signified his grateful acquiescence in Mary's offer:² sending at the same time to his brother, and also to the Prince of Tarente, Charles de la Tremouille, the insignia of the Order of the Garter, the only honour he had it in his power to bestow. The ceremony of investiture at the Hague was performed on April 14, Easter Day, by Sir Edward Walker, garter king, in presence of the princess royal and the Queen of Bohemia. A few months later, Mary was gratified by the reception of the same brilliant, though empty, honour for her own baby-boy.³

In return for the love lavished upon him, the Duke of Gloucester endeavoured to compose the dissensions between his sister and the princess-dowager. Mary was weary of the element of strife in which she had lately moved; and though it was not likely that the suggestions of her young brother could offer any thing novel or important as a ground of conciliation, still they gave her a pretext for gracefully yielding, and the princess-dowager,

¹ Newspapers, March, 1652-3.

² Clar. Papers, vol. iii. p. 150.

³ Newspapers, March and July, 1652; Nicolas's Knightage, vol. i. p. 244. "Speedily after, Garter received a warrant from his majesty, dated at the Palace Royal in Paris, 25th of April, 1653, to deliver the garter to his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, then not three years

who was anxious to stand well with Charles II., was equally willing to accommodate matters. A reconciliation therefore took place, which, for a while, put to rest the uneasy dissensions of the two courts and their partisans. The princess-dowager gave a sumptuous entertainment to Mary and the Queen of Bohemia, which the former reciprocated by a *fête champêtre* to her mother-in-law, at her country palace of Hounslerdike, where the chief nobility of the Hague were present.¹

To the great regret of the princess royal, her young brother was suddenly called away to France. The queen-mother had never cordially agreed to his remaining in Holland; for, relying upon his youth and inexperience, she had cherished warm hopes that, in the atmosphere of the French court, she might succeed in perverting his faith and making him a Romanist. With this object in view, though of course unrevealed, she pleaded so urgently to see her son, that Charles felt himself obliged to send for the boy. Mary warmly remonstrated: she declared that the society of her "sweet brother" was become essential to her, and that she was willing to provide for him, and to give him the best education Holland could afford, if he might but be permitted to remain. Charles replied, that though he cordially concurred in her

old. Presently upon receipt thereof, Garter attended the princess royal, and concerted all the particulars, in relation to his highness's reception of the order; amongst which, Garter's intended speech was agreed to be addressed to her highness, in regard of the infancy of her son the prince. Her highness prepared a rich George and ribband, and only a ribband for the garter, in regard it would be more aptly tied about his leg. Accordingly, upon Sunday in the afternoon, being the 4th of May, 1653, the Queen of Bohemia, the princess royal, and many persons of quality being assembled in her highness's chamber, Garter having received from her highness royal a rich George and ribband, and his majesty's letter, and placed them on a velvet cushion, entered the room, assisted by Sir Charles Cotterell, Sir Edward Brett, Sir John Sayer, and Sir Robert Stanismore, made three obeisances, and placed the ornaments on a stool; he made his speech, and then, kneeling down, he took the ribband, and tied it about the young prince's leg, and after put the George about his neck."—Addit. MS. 6321, f. 256.

¹ Newspapers, June, 1653; Thurloe Papers, vol. i. p. 257.

wishes, he could not deny to their mother the right of seeing her son, but he promised Mary that the separation should not be prolonged; and that, before the lapse of many months, he would send, or if possible conduct, the young duke back to Holland. Meanwhile she was requested to hasten his departure as much as possible.¹ One of the servants of the duke records that, during the two months passed at the Hague, he lacked nothing that could afford him comfort or happiness, and "his sister and he conversed with as mutual love and joy as I think ever such relations did; so his parting from her was with great passion of sorrow in both, though with hopes of being together ere long."²

After he had left her, Mary again became restlessly anxious for interviews with her mother or brothers, and again formed plans for a visit to France. Charles, fearing lest remonstrances would prove insufficient to restrain her from a project on which her mind was set, adopted a *ruse*, and gave her the impression that he purposed leaving Paris at once; whereas, though really wishful to get away, he had no serious expectation of speedily accomplishing his object, owing to the lack of funds.³ She then concocted a scheme for meeting him in Flanders or at Spa, and prepossessed with the idea that he had actually left France, she went from Breda, where she had retired with her son, to the Hague, spent a few days there, and then travelled *incog.* as far as Antwerp and Brussels, *en route* for Spa,⁴ but was induced hastily to return home, on account of circumstances which presented an opening for the political advancement of her son.

Whilst the United Provinces remained at peace, their system of internal administration was so well organized, that no derangement of its workings was occasioned by

¹ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. pp. 154, 156, 159, 165.

² Thurloe, vol. i. p. 397.

³ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. pp. 174, 180; Thurloe Papers, vol. i. pp. 276, 278.

⁴ Thurloe, pp. 328, 332.

the fact that the republic was without a nominal head, but when war broke out, the face of affairs was changed. The Dutch had been so accustomed for centuries to march to victory under the banners of a Prince of Orange, that popular feeling attributed every disaster that befell their arms to the absence of their leader; and some reverses which they suffered in the Spring of 1653, from the parliamentary party in England, with whom they had as yet refused alliance, excited a strong reaction in favour of the House of Orange. The people murmured that they had never done well since their princes were removed, nor should do till their leadership was restored: in many places Orange flags were hoisted on the church steeples, and paraded in the streets amidst shouts of "vive l'Orange;" favours were worn on the breast, a heart with an orange in the centre, and the very boys put on orange-coloured scarfs when their prince was expected to appear. The general outcry was that the young prince should be appointed Stadtholder, with Count William to act as his lieutenant in the army, till he was of an age to command, whilst Brederode, one of the most distinguished of the deputies, should take his place as President of the States-General.¹

Matters came to a crisis during Mary's brief absence at Brussels; and although the party who were jealous of her warm attachment to her own family, cynically observed that "without doubt the princess royal would go and see her brother, and leave the people to agitate on behalf of her son," she returned as soon as she found her presence really desirable, and had the pleasure of witnessing her son's formal election as Stadtholder by Zealand and several of the northern provinces, although Holland and others of the States still stood out sturdily for the cause of republicanism.²

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 253, 257, 279, 281, 307, 326, 328, 357; Merc. Polit. July 14, 1653.

² Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 363, 369; Whitelocke, p. 560.

The numerous English royalists resident in Holland exerted all their energies in favour of the House of Orange, and insinuated that the English parliament, in wishing the destruction of that house, was really anxious to secure the humiliation of the States; whilst Cromwell, by his agents, protested that, though he held his sword in one hand, the other was ready to stretch out the olive branch of peace, and renewed his propositions for a treaty of alliance with the States. To this the democratic party eagerly listened, and overtures for negotiations were proposed and accepted on both sides, greatly to the discomposure of the princess royal. Charles II., at this juncture, was preparing to pay his sister a visit at Breda, but earnestly as she desired the gratification of his society, she was unwilling to purchase it by such a compromise of his dignity as would be involved in his visiting a State which projected an alliance with his enemies. She thus addressed Secretary Nicholas on the subject:—

“ Mr. Secretary,

“ Breda, 21 July, 1653.

“ I have been so long without giving you thanks for all your letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continue, but your knowing how little I love this exercise will I doubt not justify me enough in your opinion. I am very uncertain of my stay here, because it depends upon his Majesty's remove, who I wish with all my heart would not come into these parts, till he sees what becomes of the treaty, for I do much apprehend at last they will agree—the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Majesty's reception will be. Pray let me know your opinion of this, and whether you believe there *will* be a peace, which in doing will much oblige,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ MARY.”

Charles II. was more sanguine than his sister in his dependence upon the friendship of the Dutch, and having received from the French court a present of 12,000 louis d'ors for travelling expenses, he still adhered to his intention of visiting Breda, and sent a message to his sister to that effect. She immediately made preparations for his reception, by sending for some of her more costly furni-

ture and plate from her palace at the Hague, and also commissioned two of her officers to convey to the States of Holland the tidings of her brother's projected visit. They replied by an earnest request that she would not receive him, and determined to propose to the States-General to pass a resolution that no foreign prince or potentate should hereafter come into the States without their permission.¹

Amidst the conflict of the two parties, it was highly important to the interests of the young prince that his mother should avoid giving offence to either. Heenvliet, whose knowledge of men and opinions in Holland enabled him to form a clearer judgment than a foreigner could have done, exercised his whole influence, supported by that of his wife, to mould the impulsive character of his royal mistress to caution and prudence. Mary's profuse generosity to her brothers and their adherents had given rise to the reflection that she was willing to rob her son for the sake of her brother, and it was therefore suggested that her gifts should, in future, be kept secret. To this she cheerfully consented; but soon found herself involved in troubles from an opposite quarter. All who came to her with recommendations from her brother had been so accustomed to find her ready to meet their wants, or to appoint them, if possible, to offices such as she had to bestow, that they were taken by surprise when it was found that she became less accessible to their applications. Some surmised that it was because the king had abused her generosity, by recommending to her not only persons for whom he really cared, but others for whom he was solicited by his friends, and that the princess, unable to distinguish between the two classes of petitioners, discarded both. Others accused her of negligence and unkindness. The case of Lieutenant-General Middleton

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 321, 349, 369, 371.

excited much attention. He came to her court, the bearer from the king of the strongest recommendations, well merited by his gallant adherence to the royal cause, and Charles especially entreated for him a gift of 100*l.* and assistance towards the purchase of arms for an expedition into Scotland. Mary readily granted the first part of the request; as to the second, in compliance with the dictates of prudence, she gave help, but only on condition of secrecy so strict that Middleton himself denied, even to staunch royalists, the fact of having received it. The consequence was that the princess was severely reflected upon for her indifference to her brother's wishes, till Middleton, unable longer to bear the insinuations which he heard cast upon his liberal patroness, revealed the truth.

Other recipients of her bounty were more cautious; and Mary had the pain of enduring reflections upon her want of generosity, at the very time when she was depriving herself of half her income for the sake of her brother and his partisans.¹

Meanwhile De Wit was cautiously but assiduously pursuing his projects against monarchic rule, alike in the person of Charles II. and of the young Prince of Orange. He succeeded in carrying a resolution in the States-General that they should not at present proceed to the election of a Stadtholder. A letter from Charles II. was read, to the effect that, until the projected treaty with England was broken off, he should not come into the dominions of the States; but that then he should pay them a visit, without waiting an invitation;—upon which De Wit and the Holland deputies, after failing to persuade the States-General to issue a veto against foreign princes visiting them, passed it in reference to their own particular State of Holland. Still the counter-party was

¹ Clar. Papers, vol. iii. pp. 174, 176, 181, 186, 208, 212, 219, 220.

powerful: Zealand and the northern provinces frowned on all who did not espouse the cause of Charles II., and Guelderland even refused its subsidies, excepting on condition of his recognition.¹ Those who favoured the fortunes of the king were equally attached to those of his nephew; and when, early in August, the young prince and his mother returned from Breda to the Hague, their appearance was the signal for a general demonstration. At Dort, the burgomasters came on board the vessel, with an ample present of wine, and many of the townsmen also offered their greetings, whilst crowds of women and children on the walls vociferated the party cry of "Long live the Prince of Orange!"

At the Hague similar excitement prevailed, especially among the juveniles, who formed themselves into two companies, consisting of boys from eight to twelve years of age, one of which were mounted on sticks, in imitation of troopers, and all wearing orange scarfs, and paper plumes of white, blue and orange. Thus accoutred, and preceded by a trumpeter, they marched to Ryswick, a few miles from the Hague, in hope of meeting their prince, and escorting him home. He had not arrived, however, and they were obliged to return. The princess, hearing at Ryswick of what had transpired, and thinking it inexpedient to encourage popular movements, took the precaution of entering the Hague with her son, late on the same evening, after his juvenile champions had retired to rest. The next morning, they mustered in full force, and marched towards the royal court, with trumpet sounding, to salute him. By command of the princess, her ladies held the boy up to the window, to receive the homage of his juvenile compatriots. In returning, however, at the bridge they met one of the city magistrates, the fiscal Boez, who deprived them of their trumpet, and bade them

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 388, 449, 479.

disperse: but instead of obeying, they marched to his house, broke the windows, demanded their trumpet, and, being joined by older boys, would have pulled down the house, had they not been arrested by a party of the States' horse, sent to defend their officer. A similar scene occurred at De Wit's house: the mob calling out "Where is that rogue, that prince-betrayer?" They beat out his windows, and committed havoc upon the houses of all the principal burgomasters who were known to be opposed to the Prince of Orange, nor was it without some difficulty that they were put down.¹

The struggle of parties in the United Provinces was so intimately connected with the success or downfall of anti-royalism in England, that the election of Cromwell to the Protectorate was an ill omen for the court at the Hague, inasmuch as it lent stability and vigour to the parliamentary constitution. The Dutch commissioners in England, under the able diplomacy of the new Protector, advanced rapidly in laying down positions for a new treaty between the two countries, and returned to consult the States-General upon its final conclusion. One of the first results of their influence was, that in spite of the strenuous resistance of those States which were in his favour, especially Guelderland, the young Prince of Orange was declared incapable of ever succeeding to his father's military dignities, which were decided to be inconsistent with the safety of the republic. This unexpected blow was felt severely by the princess: she burst into a passionate fit of weeping, when the resolution was reported to her, and for three hours no attempt at consolation availed.

The anxieties of the last few months had affected both her health and cheerfulness. Renewed contests had arisen between her and the princess-dowager: and when Count William of Friesland and his lady paid a visit to

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 328; Merc. Polit. Oct. 7, 1652.

the Hague, they never went to pay their respects to her. In disgust and weariness, Mary retired to her country-house at Teyling, where she indulged in a capriciousness of temper, at variance with her usual gentleness and vivacity.¹ Little annoyances were constantly occurring to remind her of her altered position. She wished to send a present of horses to her brothers in France, but the Province of Holland refused them a pass, unless the princess obtained a license, and paid duty, as an ordinary person; and though the other six provinces were less discourteous, yet her residence being in that of Holland, she was compelled to succumb.²

Nor was her sorrow alleviated by the daily increasing certainty that a peace with England would certainly take place. To one article of the proposed treaty she strongly objected; it purported that all enemies of England should be expelled from the States. This, as she well knew, was chiefly aimed against her own brothers, and she sent in a remonstrance, observing that the word "enemies" was of too large a scope, since it might be made to include any English resident whom the parliament chose to stigmatize, and she suggested that the term "rebel," or "fugitive," would be more *à propos*; but failed to carry her point.³

It was soon discovered, moreover, that De Wit had consented to the introduction of a secret article in the treaty, making its observance conditional upon the final exclusion of the Prince of Orange, or of any of his descendants, from pre-eminence in the State.⁴ This was

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 534, 541, 572; vol. ii. p. 19.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 651. "An Orange partizan, named Brekenvelt, a printer, was imprisoned for passing through his press some allegorical verses, containing complaints against a gardener of Holland, because the orange tree, that was wont to form so conspicuous an ornament of his parterre, had no longer a place in it. The political allusion was too patent to escape notice and censure.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 33.

⁴ Holland Correspondence, 5th April, 1654. State Paper Office.

only confirmatory of the decree already passed by the States; still it was justly regarded in a much more serious light; because, as it was observed, what the States did, they had also the power of undoing, should the balance of parties again incline in the other direction; but to revoke a condition in a compact with a foreign state was no longer optional. The Zealanders, in particular, exclaimed loudly against these clandestine practices. De Wit and his party tampered, and endeavoured to persuade the people that this article was forced upon them by the Protector; whilst sagacious observers shrewdly surmised that it was altogether their own suggestion, and openly marvelled that, to avoid the domination of the House of Orange, they were willing to accept English interference in their government affairs.¹

On such an emergency, a sense of mutual danger drew together those whose interests coincided; and the two princesses of Orange again entered into hearty coalition.² The Elector of Brandenburg addressed to the States a vigorous appeal³ against an act which he said he could not

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. pp. 317-319; Every Day's Intelligencer, Jan. 26. Faithful Sword, Feb. 9.

² Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 198, 229.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 272. "We did also consider," he adds, "the honour and reputation of the State, which formerly would not have suffered the meanest inhabitant to have been wronged in their rights and liberties; and, most of all, we considered you would not suffer any prejudice to take place against an orphan, whom every one is bound to assist and protect by God's appointment and his own duty, and especially such a child, which doth show in his cradle so many dear instruments which God hath used for the preservation of the true religion, and the effusion of blood and courageous acts of his predecessors, upon which the foundations of this splendid state are, in many respects, built and grounded. We doubted not but your lordships would have endeavoured to the utmost, as your pious predecessors, out of pure love to freedom and religion, to have kept fellowship with that house to your dying days, and not suffered the only son and heir of so many heroic princes to be excluded of all that prosperity and honour that hath been fought for. Should this pupil, whose predecessors were amongst the first who laid that happy stone for the liberties, be now the last in whom that liberty should lose her strength and courage?"

have believed their sense of justice would have permitted. The two princesses offered a similar remonstrance. A strong party in the States-General sympathized in their sentiments; many provinces entered their protest against De Wit's surreptitiously obtained clause; declared they were by no means cognizant of it; and demanded that the Dutch commissioners in England should be recalled to give account of the authority on which they had taken so important a step.¹ As the States of Holland were equally strong on the other side, the popular feeling seemed to threaten outrage, if not civil war. Women assembled round the senate-house, bewailing in pitiful terms the sad condition of the young prince;² and the approaching fair or kermesse was looked forward to with much apprehension as the probable crisis. It passed more tranquilly than was expected, owing to the strenuous efforts of De Wit's party, in persuading the civic officers to be on their guard against tumult. The enthusiasm of the people, however, would have a vent; and they, with the soldiery, indulged in long and loud cheering, salute firing, &c., for the young prince and Count William, in spite of orders given not to approach their palaces. On the other hand, Brederode, commander-in-chief of the land forces, being discovered to have signed the secret article, had difficulty in escaping insult; he bribed the soldiers by presents of wine, but many refused to taste it.³

The ability of De Wit and the firmness of the States of Holland overcame all difficulties: the peace was signed on the 27th of May, amidst ringing of bells, bonfires, and other festivities, in the republican towns of Holland, but with scarcely repressed discontent in other places. Leyden refused any token of rejoicing, and at Dort, on that

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 361-7, 320-1, 343.

² Perfect Diurnal, May 22, 1654.

³ Thurloe, p. 263.

very day, a youth was bold enough to erect the colours of the Prince of Orange on the steeple of the church, and De Wit dared not run the risk of ordering them down.¹

A few days afterwards, the diplomatic pensioner paid a visit to the princess-dowager. More politic and time-serving than her royal daughter-in-law, Amelia of Orange had already expressed her reluctance that the peace of the provinces should be sacrificed to the interests of a young child, and had sent to congratulate the States-General on their treaty with England, even though she joined in remonstrating against the article of exclusion; and now she received De Wit, and listened with deference to his assurances of good-will towards her grandchild, so far as the welfare of the States would permit.² In spite of a courteous exterior, however, the princess-dowager was so mortified by these events that her vexation threw her into a tertian ague, from which she suffered severely.³ Mary had the prudence to control her indignation, but she neither proffered nor received civilities from the party who had blighted her warmest hopes.

Her court and that of the Queen of Bohemia were said, by their opponents, to be nests of vipers, in which were hatched all plots, not only against Dutch freedom, but also against that of England: schemes for the assassination of Cromwell were rumoured to originate there, and one of their chaplains openly avowed his opinion that it would be no sin to kill him; whilst he, and others like minded, refused, in returning thanks for the peace, to recognize the Protector; and spoke of the alliance as being made with "those at present in power in England."⁴

Recent changes rendered it expedient to adopt fresh

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 290-1.

² Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 56, 234.

³ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 393.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 319, 344.

regulations about the household of the young prince, and the experience of the past induced his guardians to elect arbitrators who should supervise and digest them, so as to prevent renewed misunderstanding between themselves. The expenditure of the prince was first overlooked. It was found that in reference to his table, his wardrobe, and immediate attendants, no reduction was practicable; but it was resolved to dismiss, for the present, his high officers of state; needless, under any circumstances, during his minority, and with slight prospect now existing of their ever being called into requisition. It was proposed that a governess should be appointed to undertake his early education: his mother gladly coincided, and nominated to the office Lady Howard, the daughter of Heenvliet, who was recently married to Sir Thomas Howard, her master of the horse. But a suggestion was made whether his personal attendants should not be both Protestants and natives of Holland. As to the religious creed, the princess cordially agreed, but she wished for license, should any sufficient reason exist, to dispense with the latter condition, and the point was conceded, with a recommendation that infringements should be avoided as much as possible. The oath of fidelity to the prince, which had heretofore been exacted from his household, was now dispensed with, and in place of it was substituted a simple exhortation of obedience to his guardians and fidelity to himself.

As to the principality of Orange, in which the princess claimed the sole authority, though her claim was still not recognized by the other guardians, it was resolved that the revenues should be paid to her, and that for the present the affair should be allowed to remain in *statu quo*. A few minor points were also discussed: it was inquired on whom should devolve the expenses of alterations, repairs, &c., made in the four dower residences assigned to the princess by her husband's will; whether they should be

discharged from her own revenues, or from those of the young prince. The princess, who, for the sake of her brothers, was anxious to control her expenses, announced her intention of resigning two of the palaces, and retaining only those of Breda and Hounslerdike for her own especial use; the expense of the necessary reparations of these, with the keeping of the gardens, woods, warrens, &c., was agreed to be discharged from the prince's revenues, but any additions or decorations which the princess might desire, were to be made at her own cost.¹ These regulations were drawn up into a series of articles, and signed by the two princesses and the lords arbitrators.

Mary spent the winter principally at the Hague, entering into such occasional diversions as its limited society afforded. At an entertainment given to her and her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, by Mrs. Henderson, the widow of an English captain, they danced until three o'clock in the morning. She also gave an audience to the French ambassador, M. de Chanut, lately arrived at the Hague; but the Queen of Bohemia blamed her for receiving him, surrounded only by her own suite, instead of following her example, in requesting the attendance of "at least eight or nine very handsome young gentlemen," who had given *éclat* to the queen's court on a similar occasion, and who were disappointed not to be called into requisition by her niece; but Mary's pride prevented her from availing herself of the adventitious aid of persons of inferior rank to swell her *cortège*.²

The princess royal removed in the middle of April with her young son to Breda, where she renewed the project which had failed the preceding year, of joining

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 284.

² Queen of Bohemia to Lord Craven, Dec. i, 1653; from the private collection of the Earl of Craven.

her brother at Spa, though contrary to the advice of her council, who urged her remaining in Holland, to encourage those States which were strongly protesting against the acts recently passed in reference to her son.¹ Mary, however, hoped to benefit her son more by her absence than she could do by her presence; for a reunion of potentates was projected at the Spa, amongst whom were to be the Prince of Transylvania, Count William of Friesland, and the Elector of Brandenburg: the latter prince was now in hearty concord with her, and had recently been honoured with the garter by Charles II. With these allies and members of the House of Orange, Mary wished to hold a consultation on its future prospects, and the modes to be adopted for restoring it to its primitive position. Consequently, having obtained from her physician an opinion that the waters of Spa would prove beneficial to her health, she set out early in July, attended by Lord Craven, and the very day after her arrival, the king also reached the Spa.²

Charles II. and his sister met again with heartfelt pleasure. A recently-promised present to the king from the emperor of 200,000 rix-dollars, part of which was already paid, placed him more at his ease, and greatly increased the number of loyal but poverty-stricken royalists who flocked to his court. Among these seeming friends was at least one hidden foe; Charles was often astounded and troubled to find that his most secret plans, divulged to none but his trusty adherents, found their way in an inconceivably brief interval to Whitehall, and were retailed, with conjectural additions, by the Parliamentary news-writers; and a reference to the State papers of the

¹ Newspapers, May and June, 1654; Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 368, 373, 385, 390.

² Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 717; Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 385, 390; Perfect Account, August 2.

period proves the system of espionage to have been carried on with refined duplicity, and regardless of expense. The nameless spy writes home to request that all letters sent to him might be worded in the royalist, not the republican slang, as he has repeatedly heard threats uttered against the unknown English spy who betrayed secrets; but adds that he has so insinuated himself into the royal confidence, and into that of some of his council and of his bedchamber, that they can take few steps of which he will not be cognizant.¹ From his letters many of our future details are derived; he was detected at length, and suffered the fitting penalty of his treachery.

The weather, during the first fortnight, was very unseasonable for the royal pleasure-takers; they were almost confined to the house, but they continued to make merry within doors. The spy informer writes that many ambassadors and agents flocked to the king, and were as merry as though he had three kingdoms, which they gave out he shortly would have; that his train increased so fast, that it would soon be like a little army, and that, with morning chit-chat and evening dances, time passed cheerily away.² The following letter from Charles to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, gives an insight into their mode of life:—

“Madam,

“Cologne, August 6th.

“I am just now beginning this letter in my sister’s chamber, where there is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much less write sense. For what concerns my sister’s journey, and the accidents that happened on the way, I leave her to give your majesty an account of; I shall only tell your majesty that we are now thinking how to pass our time, in which we find two difficulties; the one for want of the fiddlers, the other for somebody both to teach and assist at the dancing the new dances; and I have got my sister to send for Silvius, as one that is able to perform both; for the fiddle-de-dees, my Lord Taafe does promise to be their convoy, and, in the meantime we must content ourselves with those that makes no difference between a hymn and a coranto.

“I have now received my sister’s picture, that my dear cousin the

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 449, 488, 502.

² Ellis’s Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 376.

Princess Louisa was pleased to draw, and 'do desire your majesty thank her for me, for 'tis a most excellent picture, which is all I can say at present ; but that I am,

“ Madam,

“ Your Majesty's most humble

“ and most affectionate nephew and servant,

“ CHARLES R.¹

“ To the Queen of Bohemia, my dearest aunt.”

The grand subject of court gossip was furnished by the movements of the Queen of Sweden, Christina, whose extraordinary renunciation of her crown rendered her, for the time being, the world's wonder. She was now on her travels, and it was commonly reported that she would take the Spa in her route ; she was expected almost daily, and a house already taken for her. Some said that she had fallen in love with Charles, and intended to marry him, she herself countenancing the report by sending him a rich jewel, drinking his health in public, and gazing upon his portrait, which, enchased with pearls, she always wore round her neck ; others added a second projected marriage between the now King of Sweden, Charles X., and the princess royal. Mary, it was said, was too young and too lovely to remain a widow all her days ; she was fitted to grace any throne, had an ample dowry, and the double marriage would be most important to Charles II. by allying the Stuart cause to the kingdom of Sweden.

The eccentric Christina, however, baffled all conjectures upon her proceedings ; she was first at Hamburgh, where the King of Denmark, and almost all the princes of the House of Saxony, visited her ; thence she travelled in disguise, with only four or five attendants, by Zwoll, Utrecht and Gorcum, to Antwerp, where she arrived in the attire of a page, without a single female attendant, not even a maid, in her company, availing herself of the casual services of any female at hand, for the light duties

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 488, 490, 499.

of her toilet.¹ Her residence there proved so agreeable to her, that, after keeping the newsmongers in suspense for several weeks, she at last announced her intention to remain in Flanders during the winter, so that the party at Spa were disappointed of the hoped-for gratification of their curiosity, whilst the marriage of the King of Sweden with a princess of Holstein completed the demolition of the aerial castle on which they had proposed to reconstruct the fortunes of Charles II.²

A few butts of Rhenish wine, and the arrival of supplies of money, small but timely, from Germany, consoled the pleasure-loving monarch; and in sipping Spa waters, dancing, and railing against Cromwell and his minions, the time passed on, till the middle of August, when the king and princess resolved to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, owing to the small-pox having broken out at the Spa, of which Mrs. Killigrew, one of the princess's women, fell ill and afterwards died.³

This place had been recommended to Mary, on account of its hot baths, to which it was usual to resort, after drinking the cold waters of the Spa; and she took the two largest hotels in the place for her use and that of her brother.⁴ The king's train consisted of 80 persons, and his travelling equipage was good, but he did not keep house himself: he was the guest of his sister, who had a table specially for him, and paid for his lodgings—his servants being at board wages. The magistrates of Aix welcomed their royal visitors with all courtesy, and sent them a present of wine. On the 7th of September, the whole party were invited by the canons to be present at even-song in the cathedral. They accepted the invitation,

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 466, 491, 499, 526; Newspapers, July to November, 1654.

² Ibid, vol. ii. pp. 510, 515.

³ Ibid. p. 528; Gazette de France, 1654, p. 952.

⁴ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 720.

and about 3 P.M. the king and princess took their places in the choir, in state chairs, covered with black velvet, when the music, which was selected and performed with great care, commenced. At its conclusion, two of the canons came forward to thank the king and his sister for the honour which their presence had conferred, and to ask if they would be pleased to view the antiquities and relics of the church. They complied, and the princess kissed the skull and hand of her illustrious ancestor, Charlemagne, whilst Charles drew out and kissed the sword of the ancient hero, and measured it with his own.¹

The young Landgrave of Hesse, arriving at Aix, increased the liveliness of the circle. He invited the king to a hunting and hawking excursion, which lasted from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon, after which the whole party went to sup with the princess royal. Etiquette was thrown aside, and they all sat at the same table, and were "extreme merry." Healths went freely round, and Charles gaily drank to the Queen of Sweden, on whose love for him he was perpetually rallied; and in drinking, dancing, and singing, the evening hours were spent. The landgrave remained only a few days, but on the 17th of September, Count William, of Friesland, and his wife arrived. The princess was at the baths in the morning of that day, and her brother, with five or six attendants all on foot, came to escort her home, and they walked back to their lodgings through the streets of the city. In the afternoon they both went in state, with their respective suites, to call upon the Count and Countess of Friesland; Mary met them with respect and cordiality, which they reciprocated; and the good feeling established by a succession of visits, when neither party was under restraint from the presence of the princess-dowager, was a source of great comfort to the princess royal.²

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 567.

² Ibid. pp. 586, 591, 599, 601.

The king had thoughts of wintering at Aix, but the air of the place did not suit him, and he felt disposed to try Cologne. His only fear was lest the people, who were turbulent in their temper, and strongly under the influence of Romanism, should not receive him courteously. It was therefore resolved that the princess should take that town in her homeward route,—that he should accompany her so far on her journey, and regulate his future proceedings by the nature of their reception.¹

On the 8th of October, Charles and Mary left Aix-la-Chapelle, and spending a single night at Juliers, in Flanders, where the Spanish garrison received them with a royal salute, went on to Cologne. The princess had sent harbingers beforehand, who engaged for her use the house of a Protestant widow, in which Dutch ambassadors who had missions to Cologne were wont to lodge: it is described as a “very fair and curious house, full of decent rooms, and pleasant gardens.”

No sooner was the approach of the king and his sister known than thirty cannons discharged their thunders; and on their arrival at their residence, the magistrates sent a band of 300 musketeers to fire a triple salute before the door, and waited upon them with a complimentary harangue of welcome, and the offer of all the honour and duty they could tender, and of any accommodation their city could yield; in earnest of which were presented silver pots of Rhenish wine, and two casks of their choicest wines sent into the royal cellars. The following day, the College of Jesuits invited them to an entertainment, and welcomed them with several learned harangues, after which followed divers scenic representations, and then the royal party were ushered in state into the refectory. There, seven young boys stood ready to receive them, each bearing a shield inscribed with one of the seven

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 723.

letters forming the word Carolus: after each child had sung a brief stanza of gratulation, all turned their shields simultaneously, and the letters of the word Colonia appeared; upon which they dropped on the knee before the royal pair, and chaunted Colonia's welcome. Other speeches and music followed, after which a banquet was served of the choicest fruits in season. The king and princess did not sit down to table, but partook, standing, of some wine and fruits, and retired with expressions of courteous acknowledgment to their hosts.¹

During the ensuing days, they rambled together *incognito* through the ancient city, admiring its quaint architecture and visiting its monasteries. Sometimes they hunted in the environs, and once they condescended to partake of a noble entertainment, prepared for them by an English merchant resident in the city.² On the Sunday they crossed over the Rhine to Mulheim, to attend service in the reformed church.³

The Elector of Cologne sent to express his regret at being unable to wait upon them in person, and the Duke of Neuburg requested that, as they were in the immediate neighbourhood of his dominions, they would honour him with a visit. As the time of Mary's return home was approaching, it was agreed that they should avail themselves of the invitation in her route homewards.

On October 28th they partook of a splendid collation, prepared for them by the magistrates of Cologne at the Hôtel-de-ville, and took leave of their hospitable entertainers.⁴ On the 29th they embarked on the Rhine in a handsome barge, and sailed, with a fair and pleasant breeze, to Dusseldorf. On landing, they found coaches

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 724 ; Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 465, 661 ; Gazette de France, p. 1164.

² Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 677, 684.

³ Faithful Scout, Oct. 1654.

⁴ Gazette de France, p. 1224.

and horses waiting to convey them to the palace, and about a mile's distance from it, the Duke and Duchess of Neuburg, with a long train of their chief nobility, came to meet them, and gave them the most cordial welcome. The king and princess, with the Marquis of Ormonde and Lady Stanhope, were placed in the same coach with their host and hostess, their suites bringing up the rear. From the moment in which they entered their carriages, salutes of cannon, bands of music, and other festive gratulations, accompanied them, till they arrived at the palace, where a repast was set out,—covering twenty-two tables of sixty-eight dishes each,—placed in different gradations of honour. The duke treated King Charles in every respect as though he were an absolute monarch, and had never known misfortune. He himself presented the napkin for the king to wash his hands before dinner, and only desisted from such services at the earnest entreaty of his royal guest.

They were thus courteously entertained for three days, when, resisting the importunities of the duke to share his hospitality awhile longer, they took their leave, much gratified by a reception in accordance rather with what they had been, than with what they were.¹ The etiquette of rank, cumbrous and often wearisome to those with whom it is an undisputed right, becomes a graceful and significantly welcome tribute to those who have little more than empty forms left to distinguish them. Charles II. was royally received in every town through which he passed, even in several of those belonging to the States, despite the prohibition issued against his entering their dominions, which prevented his proceeding farther than Santen. Amidst the outward merriment of the last few months, the ominous aspect of affairs in England had often caused the royal brother and sister to veil an aching heart beneath a mirthful countenance, and they parted with

¹ Thurloe, vol. ii. pp. 694, 701, 2; Newspapers, October and November, 1654.

mutual sorrow. The warm-hearted Mary shed a torrent of tears, and her brother could offer her little consolation, as neither of them knew when or how they might meet again. The king then returned to Cologne, where he hired a house for the winter.

MARY,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER III.

MARY's return home—The Queen attempts to pervert the Duke of Gloucester—Mary's distress—Corresponds about it with the Chancellor—She sends for her brother—Helps Charles II. in an attempt upon England—Its failure—States forbid her reception of Charles II.—Her neglect of literature—Her letters to Charles—Duke of Gloucester joins Charles at Cologne—Mary follows him thither—They visit Frankfort fair—Interview with Christina of Sweden—Ill conduct of the Elector Palatine—Mary's return—Delicate health—Exercise and diversions—Determines on a visit to France—Anne Hyde—Charles opposes the French journey—Correspondence about it—He yields—Consultations about Mary's train—Farewells—She sets out—Letter to her brother—Journey and arrival—Courteous reception—Balls and Fêtes—Stays a year—Her return—Treaty of Charles II. with Spain—Mary gives money for an expedition to England—Visits her brother at Bruges—Her efforts on his behalf—Composes a quarrel between the King and Duke of York—Letters to Charles II.—Misunderstanding between him and Mary—Her correspondence with Lady Balcarres and with Charles—Henry Jermyn—Charles wishes to remove him from Mary's Court—She opposes it—Their reconciliation—Mary's parrot—Philip Stanhope—De Thou offended with Mary—The two Dukes at the Hague—Mary compelled to dismiss them—Not allowed to see her brothers in the States' dominions—Charles II. forbidden to be prayed for in public—Early promise of the young Prince—Medal—Efforts on his behalf—Death of Cromwell—Deliberations—Charles II. proposes for a Princess of Orange—Mary displeased—The match falls through—Ill prospects of the Stuarts—Visitors at the Hague—The young Prince sent to Leyden—Well received—Mary visits

Charles II. at Brussels—Death of Heenvliet—Affairs of Orange—Retrospective view—Mary declared Regent—Opposed—Calls in the aid of Louis XIV., who takes possession of Orange—Restoration of Charles II.—Change of policy in European States, Princess Dowager, &c.—Servility of Holland—Charles and Mary at Breda—Resort of all classes to them—Thanksgiving-day—Invited to the Hague—Journey thither—Reception—Fêtes—Presents—Charles commends his sister and nephew to the States—Departs for Scheveling—Goes on board the Admiral's ship—Takes leave of his sister and aunt—They return to the Hague—Charles sails for England.

MARY, pursuing her route, sailed down the Rhine to Delfthaven, and thence went on to Teyling, where her young son, who had been several days awaiting her arrival, welcomed her with great joy; there she proposed to remain for the winter.¹ In the caresses of her child, and in the frequent visits of her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia,² Mary found some relief for the oppression of her spirits; but a new sorrow awaited her.

Queen Henrietta Maria was plotting the conversion of her younger son, the Duke of Gloucester, and placing before him, in tempting array, every inducement which she thought likely to attract a boy of fourteen. She removed from him his tutor, Mr. Lovel, and placed about him her own almoner, Mr. Montague; but the young Prince, though little of a theologian, had his heart too deeply imbued with the love of the Protestant faith to be willing to yield. The recollections of the sad parting scene with his father, and of the exhortations to steadfastness which he then received, were stereotyped in his memory, and he showed a constancy that alike surprised and displeased the queen. Tidings of what was transpiring were communicated to Charles II., and he was much moved. He well knew how ready were his opponents to seize on any pretext of branding him with Popish tendencies, and that the perversion of one of his brothers would greatly increase the prejudices against the family; he therefore wrote him a strong and touching letter on the subject, dated from Cologne, Nov. 10th, 1654.³

¹ Weekly Post, Nov. 23; Merc. Polit. Nov. 3, 1654.

² Queen of Bohemia to Lord Finch, Ashmole MS. 1763, No. 1795; *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 476.

³ Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 142.

The following is an extract from this letter:—

“Do not let them persuade you, either by force or fair promises; for the first they neither dare nor will use, and for the second, as soon as they have perverted you, they will have their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed that there is a purpose to put you into the Jesuits’ college, which I command you, upon the same grounds, never to consent unto. And whensoever anybody shall go to dispute with you in religion, do not answer them at all; for, though you have the reason on your side, yet they, being prepared, will have the advantage of anybody that is not upon the same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, remember the last words of your dead father, which were, to be constant to your religion, and never to be shaken in it—which, if you do not observe, this shall be the last time you will hear from,

“Dear brother,
“Your most affectionate brother,
“CHARLES R.”

Sir Edward Hyde immediately sent these details to the Princess of Orange, telling her also that the Court of France took much interest in the design. He adds:

“I have informed your royal highness of all that is known here of this business; for, though his majesty received letters from the queen and from my Lord Jermyn, of the latest date, neither her majesty or my lord make the least mention of this important matter. I have never in my life seen the king, your brother, in so great trouble of mind; and, as he hath now written to the queen, and to the Duke of Gloucester, and to others, his full sense of the injury, so he will do whatever else he can think of to prevent so insupportable a mischief, of which I am sure your royal highness will have as melancholy and perplexed a consideration as his majesty hath.”

Mary was in general a miserable correspondent; she had never, from childhood, conquered her reluctance to the use of the pen; but she was so much excited by this communication that she replied at once as follows:—

“Mr. Chancellor,

“I give you as many thanks for your letter as I wish myself ways to hinder this misfortune that is likely to fall upon our family by my brother Harry’s being made a Papist. I received a letter from my brother this last week; all the counsel I was able to give him was to resolve to obey his Majesty’s orders, and not to let his tutor go from him without the king’s leave. This last, I fear, he has not been able to perform; I pray he may the first, for certainly there could not have happened a more fatal thing to his majesty at this time; but I hope God

will give us some means of preventing it; if there is likelihood of any, I entreat you to let me know it, for it would be a very great satisfaction to,

“ Mr. Chancellor,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ Teyling, this 16th of November, 1654.”

“ MARIE.”¹

Hyde sent the following rejoinder:—

“ Madam,

“ I had not the madness to imagine it possible that any humble address of mine should be rewarded by your royal highness with such a signal honour as I have received from your own royal hand; but your highness delights to enlarge those hearts which are so particularly devoted to your service. The very steady carriage of the Duke of Gloucester, in his temptation, hath so abundantly satisfied the king, your brother, that I believe as soon as he hears of my Lord of Ormond's arrival in Paris, (which I hope he will shortly do,) his majesty will be even secure against that fear, without lessening his care to make the apprehension unnecessary. Mr. Montague hath taken upon him to decide certain cases in which the duke is not obliged to obey the king, and in which he must resign himself entirely to the queen; therefore the king hath added the removal of so desperate a casuist to the dispatch he had made by my lord-lieutenant, and hath desired the queen, and commanded his brother, not to suffer him to come near him; in which, I doubt not, his majesty will be obeyed, since no particular person can be thought so necessary to the work in hand as, for his sake, so expressly to disoblige and contradict the king. And I hope Mr. Montague is so jealous of the love of his mother, the church, that he will not wish she should receive such a proselyte as he is, without the merit of the conversion. The king hath positively commanded Mr. Lovell to continue his attendance upon the duke, notwithstanding any direction to the contrary, and hath besought her majesty not to compel his highness to disobey his majesty in that particular. I have never seen the king so awakened as in this business, nor hath he needed any man's advice to consider of proper expedients to prevent the mischief, and I am confident God will bless his and your zeal in it, and both of you the better for it.

“ Your royal highness will vouchsafe to dispose of this warrant; the other his majesty prepares with his own hand.”²

Had Mary followed the impulses of her own heart, she would at once have offered her persecuted brother a home and a shelter from the perils to which he was exposed; but the recent dictum of the States left her no longer the option of inviting her royal relatives, and the Duke was therefore conducted by the Marquis of Ormond into Flanders, on

¹ Clarendon papers, vol. iii. p. 258, from the original.

² Ibid, vol. iii. p. 259.

his way to join the king at Cologne. Mary sent one of her gentlemen to Brussels to meet and welcome him. At Antwerp he was taken seriously ill, and her fears were much excited. She sent Sir Thomas Howard, one of her gentlemen, to see him, and, affection predominating over prudence, she had him brought to Teyling that she might herself watch over him.

The Queen of Bohemia, who was never many days absent from Mary's court, writes: "I am extreme glad the king permits him (the Duke of Gloucester,) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my dear niece; it will be a great contentment to her, and no hurt to him; and as long as there is nothing told to the States of him, they will take no notice of it: This I know is true."¹ True it proved to be, and after they had remained some time at Teyling, Mary ventured occasionally to take her brother with her to the Hague, where several fêtes were given, to which she was invited.

On the 9th of January, 1654-5, the infant child of Prince William of Friesland was baptized, and the princesses royal and dowager, with the young Prince of Orange, were requested to stand sponsors. A grand collation and a ball followed the ceremony, and Mary permitted her young son to be present at the supper. Though only four years of age, he was reported to sit very still all the time, and to attract much attention from the guests, especially the Holland deputies who were present.

The lively Queen of Bohemia records in her letters two masquerades at which the princess was present; the first at the Hague, in which she was "very well dressed like an Amazon;" in the second, which she gave herself at Teyling, she "was a gipsy, and became her dress extremely well; Mrs. Hyde (Anne Hyde), a shepherdess, and I assure you very handsome in it; none but her mistress looked better than she did²."

From this routine of amusement the princess was recalled to the consideration of serious affairs. At this period a proposal was made by Charles II., for a general rising of his friends in England, for which dissensions

¹ Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 158.

² Queen Bohemia to Nicholas, 10th and 11th Jan. 1655, Evelyn, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160; Same to Charles II. Jan. 17, Lamb. MS., 645, art. 76.

among the Parliamentarians seemed to offer a suitable juncture; and the king was exhorted to be on the sea-coast, in close proximity to England, so that he could head the movement at a few hours' notice, if it proved successful. He was, as usual, ill supplied with money, and he addressed his sister in the following terms.

"I write to you now upon a business I think I never wrote to you before upon in my life, and I never was more unwilling to do it than now. It is of money, of which, I believe, you are not much better provided than myself; yet I cannot but tell you that I am like, within a few days, to have a good occasion offered me, upon which, if I can lay hold, I may lay a foundation to compass all my business, and truly, if I am not able, I may feel the inconvenience long. I know you are without money, and cannot very easily borrow it, at least upon so little warning; but, if you will send me any jewel that I may pawn for 1500*l.* sterling, I do promise you, you shall have the jewel again in your hands before Christmas, and I shall be able to make a journey that I think will do my business. This is only between you and me, and I do not desire it should be known to anybody else, and if you think I may pass through the States' dominions incognito, without giving them offence, I can take some such place in my way as I may conveniently see you. Let me know your mind as soon as may be."¹

Mary's reply was as usual favourable; and encouraged by the late connivance of the States at the presence of the Duke of Gloucester, she told the king that she believed his calling upon her at Teyling, on his way to Zealand, would not be taken amiss;² but she presumed too far, and the States reminded her of the delinquency in the following mandate, which we translate from the Dutch original;—

"Most illustrious Princess,

"We are privately informed that King Charles, your royal highness's lord and brother, hath made his repair into the parts under the obedience of this state, and particularly that his abode is at present in the house at Teyling. And albeit we cannot in anywise believe, nor, according to the wisdom and discretion of the above-mentioned lord-king, expect that either he should desire or dare to take upon him to resort into the limits of this state, and to be within the province of Holland and West Friesland, contrary to the treaty of peace made last year with the commonwealth of England, and directly contrary to our express orders mentioned in our resolutions of the 30th July, and of the the 2nd and 4th of August of the year 1653, and in virtue of them, of

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 378.

² Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 54, 100, 114.

our letters then sent to your royal highness :—we have, nevertheless, for good reasons, and for a sufficient discharge to ourselves, thought fit to represent the premises to your royal highness, herewithal desiring and willing you, with all speed, to be pleased to inform and assure us of the real truth thereof ; no way doubting, but praying and warning your royal highness to be pleased, by all good offices and endeavours, to help to hinder, and prevent that the fore-mentioned lord-king do not repair within the power of their high mightinesses. Whereon we reposing, most illustrious princess, do commend your royal highness to God's protection.

“ Given at the Hague this 18th of March, 1653.”¹

To this missive the princess vouchsafed no reply beyond a verbal message to the servant who brought it, that the States were mistaken, and that her brother was not at Teyling. She narrated the circumstances to Sir Edward Hyde in the following letter:²

“ Mr. Chancellor,

“ I cannot tell what to think of this week's news, for, though we have had no good, yet I will not say we have any very bad ; but the delay, which I hope our friends have better grounds for than I can imagine ; I confess my fears increase, for which I think last night I had a new reason, the States of the province of Holland having writ to me a very uncivil letter in relation to the king, for the subject of it was to desire me to let them know whether the king were here ; for, seeing it was against their treaty, they neither believed he would or durst come into their dominion. This is the sum of that which they enlarged themselves upon. I have given order to have it translated into English, that I may the better remember it, when, may be, *they* will not desire I should. I will send you a copy, for it deserves to be kept ; I shall do the same to Dusseldorf, from whence I have received twice letters since I writ last to you.

“ Your very affectionate,

“ MARIE.

“ Teyling, this 19th of March, 1655.”

The fears of the princess, in reference to the movement in England, were well grounded : it completely failed ; Charles left Zealand, where in anxious privacy he had been waiting its results, and early in April returned to Cologne, attended by Lord Ormond, Colonel Blake, and a few servants.³

The Duke of Gloucester still remained with his sister.

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 266. A translation of it, though less close is published in Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 163. See also Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 255.

² Ibid. p. 259.

³ Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 277, 293, 339.

Mary hoped that, as she had conceded the point of dismissing the young king, their high-mightinesses would overlook the presence of a mere boy, but she was mistaken. The prince offended them by sundry assumptions of regal ceremonial, probably the result of thoughtlessness, especially that of mounting his horse at the foot of the stairs, within the court, instead of at the outer door. Repeated messages were sent requesting his dismissal, and though no notice was taken of them at the time, Charles II. thought it prudent to send for him, and the young prince took his departure, his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, and his sister accompanying him several miles on his journey towards Cologne. His removal was timely, for the States-General, who were more than usually subservient to England, were actually deliberating on possessing themselves of the person of the duke, if he was obstinate in remaining. Many provinces blamed these proceedings, and the common people, interested by the graceful beauty and early misfortunes of the young Stuart, execrated the harshness which thus made him a two-fold exile.¹

Amongst the busy events of Mary's changeful life, we find very few allusions of a literary character. The early period at which her education ceased, may have been the chief cause of this deficiency, still it is surprising that the example of her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, and emulation of her cousins, the Princesses Palatine, several of whom were amongst the most learned and accomplished women of Europe, should not have induced her to pay more attention to the cultivation of her mind. French was the only foreign language she knew well: even the Dutch, which she had been accustomed to hear since she was twelve years of age, she understood only imperfectly. We find rare mention of books sent to her, and now and then an ultra-royalist would pay her the compliment of a dedication, but none of the literati of the day flocked to her court, as they did to the humbler court of Elizabeth of Bohemia, to seek the sympathizing patronage of a congenial spirit. She was satisfied with the homage spontaneously accorded to her beauty, and to

¹ Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 428-9, 457.

her proficiency in the lighter and more attractive accomplishments of her sex.

Her younger brothers were more studiously disposed. When the Duke of Gloucester joined the king at Cologne, they began to study Italian together, and wrote to Mary, requesting her to provide them with books. She sent the following reply, addressed to Charles:

“Hague, 2 May, [1655.]

“I have received your note of what Italian books you would have, and hope to get them to send to you by the chancellor, though it will not be so easy for me to do now, because Oudart is not in town.

“The letters from France this post gives us as good news as the other did bad; for it is believed now that there will be no peace between that crown and England; which I am extremely glad of, though I do not think our lords and masters will; for it will, there is no doubt, be of great prejudice to these provinces. I have not had, this week, a letter from my brother the Duke of York; therefore am not able to tell you what he thinks of his condition; yet I am sure it must be much better than last week we believed.

“Your wife is resolving whether she will write or no: therefore I am to say nothing to you from her; but will keep open my letter as long as the post will permit, to expect what good nature will work,—which I find now does not at all; for it is now eleven of the clock, and no letter comes.”

The “wife” here alluded to was Mrs. Barlow, the king’s mistress, whose son, the Duke of Monmouth, afterwards caused a civil war by the assertion of an unproved though not improbable legitimacy.

The princess removed to Hounslerdike, whence she again addressed her brother on the 21st of June.

“I do now absolutely believe that Cromwell will have peace with France, and fall out with Spain, which will be better than nothing, for some friends are better than none. The States are sending our troops against the King of Sweden, before they know he is their enemy. I am more sorry for their neighbourhood, because it will be in my way to Cologne; but that cannot hinder me, for sure I shall not be denied a convoy. I am not yet able to tell you positively the day I go from hence, but next week I shall; for there is nothing I am so impatient for as the happiness of seeing you. Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all she can say. I tell her, it is because she thinks of another husband, and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband: it is a frailty they say is given to the sex; therefore you will pardon her, I hope.”

As Mary was unable to see her brothers at home, she

resolved, as intimated in her letter, to visit them at Cologne; further induced to do so by the fact, that there was to be a general gathering of the king's friends in that place, the Prince of Tarente and his family, Prince Rupert and Lord Craven having already arrived. She sent Tom Killegrew as her agent to secure suitable accommodation.¹ Meanwhile she left Hounslerdike for the Hague, to honour with her presence a superb collation and ball, given by Henry Charles de la Tremouille, Prince of Tarente, on the baptism of his young son, Carolus Belgicus Hollandus, Duke of Thouars.²

The princess set out for Cologne with a considerable train in the middle of July; on the 30th the Duke of York met her at Meurs, and the following day Charles also came to greet her, and conducted her to Cologne,³ but her health was for several weeks so indifferent, that the king was unwilling to leave her, even to attend the calls of business.

Towards the beginning of September, however, her indisposition gave way, and she took a trip *incognito*, with her elder brother, to Frankfort fair, then the resort of persons of all classes, and a general mart for aristocratic as well as commercial Germany. A contemporary gives the following account of their journey:

“Having been lately at Frankfort fair, I there saw the Scottish king (as they call him), with whom there was his sister the Princess of Orange, and his youngest brother, Henry, who travelled altogether from Cologne to Frankfort.

“That they might seem to go the more privately, they took no great retinue along with them. Charles had for attendants the Marquis of Ormond, the old Lord Goring, and the Lord Newburgh. He had also Doctor Fraser, a Scotchman, his physician, and Mr. O’Neile, groom of his bedchamber. Of the attendants of his sister of Orange, there was my Lady Stanhope, and Heenvleit her husband, Mrs. Lane, together with some inferior servants. When they went from Cologne they were in a coach with

¹ German Correspondence, July 9, 1655.

² Gaz. de Fr. p. 831.

³ Merc. Polit. August 16.

six horses, and in this equipage they marched beyond Bonne, the place where the Elector of Cologne used to keep his court. The next day they had a pleasure-boat met them, wherein they all embarked themselves, and so were drawn up the river all the way to Frankfort. Their way of travelling was very convenient, for besides the greater, they had two lesser boats fastened to it. In one they conveyed all their beds, trunks, and wardrobe, and they made a kitchen of the other, which was a very fine accommodation for this water voyage, that continued for four or five days, having all their victuals dressed at hand, and at table there was no state nor distinction among them, eating all together (as I hear), to make the more merry.

“In the acting of this frolic, they would needs pretend to pass *incognito*, yet carried the matter so notoriously that it was known all abroad, and therefore in every prince's country that they passed through, they had the civility of a compliment by their chief officers, and were saluted by the great ordnance from all their towns and castles.

“But the compliment was most remarkable in the Elector of Mayence's country, whose grand marshal came and invited them to his master's court; but at present they put off the invitation with an excuse, and sent a lord, the Lord Newburgh, back with the marshal to give the elector thanks, and to let him know their great occasions at Frankfort fair could not be dispensed with then, but in their return they would not fail to visit his electoral highness.”¹

The Queen of Sweden, *en route* from Flanders to Italy, was attracted by this German fair. When it was known that she was in the neighbourhood, Charles sent to request an interview. She assented, and fixed the trysting place at Kœnigstein, twelve miles from Frankfort. The king, with his sister and his young brother, accordingly went to meet her, and had a long interview, leaving her favourably impressed in his behalf. She playfully offered the young Duke of Gloucester a seat in

¹ Merc. Politicus, Oct. 25, 1655.

her coach to Rome, if he would go with her.¹ "The people say," she observed to one of her attendants, "that I am going to Loretto, to offer up a crown and sceptre there; I laid down these regalities in Sweden, but if I had another crown to dispose of, I would rather bestow it on that poor good King of England."² Christina, *incognito*, followed the royal party to Frankfort the next day, and remained some days in the town; their intercourse, however, was productive of no further results than momentary amusement at the caprices of the royal oddity. It was whispered indeed that she had proposals to make to Charles, on the part of the King of Spain, in whose Flemish dominions she had been so long entertained, but the supposition proved groundless.³

On their return from Frankfort, Charles and his sister paid a visit to the Elector of Mayence, who entertained them for three days with great hospitality and magnificence.⁴ "The Elector of Mentz," writes our correspondent, "still continued his kindness, having sent his servants to Frankfort to attend him back, who the night of the day of his return, provided a very noble supper and good lodging for him, at a little village belonging to the same elector, whither he himself came the next morning, and for the more honour brought coaches for him and his followers, and so brought them to a certain place upon the Rhine, not far from Mentz, where it is said they were most nobly feasted for two days; and so, after compliments passed on both sides, they finished their frolic, and returned thence to Cologne, having done somewhat to be talked on."⁵ They were invited to Heidelberg, but the unworthy conduct of their cousin, Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, as recorded in a previous part of this volume,⁶ in stipulating for unwonted concessions as to precedence, made it obligatory upon them to decline the invitation. He had visited Frankfort, and attempted to

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 81.

² Ibid. vol. iv. p. 88; Whitelocke, p. 629.

³ Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 360; vol. iv. pp. 10-12; Newspapers, Sept. 1655.

⁴ Whitelocke, p. 629.

⁵ Merc. Polit. Oct. 27, 1655.

⁶ See page 49 *supra*.

see them casually, and thus waive ceremonials, but they would not consent to meet him on those terms.

As the party passed down the Rhine by Bacharach and Caub, which were in his dominions, refreshments were offered them by order of the elector, but they only accepted some flagons of wine.

Mary tarried at Cologne a few weeks, in order to complete a course of medicine which had been prescribed to her.¹ On the 15th of November she set out on her journey home, Charles accompanied her as before to Santen, whence she proceeded to Teyling, and thence to the Hague, from which place she thus addressed her brother.

“Hague, 2 December, [1655].

“If I forgot to let you know of my receiving your letter, written the Tuesday after you were returned to Cologne, you must not wonder at it; for in earnest I have not been well since I came home, and I know nothing so well able to cure me as to see you in Flanders, which I am very sorry to find is not so near as you expected when we parted; 'tis so late now that I humbly beg your pardon if I do not say much at this time; for truly, writing troubles my head, and I must give a little relation to the doctor of my health; for now from the green sickness I begin to fancy I shall fall into a consumption, though none is of my opinion; which I believe they disguise, because they would put that fancy out of my head that can do me no good.”²

The Queen of Bohemia was much concerned to see her favourite niece looking so worn and pale, and prescribed remedies better suited to her own active temper than to that of the invalid, whom she pronounced to be “deadly lazy.” She wished her to go out hunting in the depth of winter, and when Mary shrank from such exercise, persuaded her to saw billets of wood, and was quite sure that the employment was beneficial to her. She also tried to cheer her spirits by a series of entertainments, of which the princess thus speaks in a letter to her brother.

“Hague, 16th December.

“The post came so late this day that I shall not be able to say so much at this time, because I go to the Queen of Bohemia's after supper, where we play little plays; the Duchess of Tarente and Mdle. de la

¹ Nicholas's Disp. Oct. 19, 1655, Holl. Corresp. State Paper Office.

² Lambeth MS. No. 645, art. 19.

Tremouille is there, and in earnest 'tis no ill divertisement to see the passages between them and their gallants, for they do not, in my opinion, at all strive to hide their inclinations; the time is come that I must be going, therefore I humbly beg your pardon for this short letter, having not time to give you more trouble; but yet I must present my Lady Stanhope's most humble duty to you, with the assuring you we shall never forget to drink the same health."¹

Her sanguine aunt wrote to the king, that her dear niece recovered her health and good looks extremely, and that the dancing with the maskers had done her much good.² But these diversions had no permanent effect in restoring the strength of the princess-royal.

Nervously depressed in spirits, she reverted with renewed eagerness to a project entertained long before, and postponed rather than abandoned, of visiting Queen Henrietta at Paris, and there securing medical advice.

A misunderstanding had arisen between the princess and her mother, in reference to Mary's selection of a maid of honour in place of Mrs. Killigrew, who, as already named, died of small-pox at the Spa. Mary wished to admit to the vacant post Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, influenced both by respect for the father, and preference for the girl, now a comely maiden of eighteen, who had already been at her court on a visit a few years previously,³ and who had lived for some time in a house at Breda, granted by the princess to her mother. Mary was aware that this choice would be disagreeable to the queen, who was violently prejudiced against the chancellor. She therefore wished the admission of Anne Hyde to take place at her brother's request, that she might plead this in excuse to her mother.

The chancellor, however, objected to the whole proposal. He said that as Anne was his only daughter, he should prefer her remaining the companion of her mother, and though the opening might be favourable to his child, yet as he had the misfortune to be disliked by the queen, he would rather decline it than raise any dissension in the royal family. Mary replied by warm assurances of her friendly

¹ Lambeth MS. No. 645, art. 21.

² Ibid. art. 22.

³ Mem. book of Anne Hyde, Addit. MS. 15,900, British Museum. This visit was in 1652 and lasted three weeks.

feeling towards him and his family, and added that she had always paid the queen her mother the respect due to her position, and never given her just cause of offence; but that she was mistress in her own household, and at liberty to select her own servants, and that she should feel herself to blame if, from deference to her mother's prejudices, she omitted the performance of a just and kind action. The chancellor next objected to his poverty, which would prevent his either suitably equipping his daughter, or providing her with an allowance fitting for her residence at court. The princess generously replied, that as she knew his poverty resulted from his fidelity to her brother, she would furnish the necessary funds. Silenced, though unconvinced, Hyde said he must leave the final decision to his wife. "I warrant you my lady and I will agree upon that matter," was the playful rejoinder of Mary; and so it proved; for though the chancellor wrote to Lady Hyde, dissuading her from parting with the girl, she was too much gratified by the prospect of her promotion to withhold her consent,¹ and Anne was accordingly installed into office. The queen-mother was highly affronted, and repeatedly urged her daughter to dismiss "Nan Hyde" from her service; Mary as constantly refused, and a coolness arose between them in consequence. But the queen at length relented, and sent kindly messages to her daughter.

"I do now with great joy tell you," writes Mary to her brother, "that the queen has received my letter, and commanded my brother to tell me, that she is so sick that she could not write; but that when she is well, I shall hear from her; and he withal assures me from himself, that I shall have a kind answer, which in earnest is an extreme satisfaction to me. I hope now there will be a good understanding amongst us all, in spite of all hot heads, which has studied nothing but how to make the queen angry both with you and me."

The queen soon afterwards wrote to her daughter, and though the first letter was pronounced only "*cosi cosi*," in point of kindness, it was followed by another much more friendly, in which Henrietta urged her speedily to come to France, on the ground that a treaty was in progress between Louis XIV. and Cromwell, which, if carried out,

¹ Clarendon's Life, p. 130.

would banish the Stuart princes from the French court, render Mary's presence there unseemly, and deprive her of the opportunity of seeing her brother James, who was, for the present, in Paris.¹

When the princess was at Cologne, the visit to France had been spoken of, and her brother did not object, though at a time when the policy of France was so opposed to him, and when he was wooing, with some success, the favour of Spain, he at heart disliked the proposal. But Charles hated to oppose any one, much more his sister, and that just at the moment when he was compelled to solicit her to provide funds for an embassy to the King of Spain, and when she had increased his already weighty obligations to her, by granting him the necessary pecuniary aid.² He, therefore, contented himself with the precaution of sending to Holland Daniel O'Neil, one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, with instructions to Heenvliet and his wife, Lady Stanhope, the persons of most authority about the princess to oppose her project as much as possible, and for this opposition they did not lack reasons.

There was a general reaction in Holland, in favour of the House of Orange, and the absence of the princess at Cologne had already laid her open to the charge of not being sufficiently active in her son's cause; whilst the dowager-princess, who, after a year's residence in Berlin, had returned to Holland, and been very well received, was increasing in popularity on account of the energy she manifested. Her son-in-law, Prince William of Nassau, was in several provinces chosen captain-general, irrespective of the future rights of the hereditary prince, which formed another ground for uneasiness.³

Chancellor Hyde, who was frequently at the Hague, also opposed the French journey; but Mary, though generally holding his opinion in high esteem, believed him influenced in this instance by his dislike to the queen-mother. O'Neil thus communicates to the king the failure of their efforts to thwart her project:³

¹ Lambeth MS. No. 654, art. 22.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 102, 169.

³ Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 95-6, 311, 331.

"Hague, 30 Nov., 1655.

"I believe your majesty will not be a little troubled to find her highness royal so passionate for her journey into France, at a time when, it may be, it will be for your majesty's advantage to have no commerce with that country. All Monsieur Heenvleit doth say, it is as suspected as if it came from the chancellor, whose reasons she believes are too much biased, and are rather to hinder her meeting with the queen, than for any real disadvantage it can bring your majesty. The opposition Monsieur Heenvleit and his wife gives, begets many favourers of the voyage. Sir Alexander Hume promotes it very much, partly in contradiction to Monsieur Heenvleit, and partly to satisfy the ambition of his wife, who hopes to find *that* in France she has missed at Cologne, by being made of the privy-chamber to the queen. Mr. Howard finds the same satisfaction in opposing Monsieur Heenvleit, and withal of pleasing her highness, which he has not done a long time. All people that are at a distance with her highness's reasons for this journey do imagine there is some other mystery in it than barely seeing the queen; else that she would not, in the height of winter, not being at all well, make so long a journey, leave all her own and her son's business at six and seven, at a time when the princess dowager and Count William have joined Holland to the other provinces to serve their turn, and give an occasion to the Spaniard to suspect your majesty to continue your intelligence with France.

"All this at full is represented to her, but cannot in the least degree alter her, no, not to put off her journey till February, if the want of money did not hinder her. I find she is the more positive in the doing of this, and some other things that Monsieur Heenvleit dissuades her from, to undeceive the world in the opinion they have, that he and his wife govern her. I doubt me she harkens too much to those that are desirous he should be out of her service; a design, if your majesty will not prevent, will soon turn more to her highness's prejudice than this.

"It is thought here, that nothing your Majesty can say can persuade her stay, but that if you write effectually to my Lord Jermyn, to get the queen to put the journey off until April, that by that time there will be other reasons, in all likelihood, to lay it by for this year. Your Majesty may give him, for one good reason for the delay, that the town of Amsterdam does intend, in March, to invite her highness and the little prince thither; and that if *she* should be absent, the princess-dowager will be invited to go along with the prince, whom, if she once get the possession of, she will never quit, having now got more interest in Holland than the princess royal has."¹

A few days later he adds:—

"In my last I have wrote to your majesty, what all here thought of her absence at Cologne, and what ruin they think this journey to France

¹ Lambeth MS. 646, art. 2; Thurloe, vol. i. p. 681.

will draw after it. I do not find it lessens anything of her passion for it; the more she is dissuaded, the more violent she is: which made me persuade Monsieur Heenvleit not to cross her any more, lest it should increase her indisposition, but to take care there should be no money for the journey, which I hope, with what your majesty can persuade the queen to do, shall be brought to reason. The doctor has written by this post earnestly to her to go; and as soon as she could: certainly he cannot believe it good for her health to make such a journey in January. By this post she has sent a list of near seventy-eight persons to the queen, that she intends shall be of her train. I believe not above one-half will be lodged in the Palais royal."¹

The princess, meanwhile, expressed her own sentiments to her brother, in the following affectionate but spirited epistle:—²

“Hague, 29th November, 1655.

“Before I try to satisfy you with my going into France, give me leave to tell you that, not without trouble, I must complain of your usage of me in this particular, which I had no reason to expect from so good a brother; for I do not find by your letters that, since I came from Cologne, you have had any new occasion to think my going to see the queen prejudicial to your affairs with the Spaniards; therefore, if you had been pleased to have used me with that freedom which I always desired, and you often promised me, and had spoken to me of this when I had the happiness to be with you, I should have made as little question to have satisfied you then as now I do whether I shall or no, by some circumstances which I have gathered since I came hither; but howsoever I will do my best, and beseech you first to consider how reasonable a thing all the world must think it in me to desire to see the queen, my mother, which I have not done since I was a child, and next you know that there has been ill offices done me to her majesty, which I hope, by my going quite to remove, as also to put it out of all malicious people's power to make me again so unhappy; besides all this, her majesty has written to me two letters, which I have received since I came hither, so kindly pressing my coming before the spring, because, the peace being concluded, she says she does not know how long she shall stay at Paris, that truly, if I should deny her majesty, it were very barbarous in me; but I beseech you to believe that my going shall be done with all the circumspection imaginable, though I must confess I do not see how it can prejudice your business with Spain; I shall acquaint the Spanish ambassador with it, and the reasons why I go; for assure yourself that there is nothing I would not do to show you the true zeal I have for your service, for if I thought my being locked up all my life in one chamber could contribute anything to it, I would begin to do it this night. For

¹ Lambeth MS. art. 3.

² Ibid, 645, art. 17.

my own business, I can have but little hindrance on that side, for Prince William has so gained the province of Holland, that there is nothing can hinder his being chosen marshal; therefore all I have now to do at the Hague is to settle my son's domestic affairs, which I hope very suddenly to do, and then I must think of my journey to France, which, when you have a little more considered, I hope you will find the sooner I go the better it will be. If it had not been to satisfy you in this particular, I should hardly have written now; for, indeed, I am not at all well, and fear to grow worse."

The king tried to compromise matters, by assuring his sister that his wish was not to prevent her journey altogether, but to induce her to postpone it till about March or April, when he hoped it might be less injurious to his interest. In her reply she writes:—¹

"Last post I was so much troubled with the tooth-ache that I was not able to write, therefore I hope you will pardon me for missing, and believe that that pain did not trouble me more than to find, by your letter, that you do still continue desiring me not to hasten my journey into France; because 'tis not in my power to defer it, for the queen's last letter does continue commanding me to make all the haste I can; therefore I am still in the resolution of going from hence the middle of next month, and to that end I have desired my pass from the Spaniards, by the means of their ambassador here, whom I have so satisfied concerning my journey, that he finds no cause to the contrary; therefore I hope this will, in a degree, give you some satisfaction, which is that I desire most to do in all my actions, for your displeasure upon any occasion would go near to break my heart. And do not think that this journey has anything in it of a desire to see France or Paris, but merely to see the queen, and gratify her in those things which she has been ill-informed concerning myself. For what concerns my own business here, I leave Monsr. Heenvleit to make an end of it, and then to come after me, who will be as well able to do it as if I were present. I will not further trouble you at this time, fearing I have already done it too much in what does not please you so much as I desire, though I do not despair it will when you consider it better; all therefore I will say more now is to humbly desire you to give Fraser leave to go with me into France, for, though I find myself much better than I was, yet my health is not so well settled but what a winter journey may disorder me, therefore I shall take it for a great favour if you will be pleased to grant me this request.

"I give you most humble thanks for the juniper water you sent me; it is the best I ever drunk."

The facile Charles could not withstand her importunity,

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 22.

and he wrote to her that he was willing for her to set out about the middle of January. He omitted to send a similar message to his agents at her court, and they therefore still laboured to mould her to his supposed wishes, till she surprised them by showing his letter authorising her journey. On this subject O'Neil thus addresses the king:—

“I find by your majesty's last to her highness, you are not unwilling she shall go hence about the 15th of the next month. You have much obliged her, for she was much troubled before, at the restraint you put upon her to stay until the beginning of February. I beseech your majesty, when you change your opinion in those things, which you command your servants, that are at a distance from you, that you will be pleased to have them made acquainted with it, lest they run into the same inconveniences Monsieur Heenvleit and his wife did, the day before your letter came to her highness ; for they, pressing the several prejudices of the journey, among the rest insisted much upon that which it would bring upon your majesty's present hopes, which, he said, an unnecessary journey would not (may be) hurt in March or April. Whether this expression, or her being crossed in a thing she has so much set her heart upon, I know not ; but the discourse ended with the little satisfaction of all. The averseness Monsieur Heenvleit has to the journey, she does not believe proceeds from his care of her or her son, but to please those that have no mind she and her mother should meet ; which he and his wife take so ill, that I doubt they will leave her sooner than is convenient for her fortune, and the prince's ; whose estate and hopes in this country is at this time in the greatest disorder, and in the most need of friends that ever it was since his father died. But this persuades little with her highness. I believe it is because she does not believe it, or that she knows she will do little good by her stay. Her highness is not a little unsatisfied with me, believing I contribute to the opposition given her ; and I have but little thanks from Monsieur Heenvleit and his wife, for assuring them that your majesty would have them delay her journey until the latter end of February.

“Now I leave your majesty to judge, whether you are not a little to blame.”¹

Heenvleit and his lady now resolved not to interfere any further with the good pleasure of their mistress. O'Neil writes,—

“Monsieur Heenvleit, finding the opposition he gave to her highness alter nothing of her passion for her journey, and that she really grew sick with his persecutions, he gave over importuning her, conditionally she would leave him and his wife behind to look to her interest, and to see what issue Count William's pretensions would have in the next

¹ Lambeth MS. 646, art. 4.

meeting of the estates. This agreement has put her into a better humour than she has been since her return from Cologne. The last post brought her a letter from the queen, and another from my Lord Jermyn to Monsieur Heenvleit, both hastening her journey, and little answering your majesty's expectations I believe. I saw them both ; that of the queen's says, she doubts the Duke of York will not be permitted to stay her coming thither ; and that if the English ambassador comes *she* must leave Paris. 'Therefore,' she said, 'and for the reasons I gave you before, make haste.' The Spanish ambassador has promised she shall have a pass within fourteen days, which she thinks too much time. Before these letters came, she promised Monsieur Heenvleit to go to Zealand, to set that province right for her son's and your majesty's interest, which he thinks her presence, with his industry, may easily do ; but now she talks of nothing but the nearest way, and to be at Paris the first of February."¹

The reason why Henrietta Maria did not concur in her son's wish to prevent the journey of the princess, was a full persuasion that the obstacles were raised by the Hyde faction, who were anxious to keep Mary from falling under the influence of her mother.² The queen did not, however, enter into explanations with her son ; she simply expressed her confidence that Mary's journey to France would neither hinder his affairs nor harm those of her own son, more than her visits to Spa and Cologne. Her letters, of similar purport to the princess, confirmed her decision to set out at once.

¹ Lambeth MS. 646, art. 5.

² This is explained in a letter from Jermyn to Charles II., dated from Paris, Dec. 31st, 1655.

"I showed your letter of this week to the queen, and she hath sent me her answer. She seemed to me, when I spoke with her at Chaliot, not convinced that the coming of the princess hither was so unseasonable, or like to be so prejudicial, as you represent it : nor, to confess truly, do I believe it so very dangerous ; but, on the other side, not seeing any reasons very pressing for the haste, or for one time rather than another,—more than that the soonest is still the best for bringing those together that desire much to meet, if there be no good reason to forbid it,—I have, as well as I could, conformed myself to your sense in my discourse of the matter ; and though I think no harm will come of the journey, if it should be made, I would be very sorry it should be in the way to bear the blame of that which perhaps it would not be any part of the cause of. And the queen told me she would write to the princess with the representation of all the precaution that should be necessary, so that I believe, before she part, you will have time to provide against all the appearance of the harm of the journey, either by such answers as you will have got from Flanders, or retarding her if you

The next question, and it was one of no small moment in the little world by which the Princess Mary was surrounded, related to the individuals who were to compose her suite. Charles II. intimated his hope that Lady Stanhope would be of the party.

The princess thus replied to her brother's communication:—

“Hague, 3rd January, 1656.

“The kindness of your letter will make me undertake my journey with much more cheerfulness than I should have done without it, for, believe me, I have no greater comfort in this world than yourself, which makes me still hope it will be in nobody's power to alter your affection to me. I have told my Lady Stanhope what you commanded me; but I find Monsieur Heenvliet is so desirous to have her stay to come after with him, that I cannot deny him, though I confess it is very inconvenient for me. I shall very willingly have my Lady Balcarres's company with me into France, which, if she yet intends I shall, she must make haste, for I intend to go from hence the 13th of this month. I give you many thanks for giving the doctor leave to go along with me. I ask you as many pardons for the omitting to write last post. I had been most of the day speaking with Prince William about my son's business, and he and I does not comprehend one way; but yet before I go, I hope we may be all agreed. This is the reason why I had no time to perform this duty. Tom Howard desires me to tell you that, from hence, he is not able to do that he spoke to you of at Cologne; but, when I am in France, he will have much better conveniency, without suspicion.”

The reason of the objection felt by Lady Stanhope and her husband to accompanying their royal mistress was, that they believed—though incorrectly—that the reports set on foot the preceeding year, of their abusing their influence over the princess had originated at the Palais Royal, and they were determined to show the English queen that her daughter could act independently enough if she chose.²

shall find cause. The princess's coming hither is so visibly a matter of private consideration, and so remote from any public concernment, that the queen, being so little prevailed with upon the public point, she believes, perhaps even more than there is cause for, of the arts used to hinder the journey; and, if she writes anything to you to that purpose, you ought not to wonder much at it.”—Lamb. MS. 646, art. 33.

¹ Lambeth M.S. 643, art. 23.

² O'Neil thus records the result of his endeavours to persuade them to the contrary:—

“Before your majesty's last letter came, Monsieur Heenvleit ob-

A question then arose about Anne Hyde. The chancellor, one of the few disinterested royalists, had more than once proposed to withdraw his daughter from Mary's service, on account of the painful feeling which she excited in the mind of the queen: but Mary as steadily refused; and she resolved to take her favourite with her to Paris, hoping to challenge for her a place in her mother's good graces.¹ The result of this step was the introduction of Anne Hyde to the Duke of York, which ended in their marriage, and placed two of Lord Clarendon's granddaughters on the throne of England.

The energetic princess urged on her preparations with rapidity, interrupted only by the preparations for a masquerade, which was held on Twelfth-night.² By the middle of January, all arrangements were completed for her departure. The Spanish ambassador waited upon her to pay his compliments, and to forestall, as much as possible, the French influence to which she would soon be subjected, by assurances that his Spanish majesty was ready, to the utmost of his power, to assist her in her efforts for the re-instatement of

tained her highness's permission to have his wife left with him, and that his daughter, Mrs. Howard, (who is of late made governess to the prince) should go in her place. They are both infinitely troubled your majesty should think her going necessary, and that she should not have strength equal to her will to obey your majesty. The truth is she is very weak, and very often sick; but not so ill but that, if Monsieur Heenvleit wait, she would venture; but she thinks it not fit to leave him all alone, forsaken of his friends, and in the midst of all your majesty's and his own enemies. Both he and she give another reason, which passes not so current with me, and they think it the best: it is that, at Cologne, when her highness was in the heat of her passion, she told Monsieur Heenvleit that the world believed she was governed by them; but she would disabuse it. By what means I know not, he has understood that her highness has had this from the Palais Royal; therefore he'll let her go thither without him or his wife, to let the queen see the princess can be as wilful there without them as she can be where they are. They do not at all fear she'll take any impression prejudicial to your majesty; on the contrary, they are confident she'll return of another persuasion than she goes, and they had rather she should find her errors in their absence than when they are with her."—Lambeth MS. 646, art. 6. Printed in *Select Original Letters*, 12mo Lond. 1755, p. 196.

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 274.

² Mary to Charles II. Lambeth MS. 645, art. 24, Holograph.]

King Charles.¹ Through her brother's mediation, a seeming reconciliation took place between Mary and the princess-dowager, by which the inconveniencies of her absence were in some degree diminished.² She took leave of her mother-in-law with a cordiality that wore the semblance of affection, and on the 17th of January she set forth, escorted out of the Hague by the young prince, Count William of Friesland, Lord Brederode and several of the Dutch nobility, and followed by a large train, for Mary had anticipated the income of several years, that she might appear with fitting splendour at Paris.³

So long a journey in the depth of winter, undertaken by a lady in delicate health, was the subject of many surmises. Some said that Mary's object was to attract the attention of Louis XIV., and that she aimed at nothing less than the crown matrimonial of France; but this supposition was by no means probable, at the very juncture when he was making peace with the determined foe of her House. Others said that she was eager to share the festivities of the fair of St. Germain, and of the fêtes and maskings at Paris, which always preceded the period of Lent. This was Mary's assigned reason, and it evi-

¹ Gaz. de France, 1656, p. 117.

² The following letter was addressed to Charles II. shortly afterwards by the princess dowager:—

“Sire,

“My joy in that it has pleased your majesty to honour me by communicating with me on the subject of the good understanding between the princess your sister and myself, has redoubled that which I already felt, and so much more as your majesty offers to interpose your good offices to render it firm and durable, for the advancement of our common interests. I protest, sire, that as I have ardently contributed all that was in my power, I will always continue to do so with the same zeal, knowing how important it is to the prince our pupil and his House; and henceforth I promise myself entire success, since your majesty so kindly interests himself in the matter. I beg you to do me the favour to believe that I am not less desirous for the prosperity of your majesty's affairs, and I pray God that I may see their good and happy termination to your entire satisfaction, as also that he may enable me to testify, by my very humble services, with what love and respect

“I am, sire,

“Your majesty's very humble and obedient servant,

“AMELIA OF ORANGE.

“The Hague, Feb. 25th, 1656.”

³ Public Intellig. Feb. 4, 1656; Merc. Polit. Feb. 21.

dently weighed with her, as she earnestly exhorted one of her ladies, Catherine Stanhope, who could not accompany her, to join her at Paris not later than the beginning of February, or else all the balls and masques would be finished before she arrived.¹ Mary travelled under an escort of sixty horse: Heenvliet accompanied her, with three coaches and many baggage waggons, to Antwerp, and thence to Brussels, where, after having made the necessary business arrangements for her future journeyings, he left her and returned home. From Vilvorden, the next stage, she thus addressed Charles II.:—²

“Vilvorden, 23rd January, 1656.

“When I went from the Hague, there were so many persons that came every hour to take their leave of me, that I hope that will excuse me for not having then performed this duty to give you an account how that the princess dowager, Prince William and I are all agreed, so that I have left the Hague without any apprehension that, in my absence, I shall receive any prejudice, as some time before you apprehended; the particulars Monsieur Heenvliet shall give you an account of when he returns to the Hague, for it would be too long to write it now; for all I will now trouble you with will be to tell you that to-morrow I go from hence to Nostre Dame de Halle, and so forward. I was forced to stay here all this day, because of discharging my goods out of the Brabant's waggons into the rouliers that are to go with me to Paris, which gave me this opportunity to write to you, and give you this small account of my journey, which, thank God, has been very happy by reason of the weather, which I could not have wished better. I take Sir Harry de Vic with me as far as Cambray, for I think he will be very necessary to me so far on of my journey: at Perrone I hope to meet my brother, for he writ me word I should.”³

From Vilvorden Mary sent to request permission from the Archduke Regent of Flanders to pass, with her escort, through his territories, which he freely granted, and ordered several of his trumpeters to attend upon her. The Prince and Princess of Condé sent their compliments, the former offering to attend her with troops, the latter to visit her; but she declined both. Count Hessin also presented himself with 600 horse, and rode by the side of her coach. At the town of Mons the ordnance was fired, torches were lighted, and the magistrates paid her the compliment belonging to royalty, of receiving from

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 412, 440.

² Merc. Polit. Jan. 31st, 1656.

³ Lambeth MS. No. 645, art. 25.

her lips the watchword for the night. The lieutenant-governor of Cambray offered her the same mark of respect, placed a guard of honour at the door of the house where she passed the night, and had all the horse stationed in the town, drawn up to receive her.

From Paris Lord Jermyn writes:—"There is great preparation and disposition to pay her all the honours that she has cause to expect at her arrival, and to divert her during her stay; the king and queen will go to meet her a league or two out of town, and in those cases, you know there wants not other company. The great balls and the masque are reserved for her, and much of the good company of the place resolved to pay her all sorts of respects and civilities, especially those more particularly related than others to you and her, as the House of Guise, Monsieur de Turenne, Monsieur d'Espernon, Madame de Vendôme, and divers others."

Greeting after greeting awaited the princess when she entered the French territory: staunch adherents of her House travelled far to meet her; amongst them is named Henry Carey, the old Lord Rocheford, who had nursed Charles I. in his childhood, and now borrowed horses, having none of his own, to ride out and welcome the princess.¹ At Peronne, on January 28th, she was met, as appointed, by the Duke of York, and also by Lord Gerard, Sir Charles Berkeley, &c., and by M. Sauguin, maître d'hôtel to the French king, who had orders to take upon himself all expenses of the rest of her journey. In compliance with a private hint from her mother, Mary declined this honour, and also a proposal, on the part of the French royal family, to come some distance from Paris to give her the meeting. Her further route lay through Roye, Mouchi, to Senlis, where she was harangued by the magistrates. On February 1st she was met by the Count Estrades, on behalf of Cardinal Mazarin, and on the 3rd she arrived at Bourgel, within six miles of Paris, where her mother, from whom she had been parted for thirteen years, and the young sister whom she had never yet seen, were waiting to greet her.²

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 443.

² Gaz. de Fr. p. 143; Merc. Polit. Feb. 7.

Sorrow had made sad changes in the once beautiful face of Henrietta Maria, whilst her daughter, though she, too, had suffered much since they parted, yet, with the elasticity of youth in her favour, presented a striking resemblance to what Henrietta herself was, when she first came, a bride, to England. The mother and daughter had not much time allowed for mutual unbosomings: at St. Denis, another august party awaited the princess, consisting of her aunt, the queen-mother of France, her two cousins, Louis, the young king, and Philip, Duke of Anjou, with his eminence Cardinal Mazarin. After the interchange of courteous and courtly welcomings, the procession moved on, preceded by the flourish of trumpets, towards the Palais Royal, where the suite of rooms formerly occupied by the late Cardinal Richelieu, handsomely furnished, was placed at Mary's disposal; but, excepting in the point of apartments, she was her own hostess. She preferred neither to be indebted to the French government, who were already burdened with the support of her royal relatives, nor to intrench upon the limited allowance of the queen, her mother. Lord Jermyn, writing on the 4th of February to Charles II., says:—¹ "I send you letters from the queen and princess, which, I believe, leave me little in the point of the princess's reception. It has been hitherto universally civil in all things, and from all persons, and as (without any flattery) she doth make an impression it is likelier to mend than impair. On Sunday she is to be at Monsieur's ball, where there will be the best assembly this court can form, and we discover already that she will hold her place very well. The cardinal hath advanced great professions of civility to her, and inclinations of entering into the interests of her son, which perhaps may be of important advantage to him. I find a strong appetite in her to make the confidence between the queen and you more entire than she supposes it to be, and I am infinitely joyed that the queen shall have so irreproachable a witness of her good inclinations."

The queen's epistle of the same date says of the

¹ Lamb. MS. 646, art. 34; Gazettes de Loret, 1656, 5 Fév.; Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 467.

princess, that "she pleases much here, from the greatest to the least; she has been to-day so overwhelmed with visits, that I am almost dead with it;" and again, a few days later, "your sister will give you an account of all that she is doing here; I think she is very weary of visits from morning to night; she has them for me too, for I am half dead with them: but you who are well acquainted with France, know that after the first few days, one is left quiet enough."¹

The cordiality of this reception was as gratifying to the princess as it was mortifying to Cromwell, with whom a treaty had actually been signed the preceding November, banishing from the kingdom the Stuart princes, with all the chiefs of the cavalier party. But as Mary was a grand-daughter of France, a cousin of the king, and of course not in the list of proscribed, no exception could be taken in reference to her, and the lingering at court of the Duke of York, was excused from time to time, under different pretexts.²

The French king had been long engaged in preparing a ballet, the performance of which was to have done honour to the arrival of the Princess of Orange: but the illness of Mademoiselle de Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and at that time the object of the devoted affection of Louis XIV., caused it to be delayed. The Duke of Anjou, however, gave a ball in honour of Mary, two days after her arrival; it was held in the *salle des gardes*, which was hung with rich tapestries, and splendidly illuminated: most of the great ladies of the court were present. The king opened the ball with the Princess Henrietta of England, Mary's sister, who, now in her twelfth year, was beginning to attract attention by her early beauty.³ The Princess of Orange, writes a French eye-witness, "outdid all our court, though it had never been fuller of fine women; and if our queen had permitted widows to dance, she would have done miracles." Anne of Austria sorely taxed the obedience of some of the gay widows at her court, by her restrictions, severe though decorous, upon their posi-

¹ Lamb. MS. 645, Art. 102-3.

² Horsley's Treaties, 4to. Lond. 1746, p. 78

³ Gaz. de France, p. 167.

tion. There were those among them who purchased emancipation by paying a heavy fine; whilst others put on disguises, to indulge in their favourite sports. The unknown writer of the last extract advised Mary to adopt the latter plan, and offered to escort her to all that was worth seeing in Paris; but her sense of propriety forbade such a compromise of dignity, and she preferred conforming to the customary rules.¹

On the 8th of February, she accompanied her mother to return the visit of the queen-dowager, when it was matter of remark that she was allowed the dignity of the *fauteuil*, or arm-chair; whereas many, even of the royal family of France, were only permitted the *tabouret*, or stool, in presence of the king or queen. On the 14th, the princess royal was present at the French comedy at the Louvre, followed by a ballet; and on the 16th, the king's long-delayed ballet of Psyche was performed there, in presence of the queen and princesses of England, the Duke of York, &c. On the 26th, the Chancellor Seguier gave to the royal party a banquet, which surpassed in magnificence all that preceded it. Glittering lustres were blazing with lights: the splendid dresses of the ladies were reflected by mirrors in all directions; the ear was gratified by concerts of voices and instruments, whilst the tables were spread with the costliest viands. The English queen, who generally declined large assemblies, was absent: at the royal table sat the queen-mother of France and Louis XIV., opposite to them Mary and her young sister, and then the Duke of York and Monsieur. The banquet ended, the royal party walked through a gallery lined with 300 torches to the ball-room. The king opened the ball with the Princess of England; at a certain signal, a concert of violins struck up, during which each gentleman presented his lady with a beautiful basket decorated with ribbons, and filled with sweetmeats and fruits of the season.²

During her brief and chequered existence, Mary had never till now shared in court festivities in a scale of

¹ Lamb. MS. 646, Art. 53.

² Gaz. de France, pp. 191, 215; Thnrloe, vol. iv. p. 553; Gaz. de Loret, 26 Feb. 1656.

brilliancy comparable with the present; her impressions of them are partially given in a letter to her brother, which still exists in the original; the external part of the sheet is much worn and soiled, for which she offers an apology.¹

"I have seen the masque again, and in the entry of the performances received another present, which was a petticoat of cloth of silver, embroidered with Spanish leather, which is very fine and very extraordinary; for the first present, I make no doubt but you have heard of it; therefore I say nothing of it. I was, since that, at a supper at the chancellor's, where the king and queen and all the court were, which was really extremely fine. Two nights ago the king came here in masquerade, and others, and danced here. Monday next there is a little ball at the Louvre, where I must dance; judge, therefore, in what pain I shall be. This is all I have to say, for I have been this day at the Carmelites, and, to confess the truth, am a little weary. I have forgot for three posts to send you verses [of my uncle's making, which pray pardon me for, and for the dirtiness of the paper, which is become so with wearing it so long in my pocket.

It were tedious to recapitulate the fêtes, and balls, and comedies, at which the princess appeared, during the first few weeks of her Parisian "season." Yet amidst this tumult of excitement, it is pleasing to note that she refused an invitation to a dance, that she might keep sacred the day which four times in the year, since the death of her husband, she had consecrated to his memory.

If report be true, Mary was not without her suitors in the brilliant array that surrounded her. Charles Emmanuel II., Duke of Savoy, and Ernest Augustus of Brunswick Luneburg,² both in Paris at the time, were said to be amongst the rival candidates for her hand; but to none was she at all inclined to listen.³ A Duke of Brunswick, probably not Ernest Augustus, but George William, the elder brother, had proposed to her the preceding year, but she had refused his offer, as below her dignity as a king's daughter, although his rank and territory entitled him to respect. "The Princess of Orange,"

¹ Lamb. MS. 645, art. 31.

² Well known in later years as elector of Hanover, and the husband of her cousin, the Princess Sophia.

³ Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 467, 488, 492; Every Day's Intelligencer, April 27, 1655.

writes a newsmonger, "is much taken up with the courtship and entertainment of this court. On Sundays, she frequents the English preachments of her own and her brother's chaplains in the suburbs, and the rest of the week she spends in visits, ballets, and comedies. It is now commonly believed that she will go with her mother into Savoy, before she returns to Holland." It was reported, moreover, that the Duchess of Savoy was about to visit France to see and take back with her her sister Queen Henrietta, and her niece; but this report, as well as another that they were going to the baths of Bourbon, proved unfounded.¹

On the 2nd of March, Mary attended a ceremonial very different from those at which she had recently been present. A young English lady, a proselyte to the Romish faith, took the noviciate veil, at the nunnery of Ave Maria, at Chaliot, in presence of the Queen of England and her two daughters.² This was the only occasion on which Mary so far complied with her mother's wishes as to be present at Roman Catholic worship; but one of her attendant ladies Frances Stanhope, became a convert to Romanism, probably through the influence of Henrietta Maria, who was present at her profession in the Jesuit's Noviciate Church, Paris.³

The queen took the opportunity of this renewed and uncontrolled intercourse to make a serious attempt upon the Protestantism of her daughter. She took her to Chaliot, her own convent, and not only conversed much with her herself, but employed subtle disputants to endeavour to shake her by argument. Mary was not a theologian, and still less a controversialist; but the feeling which was the ruling spring of her actions so strongly inclined her towards the faith of her father, of her husband, and of her brothers, that she did not swerve under these proselyting influences, even though her French relatives would have been highly gratified by her conversion.⁴

¹ Merc. Polit. February 14, March 20; Public Intelligencer, Sept. 1.

² Gaz. de France, p. 240.

³ Ibid. 1656, pp. 720, 467, 372.

⁴ Life of Queen Henrietta Maria, by C. C.

Mary was more successful in her influence upon the queen, who had for some time past regarded the conduct of her son Charles II. with displeasure. Her position, as so nearly related to both parties, well fitted her for the office of mediator, and by her representations and explanations of her brother's conduct, she greatly allayed the queen's irritation; she was trying to bring about a personal interview between the mother and son, and thus writes of it to Charles II. :¹—

“ I am very glad to see, by Doctor Fraser's letter, the continuation of your desiring a perfect correspondence between the queen and you, and you may be sure I shall be always ready to answer for you in that particular, having so often heard your professions of duty towards the queen. Next post I expect something more effectual concerning that business, that is to say, touching a meeting between the queen and you; for my Lord Rochester, in his letter to the doctor, says as if next week you would propose it to her majesty; therefore, till then, I would not say anything of it to the queen (but only have shewed her your letter), though with much impatience I do expect the next letters.”

The interview did not take place, but a more friendly tone of feeling was established between the queen-dowager and her son.

The young king was much interested at this time in exercising his skill in courses at the ring, which were performed sometimes before the Palais Royal, sometimes before that of the Louvre; but his ambition was not to attract the admiration of the Princess of Orange; the keen gaze of the courtiers was not slow to detect that amongst the bevy of royal and noble beauties who were spectators of a sport shared by the chivalry of France, the glance of the king sought for approbation only in the dark eyes of the fair Mancini.

The arrival of the Queen of Sweden, during the summer, caused a temporary revival of the fêtes. The Duke of Guise, who attended the queen at her *entrée* into Paris, pointed out to her a window from which Mary with her mother and sister, watched the procession; profound salutations were exchanged, and during the ensuing weeks, Mary had an opportunity of renewing her acquaintance with the eccentric lady whose *extravaganzas*

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 31, Holograph; Thurloe, vol. i. p. 697.

excited as much censure as her wit drew forth admiration.¹ Mary's uncle Gaston, Duke of Orleans, though he usually stood aloof from court, came to Paris in August, to pay her a visit; and his daughter, the celebrated Mademoiselle de Montpensier, gave a magnificent entertainment to her English relatives.² Mary was also much caressed by Cardinal Mazarin, who sought by personal attentions to the members of the Stuart family, to heal the wound caused by his policy towards England. He allowed the Duke of York to linger in Paris, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty; and when Mary, after a nine months' visit, began to prepare for her return, he seconded the queen's endeavours to induce her to remain through the winter, by a promise that he would give a superb ball, expressly for her.

But whilst she hesitated, tidings arrived that her young son was ill in the small-pox; and though the attack was slight, and he was already recovering, she hastened her departure from Paris.³ The 18th, 19th, and 20th of November were spent in paying and receiving farewell visits from her royal relatives, and the court. On the 21st she took her departure, accompanied as far as St. Denis by her mother.⁴ The rhyming author of the "Court Gazette de Loret" records that, "As ordinarily the world abounds in changes, and that in its round sphere, some come whilst others go:—so the most beautiful angel of Holland, that is the Princess of Orange, having paid her adieus at court, where her beautiful eyes were adored, returned towards Holland, the 20th day of the month. If I strove to number the tears, the caresses, and the sorrows of the queen, her good mother, to whom the sight of her was so dear, and of her young sister also (a true angel in miniature), that would be too long a work, so I shall say no more about it."

Of the princess's journey homewards we have no further details than those afforded by the following letter written from Calais, by Sir James Scudamore, and ad-

¹ *Gaz. de France*, pp. 288, 348, 1027; *Public Intell.* Sept. 15.

² *Gaz. de France*, pp. 768, 816; *Merc. Polit.* Sept. 1.

³ *Thurloe*, vol. iv. p. 593.

⁴ *Gaz. de France*, 1656, p. 1403; *Public Intell.* Nov. 24th.

dressed to Sir Richard Brown in Paris.¹ "This place is as barren of news as good company. If you will be content with such as fishermen's wives afford, I shall easily impart it; as that the princess royal was entertained and dismissed from hence with a salute of bare ten guns, though presented at Beauvais with six pots of the best wine, and half a pound of wax candles. A single lamp had been an offering for a greater lady. All this entertainment pleased not so well some of her train, but that they confidently wrote back hither they received a better treat the first hour in Flanders than so many months gave them in France; but we French must give passengers, especially cavaliers, leave to talk."

During the time of Mary's absence from Holland, Charles II. had completed a treaty with the Spanish king, by which arms, ammunition, and money were promised, and the Low Countries permitted to be used as the starting-point for an expedition into England, for which he was busy collecting levies of the vagrant English, Irish, and Scotch, in France and Germany. Some of these troops escorted the princess royal on her journey; she also brought a supply of money from the queen her mother, and promised to raise 100,000 livres more, for the projected expedition, the juncture for which was deemed favourable, as the people were in agitation on the score of some taxes, recently imposed by Parliament. Instead, therefore, of returning direct to Holland, Mary sent her baggage only thither, but she bent her own course towards Bruges, where, for the time being, Charles II. held his miniature court.

Ever alive to the allurements of pleasure, even amidst the pressure of important affairs, Charles prepared several entertainments for his sister; and sent the Marquis of Ormond to meet her, when she came within a few days' journey of the place. On the evening of Saturday, November, 29th, 1656, Mary reached Bruges.² She and Charles had much to communicate to each other. She had to tell of the brilliant circle she had just quitted;

¹ Addit. MS. 15858, f. 138.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 609, 650, 665.

and the interest of her auditor was increased by his personal knowledge of most of the *dramatis personæ* in the theatre of the Parisian court. Whilst their days were devoted to business or social converse, the evenings were usually given to the comedy, in which a troop of French players derived their chief support from the miscellaneous assemblage forming the court of Charles II.

The pens of their adversaries were virulent in complaints of the disorders that prevailed in the royal household. These were probably exaggerated; but in a licentious age, with a monarch who was addicted to habits of dissipation, no wonder if the court of Bruges presented scenes which ill consorted with the laws of decorum and morality, and still less with the Puritanic version of those laws given by the English parliamentarians. The strictest censors, however, exempted the princess from any share in countenancing irregularities: though in two points they blamed her severely. One was, that her dislike to the Hollanders, on account of their being generally Cromwellians, prevented her from employing any of them in her son's service,—a slight which was impolitic, and which they much resented. The other, that her affection for her brother led her to lavish her own and her son's revenues in supplying his wants, and those of the hordes of pauper English by whom he was surrounded.¹

The earnestness with which the princess royal threw her concentrated energies into her brother's cause, absorbed every other consideration,—even that of the aggrandisement of her son,—or rather she judged, and, as after events proved, judged rightly, that the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne would be the surest step to the reinstatement of the House of Orange in its lost dignities. For the United Provinces, as a country, she had no sympathy. The tastes and habits of the Dutch were so opposed to her own, that she had never associated with them farther than the interests of her family compelled. When, on the night of the 2nd of February, 1657, she returned to the Hague, after nearly a year's absence, it was boldly asserted that she would have stayed still longer in Brussels, or at Bruges, but for her wish to pro-

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 700, 709.

cure vessels for transporting her brother's troops into England: that she would do her utmost to break the peace between England and the States-General, and if she failed in this, would retire to the province of Zeeland, which was devoted to her service, and there set up, on behalf of her son, an all but independent jurisdiction. This was mere *parlance*; both objects were beyond Mary's limited influence, but they show clearly the popular notions of her aims and objects.¹

During the few ensuing weeks Mary was observed riding out daily with her young son, taking him short excursions for the sake of recreation, and the complete restoration of his health. They itinerated, as circumstances demanded, between Bruges, the Hague, and Breda.² The palace of the Princess of Orange in this latter place was situated about a quarter of a mile from the town, which, though small, was strongly fortified. It was an ancient mansion, containing many spacious and handsome apartments, and situated in the midst of extensive gardens, beautifully laid out. Here Mary had a suite of rooms prepared for her brothers, and here, amidst their wanderings, they could at least be sure of a home and a welcome, since, being in the Spanish territory, Breda was not subjected to the laws of the States.³ The princess had scarcely left Bruges, however, when she had to return to compose a quarrel between Charles and his brother James, who had just arrived from France. The duke was suspected of leaning too much to the French faction in politics, and was therefore excluded from the king's more private counsels; whilst his governor, Sir Thomas Berkeley, was dismissed, because he was said to be a creature of Mazarin. The duke took offence at this treatment, left the court abruptly, and retired to Utrecht, and thence to Breda, to pour his griefs into the ear of his sister. Mary conciliated and soothed him, whilst, at the same time, she warmly espoused his cause; she then returned to Bruges, where she so managed matters with

¹ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 72; Gaz. de France, p. 261.

² Public Intelligencer, March 23; Merc. Polit. April 12, June 7, Sept. 1.

³ Description of Netherlands, 4to. Lond. 1673, p. 5.

Charles II. that the duke was speedily sent for. He complied with the mandate, was met on his arrival by Charles and Mary, and the reconciliation, through her influence, was completed; the duke renouncing his too intimate associations with France, whilst Berkeley, who declared himself unwilling to be a bone of dissension between the royal brothers, was dismissed for six months from his post.¹

The Duke of Gloucester was also at Bruges, so that for a few weeks Mary enjoyed the society of all her three brothers; but as Charles was projecting another journey to Brussels, on negotiations with the archduke, Mary took the two younger princes with her to Breda. Thence she addressed to Charles the following letter, relating to a portrait of the young Prince of Orange, for which he had expressed a desire:—

“Breda, 22nd March, 1657.

“The uncertainty of the posts of this place is the reason you have not received mine of the 11th of this month. I did not then give you an account of Pininino’s² picture, because it was not done; but now it will not be my fault if you receive it not shortly, the picture-drawer having nothing but the clothes to finish, which he does at Antwerp. Nothing can be said which can deserve your kindness, or express in any degree that thankfulness I have for that you are pleased to show my son. I am sure if he does not prove in all that’s possible worthy of it, it shall not be my fault, nor I hope his, for certainly he cannot so much degenerate both from father and mother, besides the goodness which you have now for him, when he is so little in an age to be sensible of it: my brother Harry went yesterday to Bergen-op-Zoom, only to see the town; he must be very well satisfied with it when he comes home, for he had both snow and wind in his face all the way; I expect him here this night, not a little tired.”³

A few days later she writes:—

“I send this bearer to Antwerp to carry that which was necessary to pay my son’s picture, that if it were done he might deliver it to you; therefore I hope you receive it now; if not, the blame shall not lay on

¹ He was only reinstated upon his promise not to communicate on public business with the queen or Lord Jermyn.—Thurloe, vol. v. pp. 770, 774, 784, vol. vi. pp. 18, 32, 39, 363; Bromley Letters, p. 294.

² A pet name for the little prince.

³ Lambeth M.S. No. 645, art. 12.

my side. I send you also your watch that I have had some time, because I durst not hazard it but by an express. This place does give so little subject to write, that I fear to give you too often this importunity; besides, we hear nothing but ill news, which, I need not tell you, does put me in no good humour; but, as it comes from whence I believe some does not much wish your prosperity, I hope at least most of it is false."¹

From Breda Mary went with the young prince to spend a little time at her country-house in Flushing, whilst she was still actively engaged in endeavouring to obtain ships for her brother's cause. Webster, of Amsterdam, lent funds to a large extent, upon a pledge given by the three royal brothers and their sister, that whichever of them attained dominion in England should return not only the principal but interest, at the rate of 15 per cent., for all the monies advanced at this or any previous period. Charles would have taken advantage of these propitious circumstances to make a descent into England, but for the circumstance that his Spanish allies were expecting an attack on the side of the French, who, by an article in the late treaty with Cromwell, were to deliver Dunkirk into his hands.²

Meanwhile the princess paid a visit to her mother-in-law at Turnhout, a seat in the Spanish Netherlands, not far from Breda, which was one of the presents made to the princess-dowager at the late peace by the King of Spain. Here there was a general meeting of the Orange family, to consider the proposal of a match between the Princess Henrietta and John George II., Prince of Anhalt, to which no very decided reply was given, as the princess had been from childhood pledged in another quarter.³

The rest of the summer Mary divided between Buren, one of her son's residences, and Breda; In September, 1657, she returned to the Hague:⁴ a misunderstanding here arose between Charles and his sister in reference to Lord Balcarres, a Scotch Presbyterian noble, who had

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 11.

² Thurloe, vol. vi. pp. 384, 454, 601; Clar. Hist. vol. iii. p. 857.

³ Gaz. de France, 1657, p. 703.

⁴ Ibid. p. 956.

long been an earnest royalist, and had fallen into severe and, as Mary thought, undeserved disgrace with the king. Lady Balcarres had been placed about her person, as lady of the bedchamber, at King Charles's own request.¹ Warm in her attachments, Mary had declined her brother's suggestion, made personally at Bruges, where she had visited him, that she would discard Lord and Lady Balcarres; for the time her reasonings prevailed with Charles, who hated dissensions with any one, with his sister most of all, and he signified his satisfaction that she should do as she pleased. On her return to the Hague, she not only permitted Lord Balcarres to visit at her court as before, but sent the following graceful reply to a solicitation for pecuniary aid made by his wife:—

“My Lady Balcarres,

“You may be confident, that if it had laid in my power, as much as in my desires, to assist your lord and you, you had not been in that ill condition you are in, for truly the only cause why I have not sent you what I intended has been caused by the want of ready money; therefore, the proposition you make to me is so good, that if you will find out any person that will advance you the money I will give an assurance under my own hand to see it paid in the space of two months, and to that end I shall give Oudart order to draw up a paper which I will

¹ Brown's Miscel. antiqua, p. 126. The following letter to Lady Balcarres was written before her appointment, when the princess was on the eve of setting out for France:—

“My Lady Balcarres,

“If it had been in my power, you should have found before this time the effects of that true esteem I have for your person, for I may assure you with truth that the want of those occasions did much trouble me, and now more than ever, finding how much you are satisfied with those very little civilities I was able to perform when I was with you, which I am so ashamed you should take notice of that I will leave the subject, and tell you that the kindness of the queen's invitation of me to come to her is very well able alone to overcome all endeavours of hindering me from that happiness, if I had not a most passionate desire of waiting upon her majesty, which I hope to do very shortly, in spite of all designs to the contrary; and wherever I go, let me desire you to believe that I shall always strive to shew you the reality of my being,

“My Lady Balcarres,

“Your most affectionate friend,

“MARIE.”

Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii. p. 105.

sign and send to you to-morrow night or Monday morning, for on all occasions you will find me to be.

“ My Lady Balcarres,

“ Your most affectionate friend.

“ MARIE.”¹

The king, annoyed by these friendly acts, conveyed a censure of his sister's conduct, by Major Howard. To this she replied as follows:—

“ I received, with very much joy, the kindness of your expressions, by Major Howard, though at the same time I could not but be in some trouble to find that still you had any reason to be unsatisfied with me. When I left you, you did me the honour to assure me the contrary, therefore though I had been told, since I came hither, that still your displeasure continued, I was very unwilling to believe so great a misfortune to myself, grounding my belief upon what you assured me at parting, and my own innocency, which is so clear from wilfully doing anything that may not consist both with my duty and kindness to you, that I do not doubt of justifying myself in any particular you will permit me to do it in, either by this way, or when I shall have the happiness of seeing you, which I do expect with much impatience, that you may have a more perfect assurance of my being, most faithfully and absolutely,

“ Yours, &c.

“ Hague, Sept. 10, 1657.”²

To this note the king sent the following reply:—

“ As I shall never be wanting in the least degree on my part to give you all sorts of assurances of my kindness to you, so I think the best way of continuing it is using that clemency and freedom with you I have and ever will do ; and truly if I should tell you now that you have done nothing since we parted which I might take unkindly of you, I should believe myself guilty in not dealing freely with you. I do not desire that you should prosecute all persons I am displeased with, but certainly I may expect, from the kindness we have always had together, that those who are justly in my disfavour, and who I have told you are so, should not be the better for it, and that all the world should see that you favour persons which I think deserve quite the contrary. I shall, for the present, only name my Lord Balcarres, who I cannot choose but take notice of, that you have used him much better since I have been unsatisfied with him than ever you did before ; judge whether I have not reason to be troubled, when everybody must take notice of this, to both our prejudices. I will only add that this was not so two years ago,

¹ Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 105.

² Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 361, Orig.

and I cannot accuse myself of being changed from what I was then ; and now, when I have said all this, I do assure you that neither anything you have done, nor anything you can do, shall ever change me from being, with all the kindness imaginable,

“ Yours, &c.”¹

Mary sent an immediate rejoinder in the following terms:—

“ The freedom you are pleased to use me withal is not one of the least marks of your kindness to me, and therefore I humbly desire the continuance of it, and that you will believe that nothing is dearer to me than your kindness ; if I have done anything to deserve the contrary, I do with all my soul ask your pardon for it, though I am certain I was never guilty of any wilful fault towards you, nor ever shall. If my behaviour towards my Lord Balcarres had been rightly represented to you, you would not have had that hard opinion of me as to believe, since your displeasure, I have used him much better than before, which is as false as those that report it of me ; for that same opinion and usage he received from me at Bruges, where yourself was witness to it, do, I confess, continue still, because I find his professions of duty and service to you are in no way lessened, nor do his actions which I am witness to, belie his words ; after my finding this by him, I hope you will not disapprove my not denying him that liberty of coming here, which is denied to none, nor believe what others may say of my actions, to the prejudice of my duty and kindness to you ; for it were an unpardonable fault in me to augment my good opinion or good usage to any, upon your displeasure ; though I fear your going to Bruges may hinder me from that happiness of assuring and confirming all this to you myself, yet I shall endeavour it by my actions, but I hope yet I may be so happy as to see you, making then no question to appear as well,

“ Your most affectionate as humble and obedient sister.

“ Hague, September 26, 1657.”²

However the brother and sister might, at times, differ in absence, an interview of mutual explanation always sufficed to remove any misunderstanding, and restore them to their former cordiality ; but this time several months elapsed, during which circumstances prevented their meeting ; and meanwhile a fresh and more serious cause of grievance arose. Young Harry Jermyn, favourite nephew and adopted heir of the Lord Jermyn, who was omnipotent in the counsels of the queen-mother, had followed the princess from France to Holland, and was well received by her. Though unprepossessing in

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. iii. p. 363.

² Ibid. p. 369.

person, he was gentlemanly, brave and courteous, with a turn for raillery; whilst his purse, being well supplied by the fondness of his uncle, he was able, in dress and equipage, far to surpass most of the poverty-stricken courtiers of Charles II.¹

There were persons about the princess so jealous of her association with the French faction, that they were willing to put the worst construction upon any approach to intimacy with a friend of Cardinal Mazarin. Unpleasant reports had been spread the preceding year, in reference to a M. la Roche, a French gentleman on a visit to the Hague, with whom the princess was said to have allowed herself indecorous familiarity at a public assembly at the Hague; a rumour alike opposed to probability, and to the known dignity and exclusiveness of Mary's character.²

When young Jermyn arrived, the princess was naturally anxious to know all particulars about her mother and the French court, and at once admitted him to a degree of friendly, and even private intercourse, which gave rise to remarks amongst the court gossips that Jermyn was likely to become a successful candidate for her hand, and even to insinuations still more painful. This information was sent to Charles II. He gave no credence to the reflections upon his sister's honour, but he regretted deeply their existence, and was anxious to remove them, and at the same time to exclude from her intimate society a person who was so exclusively French in his predilections; he therefore requested Mary to send young Jermyn to him. The feeling with which she complied best appears from the following letter:—

“Breda, 2 February.

“Now that you see how exactly you are obeyed, I hope you will give me leave to desire you to consider what consequences your severity will bring upon me; to justify any of my actions to you in this occasion were, I think, to do as much wrong to both my brothers as my own innocence, since they have been witnesses to what some persons' insolency has dared to represent unto you as faults. Therefore I will leave it to

¹ Hamilton's *Memoirs of Grammont*, Strawberry Hill edit. p. 76.

² Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 214.

them, and only think of what will now reflect upon me, which, as I have the honour to be your sister, you ought to consider to, and not to make a public discourse of what can neither prove for your honour nor mine. I am so willing to think you only try to what a degree my obedience is to you, that I cannot but persuade myself you will now give my brother the Duke of Yorke leave to send for Mr. Jermyn back, which will not only stop malicious tongues, but give me that happiness of seeing you take a kindly as well as a brotherly interest in me: otherwise I shall conclude you have absolutely abandoned me.

“For the King.”¹

The Duke of York, who was staying with his sister at Breda, sent a letter also to the king, in which he expressed his opinion that Jermyn's continued absence would tend to confirm, and not to remove, the prejudicial reports which were abroad. The Duke of Gloucester was chosen as bearer of the letters, because he had been a guest at his sister's court, and was therefore able to witness what was transpiring in it.

King Charles disliked the alternative proposed by his brother and sister of permitting Jermyn's return; yet, as the Duke of York, who was on the spot, urged it as the only means of stopping the tongue of slander, he consented, though with what reluctance appears by the following letter:—

“I have instructed my brother so fully with my opinion and advice, as I shall not enter into those particulars which have given me so much trouble as this unhappy business hath done, though I must confess I am sorry to see you take it as you do, and think that my severity is the only thing to be satisfied, when I assure you what I said and counselled you in the thing, was merely out of kindness to you, and if I had been in your place, the advertisement would have been very welcome to me. I pray God we do not find as you have ordered it, the malicious scandal rather augmented than abased, and it appears to me very strange you should think that the continuing of that which is the cause of the report should be a means of taking it away. I shall say no more, but refer all to my brother, and only add, that I hope you cannot imagine I am so little careful, either of your honour or my own, as to show to the world to know anything of this business, much less to make any public discourse of it, and that what I advise you in this matter proceeds purely out of that kindness which I will ever have for you.”

After this concession, Mary paid her brother a visit; they had some warm discussion upon the subject of their recent correspondence, in the course of which Charles was

¹ Lambeth MS. No. 645, art. 9.

heard bitterly to exclaim that he thought Lord Jermyn and his family were destined to be his ruin.¹ Mary promised compliance with some one request of her brother's in reference to Jermyn, the nature of which does not transpire; but they parted dissatisfied, and, after leaving him, she retracted her consent, on which he wrote to express his regret, and to recommend, as the best means of preventing future inconvenience, that they should have another personal interview. This advice was followed: before the close of the month of February, 1658, Mary visited her brother Charles at Antwerp, where were also the younger princes. There they met with the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, long the leader of the royalist armies in England, who had retired to Antwerp, and taken the house formerly belonging to "Van Rubens," the famous "picture-drawer," as his contemporaries styled him. This house is still one of the shrines of art visited by its pilgrims. "Here," writes the Duchess of Newcastle, "the royal Stuarts were pleased to honour my lord with their presence, and accept of a small entertainment at his house, such as his present condition was able to afford them."²

They also went to visit their cousin, Louisa, Princess Palatine,—who, having recently abjured her faith, had retired to a convent at Antwerp,—taking care first to ascertain from the Queen of Bohemia that she would not be displeased at this attention to her renegade daughter. They remonstrated with the princess on her conduct to her mother, and argued with her on her change of creed, but alike in vain.³ A few days afterwards, Mary returned to Breda, her brothers accompanying her a short distance on her journey. On the 14th of March, she thus addressed the king in reference to the baptism of an infant child of the Chancellor Hyde, then resident at Breda:—

"Breda, March 14.

"I received the honour of your letter from Antwerp so late that I could not sooner tell you, that with much joy I shall this day have the

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 324.

² Ibid. vol. vi. p. 814; Life of Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, by his Wife, fol. 1667, p. 80.

³ Bromley Letters, p. 286.

honour of being your partner. My Lady Hyde desired my son to be another godfather, with assuring me, you would not think it too much presumption if he were, without your leave, because it would be too long to stay for it, that I was glad not to deny her. Besides you are so partially kind to him, that I fear at last my desiring your kindness to him will turn to jealousy he may take some from me; for I must assure you, that I shall obey all your commands, except that of loving him (though he is my only child), above all things in this world, as long as *you* are in it, which I beseech you believe, that there is nothing truer. They say, that Cromwell's agent at the Hague has complained to the States, that there is in their havens ships with ammunition for your use. Therefore I thought it fit to let you know of it, for fear that they may show their goodwill to you in that, as they have done in other occasions."¹

The warmth of Mary's affectionate disposition, though it occasionally led her to impulsiveness, and sometimes to undue irritation, was not accompanied by the capriciousness or changefulness which are too often the characteristics of favouritism where the heart has been less sternly tutored in the school of misfortune than was the case with the princess royal. The following anecdote is recorded of her by a French writer. She had a white parrot with red crest and tail—a most attractive bird—which she loved so much that she often gave up visits or hunting parties because the parrot could not accompany her. If she ever did resolve to part from him, on her return she rushed up stairs with extraordinary speed to rejoin her little favourite. Starting for the chase one day, she left her bird in charge of her maids, ordering them never to lose sight of him, expecting, on her return, to find him perched on the hand of one of them. On her reappearance, she was astonished to see all the maids fall down at her feet. "Where is my parrot?" cried she. "Alas! Madam," they replied, "the cage was opened; he flew away, and all search for him has been fruitless." The maids, fearing to be dismissed, were in great distress. The princess said to them, "You are very foolish, my children, to weep for this animal; beautiful though he was, he is not worthy of the tears of a Christian. This is only a small misfortune; comfort yourselves and me, and let it not be named again."²

A temper at once so candid and so affectionate could

¹ Lamb. MS. 645; Thurloe, vol. i. p. 644.

² *Pièces intéressantes et peu connues*, tome ii. pp. 336, 338.

not fail to command the devotion of all who were attached to her service, and those who once entered it were generally her attendants for life, a change in her household being an event of the greatest rarity. The son of her friend Lady Stanhope, young Philip Stanhope, who had been much at her court, having returned to England to claim his ancestral inheritance as Earl of Chesterfield, fell under Mary's displeasure for having made a compromise with the Cromwell government. This Mary thought unbefitting the son of her principal attendant, and wrote him to that effect. His reply was as follows:—

“Madam,

“Having ever had the greatest veneration imaginable for your highness, I was not more surprised than afflicted to find by the honour of your highness's letter that the most beauteous as well as the justest princess in the world should suspect me of having been a hindrance to anything that might tend to her service. Madam, permit me to assure your highness that I cannot accuse myself of so black an ingratitude, which, were I guilty of, I should never dare to repent, it being unpardonable, and much less have the confidence to continue the ambition of being esteemed more than the rest of mankind,

“Madam,

“Your most obedient servant.”ⁿ

Mary returned, early in April, 1658, with her young son to the Hague, from which place she had been absent five months.² Her residence there had always been distasteful, since the decided part taken by the States against her brothers. She had scarcely arrived, when a fresh source of uneasiness arose from another quarter. De Thou, the French ambassador, resident at the Hague, sent to inquire when he might have the honour of paying her a visit. She reached home late on the Thursday, and sent him word that, as she was much fatigued with her journey, she should remain in bed all Friday, and not receive visitors till the Saturday; but that, at six o'clock P.M. on that day, she should be happy to give him an audience. De Thou was a violent stickler for etiquette, and most rigorous in exacting all the punctilios of precedence, &c., which he considered due to his position, as representative of his most Christian majesty; and his

¹ Chesterfield's Memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1829, p. 81.

² Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 45; Gazette de France, 1658, p. 363.

jealousy was excited by the late period at which the princess had appointed to see him, lest she should be preferring others to an earlier audience. He therefore sent a spy to watch her movements, and found, not only that she was visited by the princess-dowager at three o'clock, but that, half an hour later, the Spanish ambassador arrived, and had an audience so prolonged that, when the time arrived for De Thou to go to the palace, the court was still filled with the Spanish liveries. The indignant ambassador refused to fulfil his appointment, and merely sent a message to the princess, formally expressing his regret at feeling himself compelled to remain away, but informing her that till he received instructions from his own court how to proceed, it would be out of his power to visit her at all. Heenvliet sent word that if he had not been indisposed, and his wife ill of a fever, such a circumstance would not have transpired; whilst Mary made a sort of apology by indirectly informing De Thou that the visit of the Spanish minister had been unexpected and unannounced, and that she was taken by surprise, and could not shut the door upon him.¹ De Thou observed, in reply, that a daughter of England and granddaughter of France should not permit herself to be treated so unceremoniously, and inquired of the person who brought this half apology whether the princess herself had sent it. The reply was in the negative; Mary refused a direct explanation, treating the thing as a mere bagatelle, and expressing great surprise that De Thou should regard it so seriously; and, after waiting several days, during which the princess visited her mother-in-law and the Queen of Bohemia, but neither came nor sent to him, the ambassador wrote off a letter of complaint, not only of the primary grievance, but of the pride and stubbornness which prevented concession or apology.

One reason of his sensitiveness was, that France and Spain being at war, and the latter country espousing the cause of the fallen Stuarts, it was natural that Mary's warm interest in her brother's concerns should lead her to cling to Spain, even though ties of relationship, gratitude

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 65; De Thou's Despatch, 18 April, 1658, Harl. MS. 4526, p. 415.

for past courtesies, and regard to her interests in the principality of Orange, prompted her to stand fair with France.

Fortunately for Mary, she had an advocate at Paris in the person of the queen her mother, who so modified the representations of De Thou that he was ordered, if possible, to accommodate matters without compromising his own dignity. It is amusing to observe the minuteness with which he notices, in his dispatches, the smallest point bearing upon the question; how he carefully avoided meeting the princess at the Queen of Bohemia's; how he once fell in with her in her drive, but, as she was in the Queen of Bohemia's coach, the bow which he gave could not be considered to belong to her; how he met her at the princess-dowager's, where she remained some time, making a third in the conversation, and speaking most respectfully of the French King, and, on leaving, bowed to him. After the lapse of a few months, the quarrel blew over, as each party was inclined to conciliation, without formal explanations or concessions.¹

In May, 1658, Mary once again trespassed upon the regulations of the States-General by inviting her two younger brothers, with their suites, to the Hague, to be present at the fair or kermesse. For a few days they were not noticed, as Sir George Downing, the English ambassador, forbore to complain, trusting to their prudence not to remain any length of time. As they still tarried, however, the States of Holland passed a resolution to the following effect:—

“The assembly having been advertised that the Dukes of York and Gloucester are come into this province, and are now staying at the Hague, with their suites, after deliberation it is found good and agreed, that the *Sieur de Heenvliet*, as surperintendant of the court of the princess royal, dowager of the late Prince of Orange, shall be charged, as by this present the aforesaid princess is charged, in the name and on behalf of their noble puissances, to make known that their intention and resolution is, that the aforesaid lords, Princes of York and Gloucester, with all their train and suite, remove from the dominions and jurisdictions of their said noble puissances, and also that they return there no more.”²

The Stuart brothers were therefore compelled to de-

¹ De Thou's *Desp.* April, May, July, 1658, Harl. MSS. 4526, 4527.

² Extract Resolution States Holland, Thursday, 9 May, 1658, MS. 370, *Supplément Français*, Bibl. Nat. Paris.

part, and Mary, much displeased, accompanied them. They went on to Brussels, where they accepted an invitation from the burghers to a public dinner, at which they were treated with much ceremony, and remained till eight o'clock in the evening. The royal brothers then left to join the Spanish army, which was preparing to defend Dunkirk against the French; and Mary returned, alone and sorrowful to the Hague.¹ A few days afterwards, tidings arrived of the discomfiture of the Spanish forces by those of France before Dunkirk, and of the personal risk which her brothers had encountered, in leading onward a charge on behalf of their Spanish allies; it was even rumoured at first that the Duke of York had been taken prisoner.

This bad news so distressed the princess, that for some days she was too ill to quit her room or receive any visitor; but with her first returning energy she left the Hague, upon a report that her brother Charles was *en route* from Dunkirk to Frankfort, in order to fall in with him. They met on the evening of the 19th of June, at Sevenbergen, near Breda, the king professing to believe that this place did not come within the limits of the United Provinces, as it had always been considered to belong to Spain, and was presented by the king to the princess-dowager. Not so the States themselves: they considered that this transfer had brought it within their jurisdiction, and sent a message to the princess, that if she wished to see her brother, it must not be within the confines of their dominions.² Mary was so mortified with this unflinching pertinacity, that she passionately declared she would not set foot in the Hague again that year. She went with her brother to a small village just within the Spanish territories, to wait the return of a messenger whom he had despatched to Frankfort, to ascertain what sort of reception he was likely to meet with, should he take up his residence in that city. The magistrates begged the agent to assure his master of a courteous welcome, but regretted their inability to promise him more than this. Charles therefore retired once again to Brussels, which was in

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 107, 141; Gaz. de France, pp. 461, 530.

² Ibid. vol. vii. pp. 167, 183, 221; Harl. MS. 4527, fol. 1.

some consternation on account of the vicinity of the French army, under Marshal Turenne: the Duke of York was already at Nieuport, one of the towns where an attack was to be feared, and the Duke of Gloucester went to Bruges. Retracting her hasty resolution, Mary once again returned to the Hague, taking the Marquis of Ormond with her.¹

There she was destined to meet with fresh mortifications. In the first place, objection was made to the residence at the Hague of the Marquis of Ormond; in the second, the princess found that, during her absence, the indefatigable English agent, Downing,² had complained to

¹ *Gaz. de France*, p 635.

² There can be no doubt, that during the flourishing period of the Commonwealth, Sir George Downing was most vigorous in the prosecution of his duties; he rendered himself so prominent that great surprise was excited when, on the restoration, Charles II. not only exempted him from disgrace and confiscation, but actually retained him in his office at the Hague. Of this seeming anomaly, an explanation is afforded by a singular anecdote recorded in his MS. Diary, which is in the possession of Hudson Gurney, Esq. It states, that when the king was at Brussels, and the treaty between the States and Cromwell just completed, with a secret article for the delivery of Charles Stuart into the hands of the English, should he set foot within the territories of the States; Charles, unconscious of the full amount of his danger, and most anxious to see his sister, set off secretly by night, with a single attendant alone privy to his design, rode to the Hague, and putting up at a mean inn, sent his servant to acquaint his sister with his arrival, and to request her to contrive a meeting. Before the man's return, a stranger, with a venerable beard, called and requested to speak to the Frenchman who had arrived at the inn that morning. The king, much surprised, ordered his admission; he announced himself as the bearer of an important message, which he could convey only to his private ear, and when Charles had dismissed his reluctant servant, he threw off a mask, and revealed the features of Sir George Downing, Cromwell's ambassador at the Hague! Thunderstruck at the apparition, Charles demanded an explanation, which, after a pledge of profound secrecy, was given. Downing declared that, though now an agent of the usurper, he should cordially hail the restoration of the legitimate sovereign; that he was, however, bound to communicate to the States the king's visit, and to require his seizure, or his own head might be the forfeit of his inattention to orders, and he implored Charles to wait for nothing, but instantly to escape, offering his own fresh horses in exchange for his wearied ones. Charles followed his advice, and the next morning, before Downing gave in his official notice of the king having visited the Hague, he was far beyond the reach of pursuit. This story receives confirmation from an expression used by the contemporaneous

the States that the English ministers at the Hague still continued publicly to pray for King Charles, as rightful sovereign of England: the States promised to put a stop to it, and Mary and the Queen of Bohemia had no longer the melancholy satisfaction of preserving one of the last remaining tributes to the regality of their house. Their mortification was heightened by finding that, though great disturbance was at first excited at the Hague by this measure; and one of the ministers, a Scotchman, declined any further duty in the church, yet his colleague accepted the new regulations, and the congregation ultimately suffered no material diminution.¹ Mary and her aunt, however, ceased attendance upon the church, and thenceforward had public worship performed in their own apartments.

The young Prince of Orange was now springing up to boyhood. He was a child of remarkable promise, and showed spirit and feeling above his years, though, even at that early age, reservedness and moderation were his characteristics: owing to the temporary eclipse of the fortunes of his house he had been a good deal kept in the background, and was unaccustomed to receive or pay visits of state.² In person he was very pleasing, and Mary was proud of his early beauty. A charming, full-length portrait of him, as a child, is in the royal collection at Hampton Court, by Hanneman, who was painter to the Princess Mary, and is probably the same already mentioned in the correspondence between the king and his sister: the boy is painted in a slight hunter's costume, with sandalled feet and bow in hand. When he was six years of age, Mary had a medal struck of him, which gives a childish face, remarkably sweet in expression, with

author of the *Theatrum Europæum*, vol. ix. pt. 1, p. 193. Under the date of May, 1660, he mentions a discovery, on the part of the States, that Downing "*schon vor Jahr und Tage, mit König Carln von Engeland unter der Decken gelegen.*"

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 215, 221, 228, 230, 233, 246, 252, 257.

² Prince Adolphus, brother to the King of Sweden, who was spending a short time at the Hague, requested that the child might visit him, and he was taken accordingly, but he was so abashed by a great dog in the room, that he was unable to give or accept the customary courtesies. — *Thurloe*, vol. v. p. 715.

rich clustering curls surmounted by a plumed cap. The reverse represented herself, with flowing hair bound by a fillet of pearls. A year later, another medal represented the young prince on one side, while the reverse contained a legend to the effect that, though the Orange tree has fallen, this sprig, nursed in the bosom of Mary, has been preserved, and that the father rises, phoenix-like, in his son.¹

Such was the long and fondly-cherished hope of the royal mother, and yet year after year had rolled on, without any increasing probability of its accomplishment. At one time a proposal was made to give a temporary authority to Prince William of Nassau, but without a distinct understanding that he was to act only as the lieutenant of the young Prince of Orange during his minority; indeed it was whispered that some difficulties would be obviated by substituting Prince William in place of his youthful relative, as the former would meet with no opposition from Cromwell, and involve no breach of the English treaty. With these contingencies impending, Mary of course did not coincide in the schemes of Prince William's elevation; and the princess-dowager, though at first inclined to support it, from regard to her son-in-law, was too suspicious of its ultimate bearing, to lend it her entire concurrence.² During Mary's absences from home, in Germany or France, her mother-in-law had in some degree superseded her in the affections of the people. Amelia of Orange did not share in the strong hatred which Mary felt towards Cromwell and the republic: and thus possessed an important point of sympathy with the States-General, and with those of Holland in particular, in which the princess royal could not participate; and she even endeavoured to ingratiate herself further with that province, by a proposal that, during the absence of Mary in France, and of the Elector of Brandenburg in the war, the president and royal-pensionary of Holland should assist in the guardianship of the young prince.³ Mary's timely return prevented a step so injurious, which would

¹ Harris' Life of Will. III. fol. Dublin, 1749, plate 1.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 311, 331; vol. vi. p. 14.

³ Ibid. vol. v. pp. 50, 259, 662.

have offended and deprived her of the support of the provinces that truly and heartily inclined to her son's cause,—those of Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, and Over-yssel.

This was the state of affairs in Holland, when the death of Oliver Cromwell raised a stronger sensation in Europe than would have been caused by the falling of half its crowned heads. "What next in England?" was the question which all were eager to ask, and none knew how to answer. The royalists, as might be expected, were on the *qui vive*. During the Protector's illness, there had been hurried gatherings and consultations amongst them: Charles II. had ventured to meet his sister very privately at Hounslerdike, and again at Teyling. Several of his adherents had a rendezvous at Amsterdam; and Downing's complaints of breach of treaty, by the presence of so many English royalists in different parts of the States, were, for the time, unheeded.¹ Mary was the first to send her brother the despatches which contained the tidings of the Protector's death, on the $\frac{3}{13}$ th Sept., 1658, on which the whole royalist council held a general consultation at Ghent; but the quietness in England, and the facility with which the new protector, Richard Cromwell, was recognised, gave a tone of despondency to their efforts. The two younger Stuart princes posted *incog.* to the Hague, to seek their sister's advice, arriving there at ten p.m., on Sunday, September 22nd. Mary had already retired to her room, and was preparing for rest, when a tap at her chamber door announced their arrival. She was soon ready to receive them, and all night long they remained in anxious deliberations, which were only broken off when the gleam of early dawn warned the unauthorized intruders upon forbidden ground that it was time for them to retire. Mary followed them, and they spent a few days together on neutral territory;² after which Mary returned to the Hague. On the Saturday, the Duke of York, then at Nieupoort, had the good fortune to intercept the first packet of letters sent by the new government to their ambassadors in Holland and France,

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 361-2, 390.

² Ibid. vol. vii. p. 398.

the contents of which were deemed of so much importance that he once more hastened to the Hague, with only two attendants, to communicate them to his sister. Mary was alarmed at the risk he might incur by these frequent transgressions of the law ; she would not permit him even to rest at the Hague, but requested him to proceed forthwith to Deltshaven, whither she secretly followed him, ordering her yacht to be made ready and sent on after her ; they went on board together, and retired to a small village in the barony of Breda, where they might enjoy without danger a little quiet intercourse.

Charles II. did not join the party.¹ Between him and Mary a quarrel more serious than any previous one had arisen on two grounds : the first was that, during the temporary absence in England of Lady Stanhope with her husband Heenvliet, Charles had wished his sister to fill the vacant post with a lady of his recommendation, whilst Mary had set her heart upon installing into it Lady Balcarres.² She considered that there was more of dictation than she was disposed to brook, in the tone with which her brother attempted to control her private affairs. But the other graver cause of offence was that, on the death of Cromwell, Charles, anxious to be on good terms with the United Provinces, and to induce not only the States-General, but the elector of Brandenburg, to break with England, and cordially to favour his cause, had endeavoured to conciliate both parties by paying assiduous court to the princess-dowager, and had even written to offer himself as a suitor for the hand of one of her daughters. He wrote to her in a confidential tone, stating his wish that the States would now consult their own interests as well as his, by promoting his re-establishment, regretting that his anomalous position prevented him from addressing them himself, and begging her to advocate the justice of his cause. He also wished to know whether she were in a position to receive a proposal for the hand of one of her daughters, and, if so, which daughter, and to inform him how the proposal could be forwarded with the secrecy needful to both, apologizing for this unusual

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 404, 410.

² Ibid. vol. vii. p. 234 ; De Thou's *Desp.* 8 Nov. 1658.

mode of opening a courtship, on the ground of his peculiar situation.¹

Circumstances concurred to favour the suit of the exiled king. The Princess Henrietta of Orange had been betrothed from her early childhood to Prince William of East Friesland; but, as she grew up, she showed an unconquerable reluctance to fulfil the engagement. Her mother, having vainly endeavoured to remove this aversion, made a declaration to the States to the effect that, as there was so little probability of future happiness resulting from the match, it was her wish to annul the contract. They replied that the matter should be left entirely to her discretion.² Prince William expressed himself much displeased that the projected breach should have been named to the States, before it had been formally communicated to him, and sent an envoy to demand back the jewels which, from time to time, he had presented to his *fiancée*.

It was rumoured in courtly circles that love for the exiled king was the secret of the fair Henrietta's reluctance to espouse her early betrothed; and now, when he actually made advances for her, the tumult of excitement threw her into a state of feverish restlessness, which threatened a serious illness. At this juncture, another suitor appeared in the person of the Prince of Anhalt, who had formerly proposed for her, and who was warmly favoured by her brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg. To the princess-dowager, however, the glittering prospect of a possible crown for her daughter was too attractive to be resisted. She invited Charles II. to her summer palace of Turnhout, gave him several splendid entertainments, and, without absolutely committing herself on the point of the match, left him every ground to hope his acceptance, whilst the beauty of Henrietta, then in her 21st year, did not fail to produce its effect upon his heart.

Charles had neither consulted his sister on this affair, nor did he wish it to come to her knowledge; but the Princess Amelia lacked the discretion to keep so impor-

¹ Carte's Papers, vol. ii. p. 154.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 357, 388.

tant a secret. In a moment of irritation, she was heard to boast that, however she might be looked down upon now, she would match her daughter in a manner that should surprise all Christendom.¹ Mary was soon informed of what had transpired, and she felt deeply mortified; she had the prudence, however, to avoid an open rupture with her mother-in-law, and on her return they exchanged visits, though the interviews were cold and ceremonious. A few months removed Mary's uneasiness on the score of her brother's matrimonial projects; for the princess dowager, seeing the apparent hopelessness of the royal cause in England, yielded to the urgency of the Prince of Anhalt's suit, and Henrietta was betrothed to him. This offence to his pride, and to his affection also, Charles II. never forgot nor forgave.²

During the winter of 1658-9, Mary resided at Breda with her son, its locality in the Spanish Netherlands enabling her to offer an asylum, whenever they wished or needed it, to her two younger brothers, but still she did not renew her former cordial intercourse with the king.

The Stuart cause seemed to be at its lowest ebb: the royalist risings projected on the death of Cromwell were easily checked. Charles II. in the indolence of despair, yielded himself to low amours in Brussels, and was so poor that he was compelled to sell his plate, and to use a dinner-service of pewter. The younger princes were obliged, for want of funds, to discontinue their establishment altogether, and to become pensioners on their sister at Breda.³ Their every movement was watched and reported in England: even Tom Howard, brother to the Earl of Suffolk, and master of the horse to the princess, consented for the bribe of 1000*l.* a-year to sully his noble blood by performing the mean office of a spy to the Parliament. The slightness of the intercourse that was then taking place between the king and his sister rendered his treachery less injurious than it might otherwise have been.

The summer and autumn of 1659 were productive of

¹ De Thou's *Desp.* 7 & 28 Nov. 1658, Harl. MS. 4527.

² *Thurloe*, vol. vii. pp. 503, 518.

³ *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 324, 419, 428, 444, 453, 508, 538.

rather more than usual variety at the courts of the Orange princesses. The Elector and Electress of Brandenburg, and the Prince and Princess of Anhalt, visited the Princess Amelia. Mary was at Hounslerdike, entertaining her younger brothers, and the whole party came over to see her. This was an unwonted mark of courtesy, and Mary returned the compliment by a call upon her mother-in-law, in which her brothers accompanied her; but, to avoid all contentions of etiquette in regard to the style and order of seats to be allowed to different personages, all remained standing during the visit. The good town of Amsterdam invited the princess-dowager and her two illustrious guests to an entertainment, and they included in the invitation not the princess royal, but the young Prince of Orange. Mary was embarrassed what course to take. She did not like to put a *veto* on any overture from the most republican town in Holland; yet, as her permission had not been asked in the first instance, and as the invitation to her son had been given, not directly, but through his grandmother, she refused her consent to his going in so secondary a position. The burgomasters wrote her a very courteous letter on the subject, but she still held back, on the pretext that the boy had not yet a governor appointed to attend him, and that, until he had, it was not fitting for him to leave her.¹

The fact was that, though the young prince was now completing his ninth year—a period when it was high time for him to be removed from exclusive female surveillance, and placed under a course of vigorous training—his mother and grandmother had never been able to agree upon a tutor for him. At length the urgency of the case drove them to a compromise. M. de Zulstein, who had efficiently discharged some duty, such as that of gentleman usher, about the prince, was elevated to the dignity of governor of his person, and the Sieur de Chapuzeau, a native of Amsterdam, was appointed preceptor; but it was decided that his education should be conducted at the university of Leyden, and a company of young gentlemen, sons of the principal inhabitants at the Hague, was

¹ De Thou's Desp. 14, 21, 28, Aug. 1659, Harl. MS. 4528; Occurrences from Foreign Parts, Aug. 23; Public Intell. Sept. 5.

also formed, to be trained with him to military exercises.¹ His friends proposed that, before his going to Leyden, he should have a formal audience of leave-taking from the States-General, as had been customary with the Princes of Orange on any special occasion; but the deputies for Holland objected: they said the boy held no official capacity to entitle him to such a distinction, and, though the other deputies raised no obstacle, they firmly opposed it, and succeeded in carrying their point. Mary, however, sent a formal message to the States of her son's proposed movements, and they condescended to appoint a deputation to wait upon him, and wish him success in his studies.² In September, she went over to Leyden to arrange apartments for her son, and early in November the two princesses conducted the boy to his destined abode, riding together in the same coach with him. The people of Leyden thronged round the carriage, and welcomed their young prince with an enthusiasm closely akin to loyalty, whilst the magistrates in a body, with the burgesses under arms, gave him a formal reception. M. Cocceius, rector of the university, entertained his illustrious visitors with an harangue in Dutch, after which the boy was formally installed in a residence called the Prince's Court, which had been used by his predecessors, and was now placed at his disposal, having been previously put into thorough repair. The magistracy also declared their wish to defray the whole expenses of his studies.³ These demonstrations were far from gratifying to the democratic party.⁴

The princess royal returned to Breda, whither she sent for her son to indulge in a farewell visit, more private and less constrained by the presence of others than the formal adieus at Leyden. On her return to the Hague, she found, at the court of the Queen of Bohemia, her youngest cousin, Sophia, with her husband, the Duke of Hanover. Mary visited her cousin without ceremony;

¹ Public Intelligencer, June 20, 1659.

² Merc. Polit. Nov. 10, 1659.

³ Basnage, Annales, p. 589.

⁴ Merc. Polit. Sept. 29; Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 769; De Thou's Desp. 6, 20 Nov; Gaz. de France, 1659, pp. 141, 141.

but, as the duke stipulated that she should give him the honour of a salute on their meeting—a mark of distinction usual only amongst equals, and which those of royal blood were careful to bestow only on such as could boast the like distinction—Mary declined to receive him; and, if they met at all, it was casually, and not in a formal visit.¹

The new year was welcomed by the performance of a tragic comedy, entitled “The Amorous Fantasm,” composed by Sir William Lower, and dedicated, in flattering terms, to the princess royal, who received it with every mark of favour.

The dedication was as follows;—

“Madam,

“In presuming to dedicate this imperfect piece to the most accomplished princess of the earth, I confess I show much more ambition than discretion, more rashness than solid reason and moderation; but seeing ordinarily that the greatest persons have the least pride, and the most charity, I cast myself wholly upon your clemency, and fly the test of your judgment, which being so exact, would doubly condemn me, first in the design itself, next in the conduct and consequence of it, as being a composition, weak and unworthy of so high a patronage. If it may serve to divert your highness in some vacant hour, when your sublime thoughts are suspended, I have the only end I aim at, and shall glory in the honour and happiness to introduce something with the new year, which may give you the least satisfaction; my conclusion is a most humble petition for pardon, and a favourable censure of the bold ambition, which I have to entitle myself,

“Madam,

“Your highness’s most humble, most obedient,
“and most faithful servant,

“WILLIAM LOWER.”

In January, 1660, Mary went in private to Brussels, to see her brother Charles: a brief interview of conciliation had taken place the preceding October at Breda, since which Charles had been on an expedition through the western and southern provinces of France to Fontarabia, in hope of educing some personal advantage from the peace then negotiating between the prime ministers of France and Spain; but he was disappointed. Cardinal Mazarin hardly vouchsafed to notice him; whilst the Spanish plenipotentiary, though disposed to serve him,

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 769.

was obliged to plead his inability to do so at present.¹ Returning through Paris, during the absence of the French Court, Charles had several interviews with his mother, which tended greatly to reconcile past differences.² Mary was among the first to welcome his return to Brussels.

The Marquis Caracena, the Spanish governor of the city, visited her, and would have received her with public honours, had she not insisted on preserving her *incognito*; to her great satisfaction, he did not entrench upon her royal dignity, by presuming to salute her.³ She passed the few succeeding months in constant association with her brothers, visiting them at Antwerp, or receiving visits from them at Breda. In April, her young son came to pay his respects to the royal circle, on which occasion Mary permitted him, attended by one of her gentlemen, to visit and dine with his grandmother.⁴

The death of Heenvliet, which took place at the Hague in March, 1660, removed one important barrier between Mary, and her mother-in-law; towards the latter, the superintendent had always been violently opposed; but, after his decease, his widow, Lady Stanhope, accepted conciliatory overtures from her, which prepared the way for future concord. Towards the close of April, Lady Stanhope rejoined her royal mistress at Breda, with the full resolution of promoting to the utmost, a friendly union between the two princesses, and transforming the present cold civilities that passed between them into a warm and cordial sentiment. In this praiseworthy effort, she found a ready helper in Madame de Zulstein, a lady of the Eng-

¹ The Harl. MS. 3628, containing the secret despatches of Cardinal Mazarin to his own court, during this embassy, plainly proves, that under a show of goodwill, he was not merely neutral but actually opposed the interests of the English king, by giving the Spanish minister to understand that Charles either underrated the difficulties of his position and the amount of assistance needful to enable him to recover his lost throne, or at least tried to represent his position as much more favourable than it really was, in order to allure the Spanish king to enter into his cause, in which Mazarin plainly declared that the French neither could nor would interfere at present. *Ff.* 259, 276, *b.*

² Kennett's Chron. p. 13; Clar. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 912-915.

³ De Thou's Desp. 17 Jan. 1660.

⁴ Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 829, 880; De Thou's Desp. April 15, Harl. MS. 4529.

lish house of Killigrew, who had contracted a love-match with M. de Zulstein, the recently-appointed governor of the young prince.¹

A serious obstacle to a coalition had long existed in the affairs of the principality of Orange, to understand which will require a glance at their position during several years preceding this period.

Tumults having arisen which required appeal to the authority of the regents, the Court of Orange came to the decision that as, in November, 1657, the princess-royal attained her full majority, twenty-five years of age, she was from that time forth to be considered sole Regent of Orange, for her son, according to the terms of her husband's will.² Mary developed considerable ability in the management of affairs. De Thou, who was not disposed to speak too favourably of her, writes:—"If she apply herself to business as she seems to wish, it is certain that she is very capable of succeeding, having wit, judgment, and a great fund of secrecy and discretion, just the opposite of the dowager, who cannot control herself when she has, or thinks she has, subjects of anger." The Parliament of Orange also named her possession of the requisite qualities of a regent, as one of the reasons inducing them to decide in her favour. Count Dona, nephew of the princess-dowager, who was governor of Orange, warmly opposed the parliament, and even ordered his troops to seize upon the members and dissolve their sitting; but, having timely notice, they broke up, and sent deputies both to France and Holland, to announce their decision.

M. de Subières, deputy to the Hague, was instructed, in this emergency, to urge upon Mary the acceptance of the regency, as the only step which could remedy disturbances and restore peace;³ and she was only too willing to listen. The princess-dowager was inclined to accommodate, for it was just at the juncture when she was hoping to secure Charles II. as a son-in-law. She therefore declared her willingness to cede the point, if it would tend to the good of her grandson; but the Elector

¹ De Thou's Desp. March, 30, 1660.

² Ibid. 14 Aug. 1658, Harl. MS. 4527.

³ *Rélation de ce qui s'est passé entre le Parlement d'Orange et le Comte de Dona*, 4to. Or. 1659, pp. 36-9.

of Brandenburg offered strong opposition, and threatened to seize on all Mary's property within his jurisdiction, if she persevered in her claim to the sole regency of Orange. Mary replied with firmness, that she only acted up to the will of her late husband, and to that of the Parliament of Orange, which alike recognized the claim of the mother as superior to that of the grandmother.¹

At her request, the queen, her mother, solicited Cardinal Mazarin to support her cause with the weight of his influence, which, as the principality of Orange was situated in the heart of the French territory, was very considerable.² The principal revenue of Orange consisted in a certain toll levied on vessels passing up and down the Rhine, and it so happened that the place appointed for collecting this toll was out of the limits of the principality, and consequently within the jurisdiction of the King of France. He not only wrote to Count Dona, ordering him neither to annoy nor oppose the princess-royal in the exercise of her authority, but he confirmed and protected in the exercise of his functions a receiver of the tolls, appointed by Mary. Count Dona, thus deprived of the main resources of government, avenged himself by arresting, at Orange, those vessels which had already paid toll to the deputy of the princess, and compelling them to pay it anew to his agents. The French king, on this, sent a war frigate to cruise in the river, and keep the passage clear. Dona fitted out gun boats to chase the frigate, and thus the disorders increased, till the States-General thought it right to interfere.

Dona had addressed several letters to them on the subject, to which Mary replied in strong terms, accusing him of perjury in breaking his oath to her late husband, and complaining vehemently of his remonstrances against her for seeking the support and advice of her mother. She laid before the States-General a long and able statement of her claims; to which the princess-dowager prepared a reply, and Mary another rejoinder, whilst Dona apologised for the ill-chosen terms in which he had spoken

¹ De Thou's Desp. 14 Nov. 1658, Harl. MS. 4527.

² Hen. Maria to Mazarin, 18 Nov. 1658. From the original, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris

of the Queen of England.¹ At length, by the request of the Elector of Brandenburg, the States-General wrote a respectful remonstrance to Louis XIV., complaining that in spite of the representations of the princess-dowager and Elector of Brandenburg, two of the tutors of the young prince,—in spite also of the treaty of pacification, passed in 1654, the princess royal persisted in advancing her exclusive claim to the government of Orange;—that she allowed herself to be guided therein by the counsels of the queen, her mother, who, as a Catholic princess, should have no share in ruling a Protestant state;—that, from fear of the interference of Dona, she had removed the Parliament of Orange out of the principality, and had called in French forces, instead of labouring for the real interest of her son, by seeking to maintain concord with his other tutors, and to rule with their concurrence. They ended with a request that Louis would appoint judges who should compose the strife, sending, at the same time, a request to the princess royal, that she would be favourable to an accommodation.² To this request Mary replied as follows:—

“High and mighty lords,

“I have received the second letter which it has pleased your lordships to send me of the 11th of this month, with the new memorial of the princess-dowager, my mother-in-law. I am very sorry not to be able as yet to send a definite answer to it, because I am continually expecting to hear from France, whither I have been obliged to have recourse, believing that I am rendering no little service to the prince my son, by preserving to him the good graces of the most Christian King, since the principality is locked up in the midst of his kingdom, which also the queen my mother hopes to do, by contributing, on her part, the credit which her birth gives her in that court, in order that the said principality may remain to my son, with the same advantages and prerogatives which his predecessors have hitherto enjoyed. Hither tend all the considerations and cares of her said majesty, my mother, and my own; of which I can assure your lordships, and that I am,

“High and mighty lords,

“Your very affectionate friend,

“MARY.”³

¹ De Thou's Desp. Sept. & Oct. 1659 Harl., MS. 4528, ff. 301, 324-333, 394.

² Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 745, 769, 794; De Thou's Desp. Harl. MS. 4529, ff. 7, 48, 50.

³ Thurloe Papers, vol. vii. p. 803.

Both parties were destined to experience the inconveniences of calling in the lion as arbiter of their differences. The next step taken by Louis was that of sending to Orange the Sieur Milet, one of his confidential officials, with a message to Count Dona, informing him that as there were dissensions amongst the tutors of the Prince of Orange, he himself, as lord paramount, was the final source of authority, and he therefore commanded the count to deliver the town and principality into his hands. Dona respectfully but firmly declined compliance with such an order: he stated that, as governor, he had taken his oaths, not to the King of France, but primarily to the Prince of Orange, and subsequently to the deputed tutors, under whose authority he had hitherto acted, and without whose consent it was impossible for him to give up his charge. He promised, however, to dispatch a courier instantly to Holland for orders. Milet replied, that the courier must necessarily be a long time absent;—that the King of France, being then *en route* for the frontiers of Spain, to complete his marriage, could march into the province, at the head of 20,000 men, to compel obedience, and that he was not likely to leave the vicinity till he had obtained his will. Dona calmly replied, that were the French troops encircling the moat and citadel, he could give no other answer than he had already given, that being the one to which he was bound by obligation of duty. With an indignant exclamation of surprise, that Dona should prove the only man in Europe who ventured to resist the King of France, when almost at his gates, the disappointed agent withdrew to report the ill success of his mission.¹

This proceeding of the French king did much to incline the dissentient tutors to a union, which might ward off the present danger. Mary offered to relinquish the idea she had formerly entertained of making Lord Jermyn governor of Orange. She was rendered more compliant by the threats of the opposite party that they would disturb her dower, and that the blame of causing the destruction of the fortifications of Orange, which was threatened in France, would lie at her door, if she refused

¹ Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 806.

an accommodation. Her superintendent, Heenvliet, laid great stress on these points, and thus induced her to sign a draft sent by the princess-dowager, granting 50,000 florins to Dona as compensation for his proposed relinquishment of the government of Orange. This, however, she subsequently refused to confirm.¹ The princess-dowager consented to recall Dona, and the States-General proposed a joint deputation to the French king in behalf of a governor upon whom they should mutually agree; the princess royal undertaking to add her whole influence, by a special messenger, to induce the monarch to desist from his projected attack on Orange. By her agent she sent the following letter:—

“Sire,

“As my lords the States-General send expressly to intercede with your majesty in favour of the affairs in Orange, I cannot refrain from joining my very humbly prayers to theirs, that you would have respect to what Mr. Copes has order to say more particularly according to his instructions, and to what I have already written to your majesty; concerning which, relying entirely on the just reflections which your majesty will draw for the advantage and good of my son, I will not add more, except to pray you to believe that I am,

“Sire,

“Your affectionate cousin and servant,

“MARY.²

“Breda, this 15th March, 1660.”

Mary was too late: she found to her cost that it is much easier to excite than to suppress the energies of a potent monarch; and that whilst she believed the destinies of Orange to be in her own hands, they were in fact beyond her influence, the moment she called in an ally more powerful than herself.³ Louis having once resolved to take Orange, was not to be diverted from his purpose; his clergy urged him onward, because it was for the interests of Romanism to prevent that place being a refuge for those of another faith; and after many efforts to save it, by mediation, and even by resistance, the citadel capitulated on the 25th of March, 1660, Dona

¹ De Thou's *Desp.*, Harl MS. 4529, ff. 109, 138, 171, 189, 275.

² *Thurloe Papers*, vol. vii. p. 829.

³ *Basnage*, p. 617.

receiving from France a handsome bribe of 200,000 francs for its relinquishment.¹

Tidings of the capitulation were immediately sent to Mary, and she communicated them in haste both to the States-General and the princess-dowager. The former expressed great concern; the latter merely replied, that Dona had acted quite without her knowledge or consent, and therefore the onus of the transaction must rest not with her, but with those who had first called in French interference.² Mary, on the other hand, warmly justified herself, and loudly accused Dona of imprudence in provoking the anger of France, and then of treachery in yielding up the place.³ In spite of her protestations of innocence, the whole affair brought her into serious disrepute, for having lost so important a portion of the revenue of her son, and her trouble was increased by the rumour that the fortifications would be destroyed, and even the very sovereignty of Orange, about which she had received repeated guarantees, would be thereby involved.⁴

But relief from this and other anticipated ills was found in an event which had almost ceased to be hoped for—the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England.

There are few more humiliating passages in history than those recording the sudden change that came over the policy of all the statesmen in Europe, when the probabilities became every day stronger and stronger that the homeless, friendless, poverty-stricken exile, who had wandered for years an unheeded suitor from one court to another, was likely once again to mount the throne of his fathers. The Spaniards, who had proved his least self-interested partizans, increased their attentions, urged on his acceptance of royal honours, and entreated him to make

¹ Artikulen von Capitulatie tusschen Louis XIV. ende Frederik von Dona, 25 March, 1660, 4to. 1660. Baron Dona became so unpopular by this transaction that he was never allowed to set foot in Orange again. Brienne to De Thou, MS. 360, St. Germ. Harlay, Bibl. Nat. Paris.

² Harl. MS. 4159, f. 271.

³ Basnage, p. 618.

⁴ De Thou's Desp. Harl. MS. 4529.

one of their ports in Flanders the point whence he should sail for England. Cardinal Mazarin, who in his recent treaty with Spain, had entirely passed over the interests of the Stuarts, was amongst the foremost to offer congratulations, and to renew proposals, formerly discountenanced, of a match between Charles and one of his nieces. The princess-dowager, who had refused the king one of her daughters, encouraged by a courteous letter she had recently received from him, was eagerly intriguing with almost every member of his council to secure his hand for her still unmarried daughter. Charles, who had been fascinated with the beautiful Henrietta of Orange, paid little regard to the homely, though witty and talented Mary, and plainly intimated that overtures which had once been slighted, would not now be renewed.¹

But of all tergiversations, the most complete and ludicrous was that of their high mightinesses, the States-General of the United Provinces, and more especially those of Holland. Great was their consternation at the prospective elevation of the prince who had suffered such dogged persecution at their hands. They met in serious deliberation. "Whoever was king of England," they said, "were it the devil himself, they must be friends with him." This mode of putting the subject, not the most flattering in its terms, was of course only whispered in private; in public, every preparation was made to convince Charles Stuart how sincerely his "good friends, the States-General," sympathized in his prosperity. Feeling that they had much to atone for, their present servility was in proportion to their previous harshness.

As soon as his restoration became morally probable, Charles left Flanders and joined his sister at Breda. The magistrates wished to give him a public reception, and even proposed to settle on him a yearly pension; but Mary, with characteristic dignity, peremptorily forbade both, and the king was simply received and welcomed by the oldest burgomaster of the place, in the name of the rest. The two younger dukes were also there, and day by day illustrious

¹ De Thou's *Desp.* April 29, 1660; Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 824, 829, 902; Holl. *Correp.* 11 June, 1660, State Paper Office.

guests, from all quarters, poured in to offer their congratulations. The young Prince of Orange was sent for by his mother to see and salute his royal uncle, and Mary detained him awhile from his studies to share in the general exhilaration. The Prince and Princess of Nassau, Prince Maurice, also of Nassau, and his wife, the Elector and Electress of Brandenburg, Duke George William of Lunenburgh, &c., with numerous foreign ambassadors and English royalists, flocked to Breda in such numbers, that Mary found it impossible to provide for them in her own palace or at her own table. They were dispersed in the town, which at length became so full that it was difficult to find food for the aristocratic throng.¹

On the $\frac{4}{14}$ th of May, Mary sent a letter to the States-General, informing them officially of the invitation her brother had received from the English Parliament to return to his dominions. Deputies were immediately sent to offer their congratulations, not only to the king, but to his sister and brothers. They arrived on the $\frac{8}{18}$ th of May, and were received by the royal personages in a full court of the nobility, and their message was heard with all due semblance of respect. The States of Holland, not satisfied with a share in this general embassy, sent special deputies, a few days afterwards, to beseech his majesty "that he would grace that province with his royal presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as would testify the great joy of their hearts for the Divine blessings which Providence was showering upon his head."² The king replied with civility, but in a tone which showed the nature of his appreciation of such courtesies. He said that the republic had his good will, for the sake of their connection with his sister and nephew, who were among the dearest objects he had in the world, and also because he considered an alliance with them advantageous to the interests of his kingdom, and he concluded by accepting their invitation. They had separate audiences from the Dukes of York and

¹ Kennett's Chron. fol. Lond. 1726, pp. 105, 113; Théat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 198; Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 876.

² Clarendon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 1015.

Gloucester, and were then introduced to the princess royal by her *maître-de-cour*, Lord Alexander Hume.¹ It were well if Mary refrained from a smile of scorn when the very men whose stern mandates had so often compelled her to shut her gates against her own brothers were bending before her as solicitors for their presence.

On the return of the deputies, the States again met, and passed a vote for a grant of 300,000 guilders, to meet the expense of the king's entertainment, which was to devolve entirely upon them, whilst messengers from Dort, Delft, Rotterdam, and other places in the route from Breda to the Hague, came to solicit the king to do them the honour to rest and refresh himself within their jurisdiction. All these invitations Charles peremptorily but civilly declined, partly on the plea that he did not wish to put the inhabitants to trouble, partly because the pressure of his affairs would not admit of delay.

Sunday, $\frac{1}{2}$ ³rd of May, was set apart as a day of public thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to England. The ministers at Breda, English, Dutch, and French, preached from appropriate texts,² and at the close of the service the whole council and clergy went in a body to the palace of the princess to congratulate her and her brothers; in the evening, bonfires blazed, bells rang, cannons fired, and the miscellaneous concourse at Breda vied with each other in demonstrations of joy.

The next day was appointed for the party to set out for the Hague. As early as four o'clock in the morning, five companies of troops drew up in the neighbourhood of the palace to form the royal escort. It was thought better, for the sake of avoiding a crowd in the roads, that the

¹ Theat. Europ. vol. ix. pp. 199, 201.

² One of the sermons, preached by Antony Hulsius, pastor of the Walloon church, was afterwards printed in a pamphlet, entitled "Royal Joy," with a eulogistic dedication to the princess royal. Hulsius mentions the delight which all the inhabitants of Breda have felt, that their town was the one in which the king first received the tidings of his restoration, an honour for which they were indebted to the princess. He assures her of their joy in being able to exchange the sympathy they had ever felt when they saw him passing backwards and forwards as an exile, for the homage due to a mighty monarch; and promises the compliance of the whole body of clergy with the request which the princess constantly made to them when they waited upon her, viz., that of praying for her and her family.

party should move on in groups. About seven o'clock, therefore, the Dukes of York and Gloucester set out with their suites, attended by the deputies of the different provinces. At nine, the princess royal and her train followed, and Charles II. brought up the rear as soon as he had listened to the farewell compliments of the old burgomaster of Breda. About noon, he reached Moerdick, a small place on the Maese River, where he was to embark for the Hague. There a fleet of thirteen large yachts, with numberless small boats, provided by the States, was in waiting to receive the travellers.

It was a customary point of etiquette in state receptions at the Hague, that the individual to be honoured should enter the town in the coach of the princess-dowager. The first part of Charles's passage was by water, and the yacht of the princess was substituted for her coach; but he found that it was not large enough to accommodate both himself and his sister with their trains; and, as Mary was now beginning to count the few remaining days in which she should enjoy her brother's society, she was unwilling to be separated from him; he therefore selected a larger vessel for their joint service. This yacht so much excited the king's admiration that he made some inquiries about its construction, and declared that on his return to England he would have one built upon the same model. A burgomaster of Amsterdam, one of the deputies from Holland appointed to attend his majesty, hearing these remarks, stepped forward and informed him that a similar boat had just been completed at Amsterdam, and begged permission, in the name of the city, to offer it to his acceptance. After some little hesitation, Charles consented to receive the gift, and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, the most republican of all republican towns, had the pleasure of finding themselves committed to the purchase from the East India Company to whom it belonged, of a costly vessel, and then to its decoration, so as to render it a suitable gift for a king. They cheerfully made the sacrifice, from the consciousness that their past conduct needed something to redeem it in the eyes of Charles and his sister.¹ In order to avoid any

¹ *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. pp. 204-206.

contention about precedence, the States-General had detained away all foreign ambassadors, granted the claims of the deputies of Holland to do the honours of the voyage and reception, as both were to take place within their own territory, and sent a special request to the king that he would take upon himself the ordering of the voyage. To this he graciously consented, and appointed the Duke of York to act the part of admiral, and assign the ships amongst the multifarious claimants. All parties had abundant reason to be satisfied with their accommodation, and were even surprised to find a luxurious dinner served up on board each vessel. Mary was confined to her couch by sea-sickness, and unable to taste food. The wind was strong, and the waters, from the time of their emerging from the mouth of the Maese into the estuary, very stormy. Charles, compassionating his sister's condition, asked if there were no neighbouring bank, with the shelter of a few trees, where they might put to shore a little, to revive her; but the captain replied that no quiet was to be hoped for till they reached Dort, where, on account of the rough weather, they did not arrive till nearly four o'clock.

The people were crowding on the shore, firing *feux-de-joie*, some of the more ardent even climbing the bulwarks of the yacht to catch a peep at the royal party, through the cabin windows, when Charles good-naturedly came on deck to show himself; dinner was then served, and during its course, messengers arrived from the English parliament, urging the king to the utmost dispatch in returning to his kingdom, and informing him that the fleet sent to escort him was already descried off Scheveling. Charles had arranged to lie at anchor all night off Dort, reach Delft by noon of the next day, and enter the Hague in the afternoon; but he was now compelled to expedite matters; he set sail at once, and sent off an express to the magistrates of the Hague to request that coaches might be in attendance at Delftshaven to meet him, in time for his entrance into their city at seven o'clock A.M. the following day. The express arrived at midnight, and the sleepy magistrates had to be aroused and assembled to hear the king's message: they sent word in reply that

they would endeavour to be ready by seven, or at latest by eight o'clock. At two in the morning, the drums beat through the town and the neighbouring villages, to arouse the troops to do their share in the honours of the reception.

Meanwhile the royal party, having passed a storm-tossed night in anchor off Rotterdam, and in sailing to their landing-place at Delftshaven, reached it at seven o'clock in the morning. The coaches were in readiness: Charles entered that of the princess royal, with his sister by his side; his two brothers on the opposite side. We pass over the speechifyings, and compliments, and congratulations, and presents, which met the king at every point of the road, and multiplied upon him as he neared the Hague. At some distance from the place, he was met by the deputies of all the States, headed by the young Prince of Orange, who was taken into the royal coach and seated on the knee of one of his uncles. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon they entered the Hague, passing through files of musketeers, preceded by the magistracy in their robes of crimson velvet and golden chains, followed by a suite of seventy-two coaches, and surrounded by thousands of the enthusiastic populace; the *cortège* drove up to the palace of Prince Maurice, which was fitted up for the king's reception. On the flight of entrance steps they found the Queen of Bohemia, Duke George of Brunswick Luneburgh, the Princess Amelia of Orange, with her daughters, the Princess of Nassau Dietz, and Mdlle. d'Orange and the Prince of Nassau her son-in-law, and others; from all of whom they received cordial greetings, which the king returned, and then led the way into his state reception-room. Here the persevering deputies of Holland were again in waiting with their compliments; seeing which Mary, who was weary with a night of sleeplessness on board her yacht, made the movement to retire. She was followed by the Queen of Bohemia, the princess-dowager, and her party, and the king remained alone with his brothers and a single deputy, whose office was to be in constant attendance to receive the royal orders.

But though Charles and Mary needed repose, they

were not very likely to obtain it; for the firing from many pieces of cannon continued so vehement, that fears were expressed lest the walls of the old palace should be blown down with the shock. Several days were spent in receiving various deputations, the most interesting of which was one from England, consisting of ambassadors, attended by the chief of the young nobility; they were all presented, and kissed not only the king's hand, but the hands of the princess royal, the Queen of Bohemia, and the two royal dukes.¹

Amongst the presentations was the well-known diarist Samuel Pepys, who was one of the officers on board the ship which was to convey the king home. He mentions that, in the midst of the honours paid to him, Charles was so poor that he was unable to pay his attendants or equip himself, and that the best suit any one of them possessed was scarcely worth forty shillings. Admiral Montague, foreseeing this probable contingency, had taken the precaution to bring the king a supply of money, the sight of which was so welcome to him, that he ran and called his sister and brother to come and look at the glittering gold, as it lay in the portmanteau, before he took it out. This timely supply enabled him to discharge the arrears of his attendants, and to clothe himself in externals less unbecoming majesty. A few days later, a present of 50,000*l.* arrived from the parliament, and smaller presents were also sent to each of the dukes.²

The royal family dined in public daily, at a table formed like the two sides of a triangle, at the apex of which sat the king, with the Queen of Bohemia on his right hand, and the Princess Mary on his left. By her side was her young son, whenever she permitted him to be present, or, in his absence, one of her brothers, the other occupying the vacant place by the Queen of Bohemia. A band of music was regularly in attendance, and after dinner healths were drunk, at which Charles never forgot to propose that of the States-General, and sometimes condescended to drink to each separate pro-

¹ Kennett's Chron. p. 139; Theat. Europ. vol. ix. pp. 206-217.

² Pepys's Diary by Lord Braybrooke, vol. i. pp. 84-5; Clarendon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 1018; Carte, vol. ii. p. 346.

province. The evenings were divided by the king between the Queen of Bohemia, the princess royal, and the princess-dowager, at one or other of whose residences a brilliant and cheerful reunion generally took place; but he always returned with his sister to supper, and spent with her most of his later evening hours: it was noted that her influence over him was stronger than that of any of his ministers.¹

Could the veil of the future have been raised, with what strange interest would some of the members of the royal circle have looked upon each other. There, by the side of the gay monarch, the Duke of York, then in the prime of manhood, might be seen with the little sedate, observant, thoughtful Prince of Orange, both successors to his throne; whilst in the Queen of Bohemia and in Duke George William of Luneburgh Zell² would have been recognised the ancestors of a dynasty destined to sway the sceptre forfeited by the Stuart line through generations yet unborn! Nor should we omit from our *tableau* the comely figure of Anne Hyde, still to all appearance the unobtrusive maid of honour to the princess royal, but already plighted in private to the Duke of York, and the future mother of two queens of England.

On May 18th the gentlemen of the illustrious party attended a review of the troops of the States, whose fine condition excited general admiration, and Mary permitted her son to be present, for the first time, at a grand military display. In the evening, a magnificent entertainment, to which the ladies also were invited, was given by Don Estevan de Gamarra, the Spanish ambassador. All the principal English nobility at the Hague were present; the fête, though very *recherché*, was splendid and profuse; but De Thou, the French ambassador, who was extremely jealous of this honour shown to his rival of Spain, avers that the princess royal described the fête to him as the most tiresome and tedious she had ever witnessed.³

¹ Mém. touch. M. de Thou, p. 73; De Thou's Desp. 21 & 27 May, 1660.

² He was father of Sophia Dorothea of Zell, consort of George I. and mother of George II.

³ De Thou's Desp. 3 June, 1660.

On the Sunday, the king was to attend the usual English service; and to avoid confusion, by too many of his countrymen pressing to the church, guards lined all the entrances. The Dutch service, as usual, preceded the English, but, to the consternation of the impatient crowd, when it was concluded, the whole Dutch congregation remained in their places, for the sake of a view of the royal party. In vain their minister remounted the pulpit, and requested them to give way, according to custom, to their English brethren: the majority remained immovable. The princess royal met the dilemma by proposing that as many as could should follow her to her apartment, in which, since the refusal of the States to have her brother prayed for in public, she had been accustomed to attend divine worship, and there the service was performed.

At its close, King Charles was requested to touch a number of persons afflicted with the king's evil, some of whom had travelled for the purpose from remote parts of Germany; after which he dined in private with his sister, visited his aunt, and in the evening the whole party attended a fête given in Prince Maurice's palace by the States-General. Charles II. had visited several of the courts of Europe, and been present at many a courtly entertainment, but he declared that the magnificence of this republican banquet surpassed anything he had before beheld.¹

The States also sought up, and presented to Charles, all the crown jewels which were in pawn in Holland; and not satisfied with these marks of courtesy, they resolved on making him a costly present. They chose for the purpose a superb bed, which the late Prince of Orange had ordered for Mary, in anticipation of the birth of her son, but which, on account of his death, and her consequent mourning, she had never used. They purchased it from her for the sum of 20,000 livres, and added to it bedroom draperies and furniture of the costliest description, including a small but choice collection of Dutch pictures. As want of time prevented the preparation of

¹ *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. pp. 217-223; *Mémoires touchant M. de Thou*, 18mo. Cologne, 1710, p. 70; *Kennett's Chron.* p. 155.

suitable gifts for the two dukes, they were each presented with a purse of 60,000 guilders.¹

During more than a week, the very unfavourable state of the weather had compelled the monarch reluctantly to spend his time at the Hague, in bootless though brilliant ceremonials, when he longed to set foot once again within his own kingdom. At last the tempests cleared away, and Charles prepared for his departure; he sent word to the States-General and States of Holland, that he wished for an audience of leave-taking: they made some difficulty about it, declaring themselves unworthy of such an honour; but as the king persisted, they prepared to receive him in due form. To the States-General, he addressed himself standing and uncovered; to those of Holland, seated, and with his hat on. The chief scope of both his speeches was warmly to commend to them the interests of his sister and her child; and on being informed that what he had said on the subject had not been distinctly heard in the assembly, he called for pen and ink, and wrote it down, as follows:—

“My Lords, as I am leaving with you the princess my sister, and the Prince of Orange my nephew, two persons whom I esteem beyond measure, I entreat you, my lords, that you will take their interests to heart, and let them enjoy your hearty favour on all occasions in which the princess my sister may solicit it, either for herself or for the prince her son; in full assurance that all your respect and favour towards her will be recognised by me just as though I had received it in my own person.

“CHARLES R.”²

The States, in their reply, observed that they should pay strict attention to his majesty's request, not only because the princess royal had the honour of being related to him, but to show their gratitude for her constant willingness to serve them; and that as to the young prince, the memory of his ancestors' merits could not fail to secure him in their good graces.³ After various farewell audiences and visits, the king went to his sister, to spend his last evening with her, and the select few whom

¹ De Thou's *Desp.* 3 June, 1660; *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. p. 229.

² *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. p. 231; De Thou's *Desp.* Harl. MS. 4529, f. 493.

³ Simons Johan de Wit, *en zyn tyd*, 8vo. Amst. 1832, vol. i. p. 267.

she had invited to meet him. He tarried with her till very late, and then returned home; but that night was not given to repose. It seemed as though the whole Hague was awake and astir: so many persons were moving in the city, that it had the appearance of a bustling day. The houses could not by any means accommodate the crowds from the neighbouring country, who pressed to have a last view of the king; and long before dawn, upwards of 50,000 people had stationed themselves along the dykes leading to and at Scheveling, to witness his departure.

All night long, busy packing was going on in the palace, and early in the morning Charles arose, and received many private visits. At eight o'clock, the deputies of Holland were announced, and the king had once again to listen to a display of complimentary eloquence from them; they then attended him to his sister's residence, where they had the consideration to leave him. After spending a short time alone with Mary, the king hastened down into the court, mounted his horse, which was in waiting, and, riding between his two brothers, preceded by his young nephew and Prince William of Nassau, he departed, amidst the thundering roar of cannon, for Scheveling. The princess royal, the princess-dowager, with her two daughters, and the Queen of Bohemia, accompanied him, in their coaches, to the sea-shore, and were followed by the persevering deputies of the States of Holland. They passed through crowds of people, most of whom fell in the rear of the procession, so that the Hague, lately swarming with life, was left comparatively desolate.

As they reached Scheveling, the cannon on the heights, and the musketry of the troops were fired at once, and responded to by the English fleet at anchor off the port, producing a mass of smoke so dense that, for some time, the largest ships could not be discerned. Charles dismounted on the shore, and took leave of the Duke of Brunswick Luneburgh, the princess-dowager, and her family, and others of the illustrious party, reserving to his relatives alone the privilege of accompanying him to his vessel. A boat provided by the States, and elegantly

furnished, was in waiting to convey him, bearing two banners with the mottos "Dieu et mon droit," and "Quo fas et fata vocârunt." The king and royal family stepped into it; but he had hardly moved from the shore when an elegant chaloupe, with glazed windows, carpeted cabins, and luxurious furniture, arrived from the admiral's ship, provided expressly to take the sovereign on board. To this boat the king transferred himself, and the moment the English sailors saw their monarch set foot upon British oak, they set up an enthusiastic cheer, which made the shore ring again. The rest of the party followed him; and, as they neared the fleet, the excitement of officers and sailors became unbounded. Caps and jackets waved in the air, guns fired, flags were unfurled, and shouts of "God save the king," "Long live King Charles," echoed from every hand. The boat now drew alongside the principal vessel; Admiral Montague, on his knee, received his sovereign at the top of the ascending ladder, and the moment he reached the deck, the standard of England unfurled its massive folds to the breeze. The other members of the royal family also came on board, and when the king had succeeded in freeing himself from eager subjects, who crowded around him, he descended into the state-cabin, expressing a wish that he might dine in quiet, with only the members of his own family around him.

In spite of the cheerful excitements of the scene, the approaching partings cast a gloom over the spirits of all. Charles II. though not given to sentiment, partook of the feeling, and at length broke up the party by expressing a wish to go on deck, and once more to look on the land where he had spent so many years of varied fortune; he mounted accordingly, and, as he gazed on the hills and dykes still full of people, straining their eyes to catch a last glimpse of him, he exclaimed, with some emotion, that his own subjects could not show him more cordiality. The Dutch populace had always entertained a predilection for the fallen king, and had never sympathized in the harsh measures of their rulers. Turning from these humbler friends, Charles encountered once again the indefatigable Holland deputies, who had followed him for one

more farewell. This over, the ceremony of re-naming several vessels of the fleet took place; the third in size, previously called "The Speaker," was called "MARY," in compliment to the princess royal; the second, formerly named "Richard," in honour of the last protector, became "JAMES;" whilst the one on which they were assembled, and which had borne the ominous name of "Naseby," was baptized "THE ROYAL CHARLES."¹

Then came adieus, sincere and sorrowful, for the time approached when the fleet must set sail. The king embraced the young prince of Orange, and blessed him with a father's tenderness, took leave of the Queen of Bohemia, and then, turning to his weeping sister, fondly clasped her in his arms, and tried to soothe and cheer her with the hope of a speedy and happy reunion in England.

"The princess royal, that illustrious and generous sister," writes an eye-witness, "gave new marks, in this painful separation, of that strong and generous tenderness of which the king and the dukes, her brothers, have felt the effects during the whole course of their misfortunes; to which the king responded by every possible testimony of his love." Another writer says: "But when he was to part with the princess royal his sister, that princess, who had with so much courage and without grief almost, looked all past misfortunes in the face, and who had virtue enough to fortify that of her brothers, had need of all her constancy to resolve herself to suffer this separation, which she had wished with so much impatience, and whose consequences were to be so glorious both to the one and to the other. The king himself, who had resolution to witness no weakness in his greatest misfortunes, cannot resist the tears of a sister, whom many other considerations, as strong as those of birth, render extremely dear unto him. She would have been inconsolable, but for the hope she had to see again the king, her brother, in his kingdom; and they would have been troubled to disengage her from the arms of his majesty if Admiral Montague had not caused the anchors to be weighed, and given signal to the other ships to set sail. The admiral's ship was already

¹ Theat. Europ. vol. ix. pp. 231-236; Mém. touch. M. de Thou, p. 77; De Thou's Desp., Harl. MS. 4529, f. 493 b.; Kennett, pp. 157-8.

under weigh for England, when the Queen of Bohemia, the princess royal, and the Prince of Orange, descended into the bark which was to bring them back again to the land. All the artillery of the fleet saluted those royal persons, and the battery of the Downs answered it with the small shot of the citizens and guards."¹

The chaloupe in which the ladies were seated rowed rapidly to shore, whilst, amid thundering cannon, and the acclamations of a hundred thousand spectators, "The Royal Charles" disappeared in the horizon, bearing in its bosom as reckless a heart, and as light a head as ever were destined to wear the circlet, and to bear, or fling aside, the cares of royalty.

¹ Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 92.

MARY,

ELDEST DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER IV.

YOUNG Prince of Orange recognised in the English succession—Invited with his mother to Amsterdam—Grand fête—Allegorical shows—They go to Haarlem—Mary appeals to the States to reinstate her son—Invited to England—The queen wishes her to go to France—Correspondence with her mother and brother about it—She decides for England—Domestic arrangements—Evasive reply of the States to her proposals—She writes to them about her son's education—Their reply—The princess-dowager disapproves of her letter—Preparations for her reception in England—Her farewell audiences—Sets sail—Hears of the Duke of Gloucester's death—Her distress—Arrival in England—Cordial reception—Ode of welcome—Marriage of the Duke of York—Arrival of the queen-mother—Mary's letter to Parliament—Claims her unpaid dowry—Letter to the States of Zealand and to the king on behalf of the United Provinces—Mary's illness—Her will—Death—Report of her marriage to Jermyn—Funeral elegies—Servants—Debts—Future career of her son.

THE restoration of monarchy in England placed the princess royal and her son in a position very different from that which they had before held. All the state and circumstance with which Mary delighted to surround her boy, and which had hitherto been jealously repressed, was now cheerfully conceded to a prince, who, though not yet restored to his ancestral honours in the United States, was

the fifth in succession to the crown of England, and, as such, claimed and received higher honours than had ever before been granted to a Prince of Orange.¹

The town of Amsterdam, before whose walls the husband of Mary had received the shock which terminated in his death—the town which, but a few months before, had offered her the marked slight of excluding *her* alone from an invitation extended to all the other members of the House of Orange;—this very town now sent a respectful request that, as the magistrates had been disappointed of a solicited visit from Charles II., Mary and her son, as scions of the royal race, would condescend to honour them with their company at a *fête* to be given on June 7th. To this the princess consented: in the interim, she celebrated, at the Hague, the birthday of her brother, the 29th of May; she invited her royal relatives to an entertainment, and in the evening bonfires were lighted throughout the city.²

On Monday, June 4th, the princess and her son went to Leyden, and remained there the two following days, in order to be ready for their entrance into Amsterdam, where they were received by the magistracy with great pomp. A citizen of the town records that “three companies, under their arms, and richly-apparelled, and the foot of our ordinary guard, and all our young men, were gone out to meet them, and brought them in with a great *cortége* of coaches, and eighteen chariots of triumph prepared for their reception. All our great guns were shot off, and answered by the artillery of above 150 ships in our port. Since that time, there hath been nothing here but feastings and rejoicings, either public or private, whereof the most considerable inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, who came hither purposely, have been partakers.”³ On the day of their entrance, after partaking of a splendid entertainment, laid out in the Radthaus, they seated themselves at the windows, to enjoy the spectacle of a series of allegorical pageants, which had been prepared by an ingenious and learned operative of Amster-

¹ De Thou's Desp. 27 May, 1660.

² Theat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 236; Diar. Europ. vol. v. p. 300.

³ Parl. Intelligencer, June 28, 1660.

dam. It consisted of twenty *entrées*,¹ each meant to convey an appropriate illustration of persons or events of the times.

First came a figure to represent the United Provinces of the Netherlands, attended by Foresight, Watchfulness, and Courage, the safeguards of their welfare. The second was designed to exhibit the friendship existing between England and the Netherlands, and in it prominence was given to James I. as a learned and peace-loving king, accompanied by corresponding symbols; behind him, as in disuse, the rusty implements of war; before him, books and globes, and philosophical instruments.

The third representation was one which might well have been spared to the daughter of Charles I. The unfortunate king was seated on a scaffold, and at his back stood Murder, with an axe bathed in blood; Force, Perjury, and Deceit, were aiming to overthrow the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which were placed in front of the king. Cerberus and Hydra took their stand before and behind. The compliment of this allegorical memorial was more than counterbalanced by the literalness of horror with which it brought before the princess a scene so harrowing to her feelings; and it certainly offered no favourable testimony to the taste of the deviser.²

There was irony mingled with truth in the characters of the fourth group. In the midst stood Oliver Cromwell, holding in one hand a globe, the sign of dominion, and in the other, a bloody axe, as the instrument by which he had obtained it. Ambition was his nearest counsellor, bearing the emblems of religion, as the excuse or sanction

¹ They are described at great length in *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. p. 237, and in *Diar. Europ.* vol. v. p. 150.

² "I forgot to tell you," wrote De Thou, "that in the reception which the town of Amsterdam gave the princess royal and her son, the care of making the shows having been given to an impertinent poet, there was one so inappropriate that the princess was distressed and disgusted. On one of the chariots which marched through the town was represented the late king her father, with an executioner behind him, holding an hatchet, both their shirts all bloody; so that this horrible spectacle has disgraced all the expense they have been at in this reception, which, in other respects, was very handsome; and the people showed wonderful joy in seeing their young prince."—*Desp.* June 24, 1660.

for all his schemes, and, in partial concealment, the crown and sceptre, to intimate Cromwell's secret longings for regality, though all its appurtenances, as connected with his predecessor, were thrown down in ignoble neglect.

To particularize each of these dramatic subjects would demand too large an intrusion on our space. Charles II. was represented as enjoying, with the approval of heaven, the royal honours which his father had lost, and as triumphing over the enemies of his throne and of his life. The princess herself was not omitted from these illustrations of the Stuart House. She was personated by a figure in elegant attire, seated in the midst of a carriage or platform; behind her stood Hope, embracing a golden anchor; before her, Religion, in virgin robes, holding a book and censer; and by her side were her brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester. As this part of the pageant passed, the following stanza was pronounced aloud:—

“Die traur'ge Furstinn kann jetzt nichts als Freuden weisen;
 Sie wischt die Thränen ab, & saget “Lob sey Gott”;
 Die Dankbarkeit die ist vor allem hoch zu preisen;
 Seht Stuarts Haus das steht; des Cromwell's ist ein Spott.
 Es muss zwar in die See die Sonne niedersinken,
 Doch wenn sie aufgeht, pflegt sie heller nur zu blinken.”

“The sorrowful princess can now show only joy; she wipes away her tears, and says ‘Praise be to God.’ Gratitude, before all else, is highly to be valued. See the Stuart House arise; that of Cromwell is a mockery. Truly the sun must sink beneath the sea; yet, when again it rises, it is to shine more clearly.”

One of the later groups did honour to the husband of the princess, William II. of Orange; and, considering that his latest act had been an unpopular attack upon the liberties of the town of Amsterdam, Mary might congratulate herself that the resentment of the inhabitants was not portrayed in devices too plain to be mistaken. The opening prospects of her youthful son afforded a fertile subject. The prince was seated on the lap of Religion; Hope was his presiding genius; the Arts, in winged form, hovered around him, and children presented to him the symbols of art and science. A stag, escaping from a

pursuing hound, typified his deliverance from the persecutions of Cromwell; and, had the allusion extended to those of the States also, it might have been equally true. Before the prince stood an altar, from the burning ashes on which a phoenix arose, to denote the birth of the prince after his father's death. The altar was shaded by an orange-tree, bearing only one orange, to show that he was the sole remaining hope of his race.

The display was concluded by a personification of the town of Amsterdam, followed by congratulatory verses on the reception of the princess. These pageants, as they passed rapidly by, were not all perfectly comprehensible to the royal pair for whose sake they were got up; but they were explained in detail the following day.

On June 9th, the young prince, followed by the chief nobility, rode on horseback through Amsterdam to see the city. He returned to dine with his mother, and in the afternoon, similarly attended, took a sail to visit and inspect the yacht already mentioned, which the town of Amsterdam was beautifying for presentation to Charles II. The Holland East India Company also offered costly presents to the princess royal. The next day, which was Sunday, the princess and her son attended the principal church, where a state seat, lined with tapestry, and decorated with green leaves and oranges, was prepared for them, and on the Monday they left Amsterdam under an escort of armed citizens. Similar honours awaited them at Haarlem, which they visited, by special invitation, on the 18th of June. Magistrates in full costume, liveries in orange scarfs and plumes, canopies of laurel, wreathed with oranges, lilies, and roses, bands of music, &c., greeted their entrance. A separate residence was fitted up for each, and, during the four days they passed there, they were treated with every mark of attention, fêted by the magistrates, and conducted to all that was worthy of note in the town or neighbourhood. On the 22nd they left for Leyden, and on the 25th departed for the Hague, where they also had a state reception; and the young prince was much gratified by the sight of a regiment of boys, bearing Orange banners, who met and welcomed him as their general.

One of his painful early reminiscences was of punishments inflicted upon a party of juveniles who, a few years before,¹ had ventured to show him a similar mark of respect, and he now rejoiced in the opportunity of rewarding his little supporters. He had them all taken to the palace, feasted on wine and fruits, and himself gave to each a gingerbread cake at parting.²

The evidences of good feeling in the provinces were so favourable that Mary was anxious to improve the juncture, by procuring her son's prospective designation to his father's honours. For this purpose she entered into negotiations with some of the leading men in Holland, the result of which she thus details to her brother:—³

“Hague, 22nd July.

“I must first give you most humble thanks for your kindness to my son and me before I give you an account of the succeeding, which truly has not been so successful as I could have wished; for De Wit does continue so wilfully in the opinion I ought not to desire my son's designation, that that will give me many difficulties to surmount. This assembly finisheth the next week, so that if I can possibly, I will make some proposition before they separate, that at their next coming together, which will be about a month hence, they may take some resolution, that at the least I may know who are my friends and who are not. If you have at any time leisure to speak to Monsieur Beverweert⁴ about it, I think it would do us good; and if you please to tell him, that according to your advice, you believe I have made some propositions for my son, and that as he has been always my friend, you expect he will assist me, that all may happen to our good, for their seeing here that you do expect I should make some proposition, it will be a great means to let them see your affection and my importunity makes you take my son's interest so at heart. I should now make you many protestations of my thankfulness for your favour to us, but I think I need not, and that you are well enough persuaded that there is nothing I would not do to let you see how passionately I wish to serve you.”

A set of propositions, in reference to the young prince, was accordingly drawn up, and on the 6th of August, the princess sent them with a message to the States of Holland and West Friesland, informing them that it was her intention speedily to pay a visit to her brother in England, when she should be happy to use all her influence with him in

¹ See page 205 *supra*.

² Theat. Europ. vol. ix. pp. 237-240.

³ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 15.

⁴ The Dutch Ambassador in England.

behalf of the United Provinces ; but she added that, "as she was thus necessitated to be absent some time from the country, her motherly affection and duty alike bound her specially to commend to them the interests of her son ; and, though she had not the least doubt that it would be the intention of the States, when he was come of age, in consideration of the laudable deeds, and great services of his ancestors, to reinstate him in his forefather's offices, yet would it be very acceptable to her, if they would now give her certain hope and assurance thereof, and take henceforward such care of his education that he might, as befitting a son of the State, be brought up for the service of the country, in the true reformed Christian religion, and in the laws and statutes of the land, and thus made capable of such high and honourable offices."¹

The States of Zealand were forward to show their zeal by creating the young prince first noble of their province, and Mary augured well for the future from this happy beginning. It had been partially induced by her assurances to the province of the interest taken by her brother in her son's advancement ; she was therefore somewhat disconcerted to find that the influence of the Dutch ambassador in England, M. Beverweert, had modified the king's opinion, and expressed her concern as follows:

"Hounslerdyke, 20th August.

"Before now I was in hopes to have seen Oudart here, but his being not comes puts me into many troubles, and specially in that I hear you are changed in your opinion concerning my son, which if it be true, and that you continue in it, I fear it will be our total ruin, in this conjuncture of time that our friends are so well disposed. The party in the province of Holland that are against us, though now governing, are so few that, if you will but continue in your first resolution, they will not be able to resist, for you will so encourage our friends that they will not fear to avow themselves to be so ; as for example, Zealand, who were strangely much encouraged to do what they did, with the assurance I gave them that their kindness to my son would be acceptable to you. M. Beverweert is, I am confident, deceived into that opinion he is, for otherwise I am sure he considers his relations too near my son's to be against his interest ; and though I am far from trusting to my own reason, yet I will believe, by the justice of my opinion, to change his, when I see him. Therefore I humbly pray you that no aplausible

¹ Holl. Corresp. bundle 241 ; Kennet's Chron. p. 250.

story work any effect upon you, till I have the happiness to see you ; for hearing all sides, you will then be better able to judge who is in the right." ¹

The king, easily yielding to his sister's representations, wrote to thank the States of Zealand for their zeal in the cause of his nephew. She thus acknowledged his kindness :—

"I give you most humble thanks for the letter you were pleased to send me for the States of Zealand ; I have another humble prayer to you of that kind ; which is, that you would write a letter to the States of Holland, to the effect that, hearing of the good resolution of the province of Zealand, and the good inclinations of all the rest, that their being now assembled upon the design to take some resolution concerning my son, you hope they will not be less affectioned to him, which you shall take as kindness to yourself. In such kind of terms if you would be pleased to write, and let me have the letter, I shall consider it as a new obligation to the rest of your kindness to my son." ²

The States of Zealand sent a numerous deputation to the States-General to request them to designate the prince governor and captain-general and admiral of the United Provinces, with a pension of 100,000 florins. The president of Zealand made a long harangue, detailing the glorious deeds of the prince's ancestors, and the claims he consequently had on the gratitude of the States, and dwelt also on the early promise of the boy himself. The States-General recommended that, in a matter of such importance, the provinces should be severally consulted. Those of Friesland and Over Yssel at once conceded the point ; Holland hesitated, and required further time for deliberation.³ Mary, who knew that the chief obstacle lay in Holland, had calculated on securing its vote by this direct appeal, and thus carrying her point by a *coup-de-main*, and she was much disappointed. Again Zealand interfered in behalf of the prince.

"The deputies of Zealand," writes the princess, "had this day their audience in the assembly of Holland, concerning my son's interest : what their answer has been I know not, but I am but too confident it will not be very satisfactory, though I am told that Holland will yet do something more for my son than they have offered me at first. How

¹ Lamb. MS. 645, art. 28, Holograph.

² Ibid.

³ Basnage, p. 619.

true this is I cannot say, but this I can; that I did not think it would have been possible to see you in England, and find so many violent enemies against my son. Their wishes in their heart are as good towards you, for they do nothing here but, between the posts, spread reports abroad amongst the people of murmurings in England, and that the Lower House does all, and that your own power is not very significant."

Mary knew that nothing was to be expected from the tardy Dutch in a hurry, and therefore mustered all her patience to wait the result.

Writing to her brother, on the 17th of September, she says:—

"Holland has taken yet no resolution concerning my son; I fear they have a mind to delay the business. The nobles of the towns of Leyden and Inckhuisen are for the designation, the rest are divided; some for to have my son '*enfant de l'estat*,' and others against all, except I will promise to desist from the designation. This contestation lasts still, and none does desist from their opinion. Though they should not agree, that shall not defer my journey; for besides the impatience I am in to have the happiness to be with you, I do still believe we are not likely to get any reason from this province, except their interest presses them to it, which I hope from your goodness. This is all the trouble I will give you at this time, except to assure you that nothing is more entirely yours than I am."

Mary was eagerly preparing for a visit to England, which her brother earnestly requested, and which she was equally anxious to pay. The king wrote to the States: "It cannot be thought strange that we passionately desire to see here, as soon as possible, our dearest sister, the Princess of Orange, in order that she who could not restrain her compassions towards us in our miseries, may also have her share in the happiness we enjoy in our re-establishment."¹

On the other hand, the queen-mother was anxious to see Mary in France. She had not herself been invited to England, nor was she by any means sure of a welcome, since Ormond, with Hyde, now Lord Clarendon, the principal counsellors about the king, were the decided opponents of the queen's faction, which was headed by Lord Jermyn, now Earl of St. Albans. The queen, therefore, wished the princess royal to take France in her route for Eng-

¹ Anc. Royal Letters, vol. xix. Low Countries, State Paper Office.

land, and pressed it the more that she might be in time to grace by her presence the approaching nuptials of her youngest sister, the Princess Henrietta, with Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of the French monarch.

On the 20th of August, Mary wrote to her brother on this subject as follows :—

“I received a letter from the queen this last post, wherein she says by the next she will send for me into France. I have let her know your resolution of sending for me directly into England, therefore, for God’s sake, agree between you what I have to do, which I hope you will not consider as an unreasonable desire, since I have made the same to the queen ; and pray do not delay it, for I have great impatience to be gone from hence, and yet rather than displease either of you, I would suffer the greatest punishment of this world (that is to live all my life here), for I know what it is to displease both of you ; God keep me from it again : I am sure I will have as much care of it as I can.”

She concludes by saying: “This letter is past all excuses, so that I will only end it with assuring you that I am very impatient to have the happiness of letting you see myself how entirely I am yours.”¹

The following week she again writes on the same subject.² The letter is unusually long, filling seven pages :—

“Hounslerdyke, 27 August.

“By my last letter, I gave you an account of the expectation I had to receive the queen’s commands to go into France. I have received it this week ; and that you may better know her majesty’s intentions, I send you her letter. I hear that you were never satisfied with my going into France, which if you had been pleased to have told me, sir, when you were at the Hague and Breda, you seemed to approve of it, I can assure you I had never thought of it more ; for I was so far from doing anything in it without you, that I never wrote of it to the queen till that week you went from the Hague. There happens so many mistakes in this world that I do yet hope you would not give me leave to engage myself in what you did not approve ; for truly then I should have some reason to complain of your kindness, that would not let me find the effects of it so far as to know what was pleasing to you. You will, I hope, pardon the freedom of this discourse, and believe it proceeds from no other cause than the desire I have to please you, and the trouble I am in when I have the misfortune to do the contrary, which I may only call a misfortune, since I am sure in what I can comprehend I do, and ever shall endeavour to avoid it. Therefore I do

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 662.

² Lamb. MS. 645, art. 29.

humbly beseech you that I may not be so unhappy as to do what can either displease you or the queen. Agree of it between you, and if you should think fit for me to pass through France into England, let me entreat you to limit the time of my stay there, which I shall punctually obey. If you will have so little charity for me as not believe my *kindness* sufficient to draw me where you are, I am sure you must confess my business will. Having had so positive a command from the queen for my journey into France, and having not yet had the same from you, to the contrary, I thought myself obliged to let her know that by the next post, I should tell her what time I should begin my journey; for having writ to her and you both, how I expect contrary commands, I hope, before I come to write again, you will have both concluded the same thing, which I do consider now as the greatest happiness that can happen to me, and it should not be many days before I would then put myself in a readiness—which way both your majesties will think fit for me to take—of assuring you of that truth myself.”

The queen’s letter, inclosed in that of her daughter, was as follows:—

“I sent to you last week to be in readiness to start; now I earnestly beg and invite you to come as soon as you can; they will be very glad here to receive you. As the marriage of your sister is in a manner concluded, that is to say, the king your brother and I sincerely desire it, and it will accordingly be hastened in England,—on this account you could not do better than come. I shall perhaps be able also to go into England myself: if that happen, you will be ready for the journey; if I do not go, and the king your brother wishes that you should go, you can leave from here to join him; and even if he wishes, as I have heard, that you should go at once, my answer will be resolute, to send him word that you wished to see me in passing, and to see your sister. I shall expect you with much impatience; send me word when you will be here, in case you are coming. The little Duke of Richmond is dead. You had better write to the Duchess. I hope so soon to see you, that I will not say more; may God bless you.”

In spite of Mary’s professions of deference to her brother, her strong inclinations were to fulfil her mother’s wishes. She told De Thou, the French ambassador, that she was passionately desirous to visit France, and, if possible, to have her mother with her in England; and, if the journey to Paris proved impracticable, she hoped that at least the queen would meet her at Calais.¹

Henrietta Maria was very urgent on the subject of her daughter’s visit, and wrote to Charles II.² to combat his objections, promising not to delay her daughter long in France, and assuring her that she only asked for a

¹ De Thou’s Desp. 10 & 24 June, Harl. MS. 4529.

² Hen. Maria to Charles II. 5, Sept. 1660, Lamb. MS. 645, art. 118.

passing visit.¹ But Charles had reasons of his own for refusing to yield; and on the 3rd of September, Oudart, one of Mary's officers of the household, whom she had sent to England about the matter, returned with the king's express wishes that she should lose no time in joining him. She instantly despatched her secretary, Sylvius, to Paris, to excuse herself to the queen her mother, and wrote from Hounslerdike to inform the king of this, adding—"To-morrow I go to the Hague, where I intend to use all diligence to put all the businesses I have there in that order as to embark as soon as your ships arrive, which I shall expect with much impatience, that I may better than I can this way let you see how entirely I am devoted to your service." In the meantime, Mary was kept in a state of suspense in reference to her movements, which she found trying to bear. Writing to the king on the 9th of September, she says:—

"Since my last, having received no letter from the queen nor yourself, I am much in pain what will become of me, and whether I shall be so happy as to please you both. I am sure I ought, for those reasons I have sent the queen by Sylvius, ought to make her press my journey into England. If the kindness of your commands were not added to it, I have so much confidence in her judgment and kindness to me, that upon that belief and your commands, I am, as I writ to you by the last post, preparing for to obey you in a very few days after you shall please to send ships.

"I do much long for the next week, which, I hope, will bring me your commands for my journey, and the queen's consent and approbation; I give you many humble thanks for the bill of exchange; I hope shortly to do it myself, and to let you see that there is nothing I will endeavour more, than to deserve your kindness, by being entirely yours."

A few more days relieved her from her perplexity. On September 17th, she writes:—

"Sylvius is returned, with the queen's consent and approbation for my going directly into England; without I had sent him to inform the queen particularly how necessary it was for me to go, I find her consent had not been so easily obtained. I have now no other impatience left, but the arrival of the ships, which makes me every minute look after the wind. I do intend to go so soon after they arrive, that I do desire you not to give yourself the trouble of writing any more to me. Tuesday next, which is another post day in England, I will let you know the direct time I intend to go from hence, if I am not as unlucky with the wind to pass the sea as I am a river."

Obstacles being thus removed, the king sent over to the Hague Daniel O'Neal, one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, a favourite with the princess, and also with her chief lady of honour, the widowed Lady Stanhope,—now created Countess of Chesterfield,—who ultimately honoured him with her hand, as her third husband. He found Mary in some embarrassment about the affairs of her household. She was warmly attached to young Charles Kirkhoven, the son of the deceased Heenvliet and Lady Stanhope, who had long ago been raised by Charles II. to the title of his maternal grandfather, Baron Wotton. She gave him an important post in her son's establishment, and decided that, as an English peer, he should have the precedence over his Dutch esquire and *maître d'hôtel*. They were indignant at this, and threatened to throw up their offices: the matter, however, was at length composed.¹

When O'Neal arrived, Lady Chesterfield and most of the suite of the princess had already sailed for England, but Mary was detained at the Hague, waiting the reply of the States to the memorial she had sent in a few weeks before, without which she could not leave her son's affairs in a satisfactory position.² Charles II. and the Duke of York wrote in courteous terms to the States, requesting a speedy and favourable decision on behalf of their nephew.³ At length, on the 25th of September, the long-looked-for answer arrived. It was to the effect that the States of Holland and West Friesland gratefully accepted the charge of the education of the young prince;—that they should immediately settle upon him a pension of 40,000 florins, proceed at once to reconsider, in order to revoke, the act of exclusion, and recommend to the States-General the consideration of his instalment into his father's dignities as soon as he was of age.⁴

Mary thanked them for what they had done, though with an expression of regret that they had not spoken more decisively about her son's restoration to his digni-

¹ De Thou's Desp. 24 June, 1660.

² O'Neal to Charles II. 24 Sept., Lamb. MS. 646, art. i.

³ Gaz. de France, p. 861.

⁴ Holland Corresp. 25 Sept. 1660, State Paper Office.

ties.¹ The very day on which her reply was sent she posted up to Helvoetsluys, with her son, on her way to England; but here a fit of uneasiness seized her, lest her child should not be sufficiently attended to in her absence; and she wrote again from Helvoetsluys, requesting that the pensioner of Holland, and the principal magistrates of certain towns which she named, should be expressly appointed to watch over his education. Her request was complied with, both by the States and by the persons selected, who wrote to inform her of their acceptance of office, and to assure her of their vigilance and assiduity in the fulfilment of their task, promising to submit to the three tutors of the young prince all schemes for his education. Mary sent answers to all parties, expressive of thanks for their compliance with her wishes, and of her earnest hope that their important task would prosper in their hands; requesting also that they would pay strict attention to the "princely virtues and exercises" of her son.²

Although it seemed a politic step thus to identify the prince with the States whose ruler he hoped to become, yet the princess-dowager afterwards wrote to Mary, to the effect that this letter from Helvoetsluys had done great mischief to the cause of her son;—that offence had been given to several towns which were attached to his interests,—Leyden amongst others,—because *their* magistrates were not among the commissioners appointed, and also because the princess had not once named the co-tutors—herself and the Elector of Brandenburg. She professed to have done all in her power to prevent injury to the cause in which they were mutually interested, and added assurances of her anxious desire to maintain good intelligence with her daughter-in-law, regretting that the abrupt departure of the princess had prevented her from coming to take leave of her.³

Most of this correspondence took place after Mary's

¹ Holland Corresp. Sept. 29, 1660, State Paper Office.

² Mary to States, 29 Sept; States to Mary, 9 Oct.; Commissioners to Mary 22 Oct.; Mary to Commissioners, 19 Oct. and 5 Nov.; Mary to State, 26 Oct.; Holland Corresp. State Paper Office.

³ Princess-dowager to Mary, 15 Oct. 1660, Holland Corresp.

arrival in England. Extensive preparations were there made for her reception, as it was more than whispered that her dislike to Holland would induce her to make England her principal residence in future. A suite of apartments in Whitehall Palace was ordered to be fitted up for her, and a commission issued to the proper authorities, to give in an estimate as to what was wanting for the accommodation of the princess and her attendants. These were to include Lady Stanhope, now Countess of Chesterfield, Sir Thomas Howard, master of the horse, who still retained his office, no proof of his suspected treachery having been adduced, his wife Lady Howard, four maids of honour, two chamber-maids, two dressers, Nicholas Oudart, her secretary, Sir Alexander Hume, master of the household, and a few of inferior rank. The estimate of necessary additions included twelve suites of tapestry hangings, twenty-four beds, with bed furniture, and carpets, thirty large window curtains, two dozen pairs of gilt shields, to decorate the reception-rooms, &c.; all which articles were ordered to be forthwith provided from the royal stores.¹

Mary meanwhile was occupied in receiving farewell visits from the foreign ambassadors, who had their own objects in view, in seeking to secure her influence with her brother in behalf of their respective masters; and also, in giving audiences to the State deputies, who attended her even to the sea-side.² Vice-Admiral Montague, now Earl of Sandwich, had arrived at the Hague, and urged her speedy departure, as the English fleet was already at anchor off the Brill. Mary was delaying in hopes of a visit from the princess-dowager, but her mother-in-law was so tardy in her movements, that she neither arrived in time at the Hague, nor yet at the sea-side, whither she followed her, and therefore they did not exchange farewells.³

On the $\frac{20}{30}$ th of September, 1660, after taking a fond

¹ "Entries of Warrants to Lady-day, 1663," ff. 23, 24, a large folio MS. volume, in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace.

² *Mém. touchant M. de Thou*, p. 79; *May's Lives of Duke of Gloucester and Princess Mary*, p. 63.

³ *Merc. Pub.* Oct. 4.

adieu of her aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, and of her child, the princess royal set sail for England in the vice-admiral's ship, attended by five other men-of-war and two frigates, forming the little fleet sent by her brother to convoy her. These were occupied not only by her own suite, but also by a retinue of several hundred persons—"gentry and servants, and tradeswomen and tirewomen, and others, that took that opportunity, thinking to advance their fortunes by coming with so excellent a princess."¹

Hardly had Mary set foot on board, when she received the melancholy intelligence of the death, by small-pox, of her youngest brother, Henry, Duke of Gloucester. The tidings so shocked her, that during the voyage, she remained bathed in tears, and almost insensible to what was passing around her. The sea, as she neared the English coast, was rough, and the wind high, reluctant—as it was gracefully said, a few months later—to conduct her to the scene of her untimely fate; but though the crew, and even the pilot, were alarmed for themselves and for her, Mary, usually painfully affected by sea-sickness, sat unmoved, wholly absorbed in her sorrow. Six times did the vessel run aground on the Kentish coast, in its progress up the river; but at last the skill and perseverance of the sailors surmounted all difficulties, and on the 23rd the tidings ran through the city, and were conveyed to the king, who was just returning from the chapel-royal, that the princess had landed at Margate.²

Charles immediately set off for Margate, accompanied by the Duke of York, who had gone several days before, in order to be the first to give her the meeting, but returned to town on account of the sudden death of his younger brother.³ Very melancholy was the meeting, which reminded Mary more strongly, by the presence of two so dear to her, of the absence of the third.

The royal party remained a day or two at Margate

¹ Merc. Rediviv. Addit. MS. 10116, f. 197; Gaz. de France, p. 931.

² Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 140-1; Mém. touchant M. de Thou, pp. 79-81.

³ Gaz. de France, p. 1152; Merc. Publicus, Sept. 13. He left London Sept. 11 and returned Sept. 18.

before the princess was equal to the exertion of an entrance into London. The fame of her devotion to her exiled brothers had long preceded her, and secured for her an almost enthusiastic *prestige* of popular favour; and, though the mourning into which the royal family had recently been plunged, partially restrained its expression, yet when the king's barge, in which the princess sailed from Gravesend, made its appearance, the guns from the Tower, and from the vessels on the river, fired salutes all the way to Whitehall-stairs, where she landed, at 5 A.M. on the 25th of September, amidst the vehement cheering of assembled multitudes; and in the evening bonfires and bell-rings, and other spontaneous demonstrations, kept up till five in the morning, expressed the public joy.¹

The following lines, though of the homeliest description as regards the poetry, shadow out the superstitious feeling which, dating the misfortunes of the past from the time at which the princess left her native shores in 1642, associated the happiest omens with her return:—

AURANIA:

The High and Mighty Lady the Princess Royal of Aurange congratulated on her most happy arrival, Sept. 25th, MDCLX.

Sure darling fortune honoured thy sweet mind
In thy most safe recess: 'twas hugely kind
To take thee from our black tempestuous times
And place thee in serener quiet climes.
Bright guardian angel! since you fled from hence
We've lost our virtue and our innocence;
We've lost our peace, we've lost our father too,
And all's imputed to our want of you.
Nay, while you stayed to compliment the State,
Death rudely parts your dear triumvirate;
And being angry he might snatch no more,
He raved and stormed to keep you from our shore;
But Neptune felt our sighs more than the weather—
Who'd bear your greatness and our grief together.
Welcome, halcyon lady, as the dove,
That the old world's recovery did prove.
But where's the branch, the Royal Orange sprig,
To give assurance that the plant doth live?

¹ Mercurius Redivivus, Addit. MS. 10116, f. 197; Nicoll's Diary, Bannat. Club, p. 303; Ashmole's Diary, f. 72 b., Ashmolean MS. 862, Oxford; Diar. Europ. vol. v. p. 300.

(Since war's hot beams scorched not that delug'd ground),
 Not a ripe Orange can again be found.
 Thrice welcome to our torn and shattered ark,
 Thou star that lightedst thy brothers in the dark :
 Castor and Pollux borrowed Leda's rays,
 Her lustrous lightning made their nights be days.
 What did they suffer not ? what she not do ?
 Hard-hearted fate doth love and fain would woo !
 Oh, such a widow ! such a turtle mate !
 Would put robb'd nature to a new create ;
 Set the great pair together—her and mother—
 No name or glory will be left another :
 Go seek in vain for such a loyal love—
 'Tis gone to heaven and interchanged above.
 Yet, like a kindly vapour drawn from earth,
 That gratefully descends to ripe her birth,
 Lo, her affections, mounted upwards, run
 Fruitfully down upon the prince her son ;
 Her love, like Janus', has a double face,
 One would not serve great Mary full of grace.
 So many great relations here met,
 Proportioned wisdom and a mind so fit.
 Now th' happy constellation appears
 The gladdest light e'er blest the English spheres ;
 We have forgot the miseries are past,
 Since your sweet influence overtook the last.
 Disquiet dare not stir, nor rebel hand
 Move but a finger ; you secure the land.
 'Tis the king's peace we keep, and to him due ;
 But our tranquillity we owe to you.
 Oh, land of wonders, what's yet to be seen ?
 Your princely sister and your mother-queen.

Sir William Davenant, in an elegant poem on the restoration of Charles II. thus alludes to his sisters:—

Two of the gentler sex remain to grace
 The matchless number of his royal race ;
 The first, with practised patience, even when young,
 Whilst various winds made storms of empires long,
 Has lived the great example, and the good,
 Of graceful and of prudent womanhood.

The queen-mother was now actually purposing to come over to England. In addition to the maternal feeling which prompted the desire to see her children, now re-united under auspices so favourable, Henrietta Maria had another motive for her visit ; that of using her utmost influence to prevent the formal recognition of Anne Hyde,

Clarendon's daughter, as the lawful wife of James, Duke of York.

The recent birth of a son and heir made it of importance to the duke that his wife should take her true position, and also important to the nation that the legitimacy of the child's birth should be distinctly ascertained. This was proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, by the certificate of the marriage, produced before the Privy Council,¹ and the duchess was formally acknowledged in her father's family; but not as yet at Whitehall.

Mary, though attached to Anne Hyde, and originally the promoter of her fortunes, was by no means prepared to welcome her maid of honour as a sister-in-law, and was mortified to find herself so completely cajoled, alike by her brother and her attendant. She was aware of an amour existing between them the preceding spring at Breda, and had requested or permitted the retirement of Anne in consequence;² but the royal family had never seriously believed that there was any danger of a match between the two, though impartial and more discerning eyes had long feared it. To add to Mary's annoyance, the young duchess no sooner found herself in the position of acknowledged wife and mother of a prince of the blood royal, than she assumed a degree of state, and dignity of manner, which was ungraceful and unbecoming.³ Mary was so much chagrined that she declared her resolution to return to Holland as soon as ever the queen her mother had paid her visit.

On the 26th of October, she and the Duke of York went to meet the queen and the Princess Henrietta Anne at Dover; the king also met them *en route* for London, where they all arrived on the evening of the 2nd of November.⁴ The deep mourning which the royal family still wore, and

¹ The original depositions, in the autographs of James and Anne, of Dr. Crowther, the duke's chaplain, of Lord Ossory, who gave away the bride, and of Ellen Stroud, her maid, who was present at the ceremony, were formerly in the collection of M. Donnadieu.

² De Thou's Desp. 13 Jan. 1661.

³ Lord Craven to Queen of Bohemia, Oct. 26 and Nov. 28, 1660, and Jan. 11, 1661; from the originals, in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

⁴ Ashmole's Diary, ut sup. f. 76 b; Theat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 145.

which, with some at least amongst them, was indicative of deep sorrow of heart, prevented their being much in public, or mingling in any festive occasions. They all dined together daily at Whitehall, but generally in private. The only casual mentions we find of the Princess Mary are her attending the public service at Whitehall Chapel, whither all flocked who wished to see her, and giving a private reception at Whitehall to Ashmole, the founder of the celebrated Ashmolean Library and Museum, who waited upon her to exhibit some anatomical curiosities.¹ She took occasional airings on the river in a boat given her by her brother, which was lined and cushioned with black, and adorned with her arms in gold and silver. When she went out on horseback, her horse-trappings were also of black velvet and silver-lace.²

The only public act of the princess, whilst in England, was the recognition of a present of 10,000*l.* sent her by the Parliament, which she acknowledged in the following letter:—

“Mr. Speaker,

“I desire you will take the pains, now that the Commons House of Parliament is together again, to give them hearty thanks, in my name, for the good present which, at their late rising, they were pleased to order for me before my coming over; and withal to assure them that when it lies in my power to do them service, I shall do it most willingly, being, Mr. Speaker,

“Whitehall, Nov. 7, 1660.³

“Your loving friend,

“To Sir Harbottle Grimston,

“MARY.

“Speaker of the House of Commons.”

The impression produced by Mary's character was decidedly favourable to her moral and religious reputation. One of the most devout and eloquent writers of the times, Jeremy Taylor, in dedicating to her a work entitled “The Worthy Communicant; or, Discourses on the Lord's Supper,” uses the following expressions:—

“I remember with what pleasure I have heard it told, that your highness hath been in all these late days of sorrow, a sanctuary to the

¹ Ashmole's Diary, f. 75; Pepys' Diary, vol. i. p. 147.

² Entries in Warrant Book, 15 Oct. & 5 Nov. 1660, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's.

³ Kennet's Chron. p. 307. A similar letter was addressed to Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, as Speaker of the House of Lords.

afflicted, a chapel for the religion, a refectory to them that were in need, and the great defensative of all men and all things that are excellent; and therefore it is my duty, that by all acknowledgments of religion, that honour should be paid to your royal highness, which so eminent virtues perpetually have deserved. But because you have long dwelt in the more secret recesses of religion, and that for a long time your devotion hath been eminent, your obedience to the strictest rules of religion hath been humble and diligent, even up to a great example, and that the service of God hath been your great care and greatest employment, your name hath been dear and highly honourable amongst the sons and daughters of the Church of England, and we no more envy to Hungary the great name of St. Elizabeth, to Scotland the glorious memory of St. Margaret, to France the triumph of the piety of St. Genevieve, nor St. Katherine to Italy, since in your royal person we have so great an example of our own; one of the family of saints, a daughter to such a glorious saint and martyr, a sister to such a king, in the armies of whose justice and wisdom we lie down in safety, having now nothing to employ us, but in holiness and comfort to serve God, and in peace and mutual charity to enjoy the blessings of the government under so great, so good a king.

But, royal madam, I have yet some more personal ground for the confidence of this address, and because I have received the great honour of your reading and using of divers of my books, I was heartily invited to hope that your royal highness would not reject it, if one of them desired upon a special title to kiss your princely hand, and to pay thanks for the gracious reception of others of the same cognation."

Mary availed herself of the facilities afforded by her visit to England, to put forward long dormant claims. Owing to the troublous times ensuing upon her marriage, not a penny of her promised dower of 40,000*l.* had ever been paid. The stipulations of the marriage-treaty were, that in case of her surviving her husband, half of the money should be returned to her, and she should have a life interest in the other half. The demands of the princess were characterised by great moderation: she did not solicit the entire dower, nor did she sue for arrears of interest, accumulated for nearly twenty years. She simply requested the fulfilment of the treaty, so far as to screen her from any further loss. The king appointed a commission, consisting of the attorney and solicitor-general and a third party, to take the matter into consideration, and to report upon it.¹

In November, 1660, a general embassy from the

¹ Holl. Corresp. Nov. 24, Dec. 3, State Paper Office.

United Provinces was sent to congratulate the restoration of Charles II., and to obtain a renewal of the former alliance between Holland and England. The States of Zealand ordered their deputy to wait upon the princess royal, with special assurances of their respect, to which she sent the following reply.

"Gentlemen,

"The care which I ought to have for my son has given me so much the more cause for satisfaction in seeing here the ambassadors of the United Provinces, and that their reception has been such as you could have desired; I hope that in due time we shall gather the fruits. Meanwhile, I would assure you that I am not changed in anything that concerns the service of Zealand and its towns, but that I shall employ myself therein willingly, as occasion offers, whereby I shall show the errors in the letter of the deputies extraordinary of your province, to which I have not yet answered, believing that a little patience would better disabuse them. My intentions for my son's re-establishment in the charges and employment of his father being known to you, I have only to renew to you my thanks for what you have contributed, and to beg you to be persuaded that I am, gentlemen,

"Your very affectionate friend,

"Whitehall, ²⁵/₁₃ November, 1660,

"MARY.

"To the States of Zealand."¹

A few weeks later, the deputies of the United Provinces requested a letter from her to her brother, which might tend to remove, or at least to smooth, some of the difficulties they experienced in the completion of their treaty. Mary was very unwell; she had complained ever since her arrival of an oppression at her chest, caused by the smoke of the city;² and she suffered from a febrile excitability, which seems to have given a rambling, incoherent tone to the epistle which was written at her dictation by her secretary Oudart.³

¹ *Diar. Europ.* vol. vi. p. 78.

² *Memoirs Hen. Maria*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.* p. 153; *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. p. 145. It was as follows:—
"Mighty king and most illustrious prince,

"Almighty God, in an unlooked for and wonderful manner, without blood shedding, has established your majesty on this throne, that you may rule these beloved nations in peace and rest. He has blown upon all your foes, has scattered them like chaff, and held them up to the scorn and derision of the whole world, so that not one is left who dares approach the footsteps of your kingly throne to obtain pardon, or cherish

On the 20th of December, the court was thrown into great alarm by a report that the princess royal, who had

the hope of again setting foot in England ; * for they tremble on account of their horrible and impious act, and wander in foreign lands, as did formerly their wicked father Cain, the horrible murderer, when the Lord cursed him. And what wonder ? since God has punished them by placing in their consciences the gnawing worm, and such a terror that if but a leaf rustle in the field, they start and think that justice is overtaking them.

“ But let me be brief, and not to repeat anew the things which those accursed men have committed, both against the Lord’s anointed, and against the people living under the monarchy, especially since, on the one hand, their evil deeds are fresh in your majesty’s remembrance, and on the other, the description of them would cause only anguish and distress ; for the tenderness natural to my sex would soon force tears from my eyes, were I to dwell upon this subject. And although your majesty is a magnanimous and courageous prince, yet why should you again hear this sorrowful story ? and why should I, your majesty’s sister (sprung from the same body, and enjoying your majesty’s affection), weep, I will not say tears of water, but of blood ?

“ These are the people, dear brother, who not only have wrested the sceptre and crown from your majesty’s hand and from your anointed head, but also have turned aside your majesty’s allies, and especially have so far influenced the province of Holland, (though this was clearly by compulsion,) that they refused your majesty admittance into their land.

“ How grievous this was to the States, and how rejoiced they were at the first news of your majesty’s restoration they have shown, both to your majesty and before the whole world, by their reception of your majesty into their lands, by the chief of their council, who wished you happiness ; as also by the very excellent and select embassy by which, with loving heart and liberal hand, they congratulate your restoration, testify their sympathy in your past misfortunes, and desire to make a new fraternal covenant. To this end they have requested me, both in confidential letters and in interviews, to intercede on their behalf, well knowing that my welfare and their own also depends on the good and peaceable conditions of the United Netherlands. This has made me so bold as to entreat your majesty, as a brother, that you would bring this desired treaty to a good and speedy conclusion. It is so arranged as to please your majesty ;—the ground of the old former treaties remains yet firm, and let us only build upon this ground to allow freedom of navigation one to the other, and surrender what each has regarded as his part of the sea, and let not your majesty give consent to those who only think of confounding the matter and entangle it by new inventions and intrigues, which they continually bring to your majesty’s ears, and hereby awaken between both people new difficulties, and then new

* This refers to the murderers of Charles I., they were excepted from the general act of oblivion.

been indisposed for several days, was seriously and even dangerously ill, and that her disorder was pronounced to be small-pox. A draught of beer, which was given her to relieve exhaustion, caused the disappearance of the eruption, and a fainting fit ensued, which lasted several hours, and gave rise to a rumour that she was actually dead.¹ The next day Lord Craven thus wrote to the Queen of Bohemia:—"I believe your majesty will hear the hot alarum of the princess royal's being in great danger of death, which, indeed, this morning was sadly apprehended by many; but because your majesty should not be frightened at what news perchance you may hear, I have just now

violence, whence no other fruit can grow than the fall of both countries, which would raise cries of joy among the professors of the Romish anti-Christian faith, and at length when they saw that the strength of the reformed was wasted with contests with each other, they would attack and dispatch the true Christians, as they have lately done the poor and innocent Waldenses. Hither tend the wicked projects of those who would counsel your majesty to new changes, and who, perhaps, would cast their own nets, to fish in the muddy water of such a war, and when they see a new military force, would set up new mischief in the monarchy and kingly government, and bring into the kingdom those vile and poisonous serpents which this people have with difficulty bruised, which inflicted so many wounds, and cost so much blood, before the people enjoyed your majesty's precious and restored image, and were delivered from tyranny.

"On the contrary, most worthy brother, nothing is more conducive to the progress of religion, the increase of trade, and the power to keep back every enemy by water and by land, than the mutual friendship and the confidence of the two people; on the one hand, the first step towards war leads to destruction and ruin: on the other, by taking the path which I humbly pray your majesty to follow, we go on the good way which leads to all safety and prosperity and advantage, such as I can better conceive than express.

"This it is which I have briefly represented to your majesty, and would, in friendly and sisterly manner, request of you, as one who has had so many proofs and testimonies of true love and friendship from your majesty, that you would most graciously receive this my request, which I make in the name, and on the behalf of, the United Netherlands; yea, as a fellow citizen of the same, and would graciously order that the demands of the ambassadors, as they may be proposed to your majesty's proxies, may be granted and approved.

"MARY.

"Written at Whitehall, 14th December, 1660."

¹ Sir R. Honeywood to Queen of Bohemia, Dec. 21, 1660, from a private collection. De Thou's Desp. Dec. 31, 1660, Harl. MS. 4530.

been with her, and, God be praised, she is much better. The doctors do not yet know whether it is the pox or the measles, but I fear it will prove the small-pox."

The temporary improvement was caused by the reappearance of the eruption, which gave considerable relief to the patient. The court physicians, who, in the case of the Duke of Gloucester, had been severely blamed for not bleeding him more freely, now fell into the contrary extreme, and bled the princess too profusely: her strength no longer sufficed to combat with the virulence of the disease, and it soon became evident that she must sink under it.¹

Her mother and sister had been compelled to remove from Whitehall to St. James's, to escape infection, and were, of course, prohibited from visiting her; but the queen wished much, though vainly, to obtain an exemption in her own case, and to be permitted to see her dying child, and urge upon her the importance of joining, in her last moments, the Catholic church, in which alone, according to her belief, she could hope for salvation. The queen's zeal was overruled, though not without exciting a rumour that the disorder of the princess was reported to be more infectious than it really was, in order to keep her mother away from her.² Prevented from intermeddling with her child's spiritual condition, Henrietta insisted that at least her own French physician should be admitted to consultation on the case; and this point was granted,—unfortunately, as it was afterwards proved,—since he was

¹ Lord Rochester uses the following expressions in a poem to the queen-mother, after Mary's death:—

"In vain on fevers curses we dispense,
And vent our angry passion's eloquence
In vain we blast the ministers of fate,
And the forlorn physicians imprecate;
Say they to death new poisons add and fire,
Murder securely for reward and hire;
Art's basilisks that kill whome'er you see,
And truly write bills of mortality;
Who, lest the bleeding corpse should them betray,
First drain those vital, speaking streams away."

² Gamache's Diary, Court of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 419.

one of the warmest advocates of the reducing system which was believed to have been carried too far.¹

Still retaining the perfect possession of her faculties, Mary was anxious to settle her affairs, and to make such arrangements for her beloved and absent child, as might conduce to his ultimate welfare, and also to provide for her servants. She therefore made her will, which we give in full, as follows:—²

“In the name of God. Amen.

“I, Mary, princess of Great Britain, Dowager of Orange, &c., being visited with sickness, and probably at this time to exchange this life for a better, do hereby resign my soul into the hands of God my Creator, trusting to his mercies, through the precious merits of Christ my Saviour, to be saved, body and soul, in the joyful meeting of eternal life. My body I bequeath to the earth, to be buried in such decent, Christian manner, and in such place, as the king, my royal brother, shall be pleased to appoint; my desire being to be laid next the Duke of Gloucester, my late dear brother, if it may be with his majesty's liking. I earnestly beseech his majesty, as also the queen, my royal mother, to take upon them the care of the Prince of Orange, my son, as the best parents and friends I can commend him unto, and from whom he is, with most reason, to expect all good helps, both at home and abroad, praying to God to bless and make him a happy instrument to his glory, and to his country's good, as well as to the satisfaction and advantage of his nearest friends and allies. I entreat his majesty most especially to be a protector and tutor to him, and to his interests by his royal favour and influence, and to authorize and, as I shall hereafter name, to be executors of this my last will and testament, desiring her

¹ Townsend's Diary, 1660; Phillipps MS. 12254, Middlehill; Mem. Hen. Maria, p. 57.

² From a contemporaneous copy in MS. 238, f. 190, Ashmolean Library, Oxford. There is another copy in the State Paper Office, Domestic, 1660, apparently transcribed for publication, which bears the following note:—“The following is an authentic copy of the will of her royal highness Mary, Princess of Orange, eldest daughter of King Charles I. and mother of King William III. of immortal memory. As the public remembers very little of this illustrious princess, and as her wishes in this piece for the prosperity of her glorious son, and that he might be a happy instrument to God's glory and his country's good, as well as a great benefit to his friends and allies, were so remarkably answered by that great prince, and more especially as the princely house of Orange, on one of the happiest occasions that can be desired, takes up the attention and discourse of every Englishman,—we thought we could not insert a piece more acceptable to the curious at this time than this.”

majesty the queen, my mother, to cause my son's jewels, being those I found in his father's cabinet, expressed in a note of them, to be delivered unto him, or to some fit trustee for him. My other jewels, and all things else remaining after my death, properly belonging to me, I leave to the queen my mother, so as my debts and servants, arrears and wages, in the first place, be duly paid and satisfied, as also the legacies hereafter specified to my servants and others. For which ends and purposes, and to the end all my concernments, dues, and remaining affairs, claims, rights, profits, and accounts, may be well looked after, recovered, and settled, I do hereby desire the Duke of York, my dear brother, to afford his aid thereunto; likewise the Lord Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's; willing Nicholas Oudart, my secretary, counsellor to my son, and his commissioner here, who hath long and faithfully served my royal father, his majesty now being, and myself, to be those three whom his majesty is by me desired as aforesaid to authorize and give power unto, as I do hereby authorise and give power to them, and their sufficient substitutes, as the executors of this my last will and testament, and of all further actions, rights, claims, dues, and demands of mine, whether in and about the tutelage of my son in Holland, or other provinces of the United Netherlands, my quality of regent in Orange, my portion yet unpaid in England, with the interest thereof, or other matters in my remaining desolate family, commending to their majesties both my women and men servants, to the end they may be favoured with some competent provision, for their better support and maintenance, as my good meaning was to do for them if I had longer lived. This I declare to be my last will and testament, to stand and be in force, making void and hereby revoking all other my former will or wills, testament or disposition, for cause of death, if any such be extant and appear, as I do not remember to have left any such in being. In confirmation whereof, after distinct rehearsal made to me of the premises, I have signed this act with my own hand, being in perfect memory and understanding, and caused my said secretary to countersign it, and apply my seal of arms thereunto. At the palace at Whitehall, this 24th of December, old style, 1660.

Signed, sealed,
and delivered, in
the presence of
us,
EDWARD KER,
ROBT. WHITE,
WILL. DIKE.

I bequeath and give to the Countess of Chesterfield the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, and as much to Madam Howard, and I desire that to each other of my maid-servants and men-servants may be given so much a-piece as the estate I leave may bear, and may best recompense their faithful and good services unto me, for which I thank them.

“MARIE.

“By her royal highness's command,

“N. OUDART, Secretary.”

After the completion of this important document, the princess signed another paper, to the following effect:—
“Having commanded Oudart, my secretary, to call for

the most part of the 10,000*l.* sterling given me by parliament on the 13th of September last, and to distribute the same, according to my orders, as he hath done, I assign the rest unto him hereby, to be also distributed as I have ordered. So as this present paper shall be a sufficient assignment and dischargement from me for the whole 10,000*l.* aforesaid, which hereby I acknowledge to have received fully, giving this my acquittance for the same. At Whitehall, the 24th day of December, 1660.”¹ This residuary bequest was evidently made with a view to save her secretary the trouble that might result from unsettled accounts.

All these arrangements being satisfactorily completed, the princess signified to those in attendance that she wished to withdraw her thoughts entirely from temporal vanities, and to direct them towards that heaven whither she believed God her Creator would speedily summon her. Her demeanour was characterised by great calmness and fortitude; but as she fainted from excessive sickness, it was thought necessary once again to bleed her, and a vein was opened in the foot.² “The operation was scarcely concluded,” writes Lady Balcarres, “when her eyes did look so dim that it was obvious to all she was dying. After that, she had no signs of great pain, but every instant did visibly decay, till she lost all her senses, and about twelve or half an hour past it, the Lord took her to Himself. She was very sensible all the time of her illness.”³

Though her own immediate relatives were necessarily absent, several faithful servants of the princess braved the danger of infection, and remained with her to the last. Among these were the Countess of Chesterfield, and her eldest son Philip, the young Earl of Chesterfield, who thus records his impressions of her dying moments:—“Not long after, the princess royal died, by whose bed I

¹ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 525.

² Ashmole's *Diary*, MS. 862, f. 79, Ashm. Library, Oxford; *De Thou's Desp.* 3 Jan. 1661, Harl. MS. 4530; *Theat. Europ.* vol. ix. p. 169.

³ Letter to Queen of Bohemia, 28th December, 1660, Addit. MS. 18744, f. 44.

standing when she changed this life, could not but admire her unconcernedness, constancy of mind, and resolution, which well became the grandchild of Henry the Fourth of France."¹

During her brief career, Mary had indeed known much of change and sorrow;—a widow earlier than most of her sex become wives;—an orphan, under circumstances of peculiar horror;—many years of her life spent in combating the spirit of a period and of a nation to which her own was a complete contrast;—she had not lacked the mellowing influences which adversity produces on the heart that patiently accepts and bravely endures them; and the gentle and forgiving tone which characterised the last year or two of her life, authorizes the hope that they had their due effect.

The death of the princess was felt distressingly, both in the court and in the country. She was spoken of as "a princess of such high and admirable virtues, whether we consider her as a daughter, a sister, a mother, or a princess, that she hath left many sorrowful hearts, as well for the loss of so excellent a personage, as for that influence it may have on the sad thoughts of the most virtuous prince of the whole world, our most precious and dread sovereign."² Charles II. sorrowed as sincerely as he could for any one not immediately necessary to his own pleasures; but how brief that sorrow, appears from a bitter remark of Lord Craven to the Queen of Bohemia, written two months later: he says the princess royal is "as much forgotten here, as if she never had been;" her faithful servant Lady Chesterfield, he observes, has entered the service of the Duchess of York, "and waits more on the duchess than ever I saw her do on her mistress."³

A report was circulated, at the time of Mary's death, that she was privately married to Harry Jermyn, the young nobleman respecting whom unpleasant surmises had been made several years before; but the rumour seems to have been destitute of foundation, and such a

¹ Chesterfield Memoirs, p. 20.

² Parl. Intellig. Dec. 31.

³ From the private corresp. in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

step was totally at variance with Mary's long-indulged notions of personal dignity and regal prerogative.¹

A post mortem examination of the body of the princess took place, and the physicians endeavoured to prove their innocence of her death, by asserting that not only were her lungs affected, but that she had putrid fever and measles, in addition to the small-pox.² Her body was embalmed by the royal apothecaries, and conveyed in barges lined with black, from Whitehall to Somerset House, it being unusual for a corpse to remain in the royal residence. There it was laid in state, in the privy chamber, the whole suite of rooms being hung with black, till the 29th of December, when she was privately interred in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey.³ The mode of her interment is thus related by the contemporary biographer of her mother.⁴

"The princess was buried with a private funeral, yet honourable enough, the manner thus. About five days after her decease, the chiefest of the nobility met together in the House of Peers, to attend the royal corpse of this princess, which was brought, about nine of the clock at night, from Somerset House thither; from whence they proceeded with the funeral, through a lane of guards of the Duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot. First went several gentlemen and knights, next the servants of his royal highness the Duke of York, then the servants of the queen, after whom came his majesty's servants, and next, those of the deceased lady, then two heralds before James (Marquis) now Duke of Ormond, lord steward of his majesty's household, Edward Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the same; after whom went Edward Lord Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England, with the purse and mace borne before him, after whom came another herald, with a coronet upon black velvet, and then the royal corpse, carried by her own servants, the pall being supported by six earls, and the canopy carried over it by several baronets. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as principal mourner, followed the corpse, with a herald before him, divers persons of quality bearing his train. In this order they came to Henry VII.'s Chapel, where she was interred in a vault particularly set apart for the royal line."

Amongst the attendants, in addition to those specified above, were Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond, the Marquis of Worcester, and eleven earls.

¹ Pepys's Diary, vol i. p. 164; Middle. de Montpensier's Memoirs, vol. viii. p. 51; Bailey's Letters, vol. ii. p. 444.

² Diar. Europ. vol. v. p. 165.

³ Banks's MS. 6309, p. 12; Theatrum Europ. vol. ix. p. 170.

⁴ Memoirs of Henrietta Maria, 12mo. Lond. 1671.

The position assigned to Mary was, in coincidence with her wishes, close by that of her brother, the Duke of Gloucester. Ashmole, who writes as though himself an eye-witness of the funeral, adds that "her bowels were also inclosed in lead, and laid up in the void place, on the left hand, after you are passsd down into the said vault, where two other little bodies lie."¹ As soon as the coffin was lowered, Garter king proclaimed aloud that "it hath pleased God Almighty to take out of this transitory life to his Divine mercy, the most high, most mighty, and most illustrious princess, Mary, late Princess-dowager of Orange."²

The following inscription, in Latin, was placed on her coffin:—"The remains of the most renowned Princess Mary,—the most illustrious widow of William, Prince of Orange, the eldest daughter of the most serene King of England, &c., Charles, of ever blessed memory, and the sister of the most serene King Charles, second of that name,—who most piously fell asleep in the Lord, in the royal palace at Whitehall, on Monday, the 24th day of December, in the year from the birth of Christ, 1660, and in the 29th of her age."³

Fuller, in his quaint style, says, "that no eye was so dry but willingly afforded a tear, to bemoan the loss of so worthy a princess."⁴

The two universities literally poured out a flood of odes, elegies, and epicedia, in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; and other muses were not silent.⁵

¹ Diary, f. 79, b., Ashmolean MS. *ut. sup.*

² Rawlinson MS. 178, f. 138, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³ Addit. MS. 12514, f. 296, British Museum.

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 107.

⁵ *Epicedia Academiae Oxon. in Obitum Mariæ Principis Arauson.* 4to. Oxon, 1661. *Threni Cantab. in Funere Duorum Principum, Henr. ducis Gloc. & Mariæ*, 4to. Camb. 1661.

The following extract from an elegant Latin Ode, contains touching allusions to Mary's mother and son:—

"Plus tamen ante alias flebit mæstissima mater,
Flebit et ante alias sola relictæ soror.
Nec medium hunc reliquo luctum mare dividit orbe;
Qua patet ecce omnis terra fretumque dolent
Littore ab adverso procul hunc sensere Batavi
Primaque tu Patriæ spes, Guglielme tuæ

Of the English compositions, the following, by Henry Ball, of Oxford, is perhaps the least ordinary, though this is no very elevated eulogium.

“Hail, graceful Mary, summoned up to be,
 A member saint of th’ heavenly hierarchy !
 For since your virgin namesake’s peered with you,
 Our *Ave-Maries* must be doubled too.
 What zeal of glory did your highness move,
 To rob Low Countries to enrich th’ above ?
 Or was it in a compliment you fell,
 To leave Henrietta without a parallel ?
 All things immortal in this lady were,
 But mere mortality, and that lies here :
 Whose goodness needs no gloss to set it off.
 Say but ‘Twas Charles’s daughter’—that’s enough.
 Oh, may her son, like her, live to inherit,
 The mother’s virtues and the father’s spirit.
 Then will heaven bless its blessing with that good
 Which cannot be expressed, less understood.
 The wonder of her sex ! less great than good :
 Honouring her name, ennobled by her blood !
 The age’s joy and grief ! envy and pride !
 You could not think her mortal till she died.
 In brief, be this inscribed upon her tomb—
 ‘Here lies the miracle of Christendom.’
 But cease to mourn—a princess never dies,
 But like the sun, does only set to rise.”

The long list of servants of the late princess, provided with mourning at the king’s expense, includes the names not only of all those whom she brought over from Holland, but of many others, who must have been added to her establishment since her arrival in England; their total number amounted to 114.¹ The king discharged all the expenses of their lodgings for ten weeks subsequent to the decease of their royal mistress.

Letters were dispatched to foreign princes, informing them of the sorrowful event; they were worded with

“Infelix Guglielme puer genitricis peremta
 Infelix raptō posthumō nate patri !
 Bis miserande puer ! cui dum modo fata sinebant
 Illa simul genitrix & pater illa fuit.
 Quam tamen oh ! toties matremque patremque vocāsti
 Nunc pater & mater non revocanda jacet.”

¹ Account Book for Funerals, of Edward, Earl Sandwich, Lord Chamberlain’s Office, St. James’s.

strong expressions of regret, especially those to the States of Holland, and to the princess-dowager, which were sent by the Earl of Manchester, as ambassador extraordinary. Both parties reciprocated protestations of sorrow for a loss that so nearly concerned them, and which, they assured the king, would be as keenly felt in the Netherlands as it was in England.¹ Mary's son, then in his eleventh year, was considered too young for formal letters of sympathy, but his childish feelings were so wrought upon by the tidings, that for some time he was inconsolable.²

Attention was now given to the settlement of the affairs of the late princess. She was considerably in debt in Holland, where she had also pawned some of her jewels, chiefly for the sake of assisting her brothers in their difficulties; and it was found that all her effects would not suffice to the payment of her debts, since the principal of her jewels, tapestries, and more valuable goods were only hers for life, and were heir-looms in the House of Orange. The queen-mother, therefore, came forward, and relinquished her claim to the bequest of jewels which her daughter had made to her, in order that all the claimants might be satisfied; but owing to some mismanagement in the winding up of her affairs, many months elapsed before the debts were completely discharged.³ Lady Chesterfield was less liberal than the queen, though one of the heaviest unpaid bills of the princess was for medical attendance upon her.⁴ She not only insisted on retaining, as her perquisite, the wardrobe of her late mistress, but refused to give up certain valuables of which she had the custody, till her legacy of 400*l.* was paid.⁵

¹ Charles II. to Princess Dow. 8 Feb. 1661, Holl. Corresp.; Louis XIV. to Charles II. 6 Feb. 1661, MS. L. 17, f. 282, Bibl. Ste. Genevieve, Paris; *Theat Europ.* vol. ix. p. 170; States General, States Holland, and States Zealand, to Charles II. Jan. 1661, *Anc. Roy. Letters, Orange and Low Countries*, vols. xix. xx. State Paper Office.

² *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1661.

³ Charles II. to Downing, 14 Feb. 1662, *Domestic Various Corresp.* bundle 626 b. State Paper Office; De Thou's *Desp.* 9 Dec. 1661, and 13 Jan. 1662, Harl. MS. 4530.

⁴ *Holland Corresp.* Sept. 4, Oct. 7, 1661, State Paper Office.

⁵ *Ibid.*

The most important part of Mary's will, that relating to her only child, was attended to with greater promptness. The princess-dowager, who had not yet abandoned the idea of seeing her daughter queen-consort of England, was eager to fall in with any proposal of Charles II., and therefore gave her full assent to a treaty, concluded in May, 1661, between the king and the Elector of Brandenburg, by which they were constituted joint-guardians of the young prince, with the princess-dowager to act as their representative in their absence. She was to undertake the personal supervision of the boy; only with a stipulation that the attendants placed around him by his late mother should be preserved in their posts, and that all her acts and decrees should be confirmed, unless, in any point, she was distinctly found to have over-stretched the bounds of her legitimate authority.¹

The democratic party in Holland, indignant at finding themselves excluded from the share which the princess had given them in the education of her son, murmured that if Charles II. intended by this arrangement to have Holland at command, he would find himself mistaken; as the party of the De Wits, with which he was at the deadliest enmity, was already becoming powerful enough to be compared to that of Barnivelt, nearly half a century before, and presented a formidable barrier to all aristocratic innovations.²

Mary's son struggled through the many difficulties that surrounded his early path, surmounted them all, and became not only Stadtholder and General of the United Provinces, but one of the first military leaders in Europe; and he finally closed a remarkable career, on the throne of his mother's native kingdom, as William III. of England.

¹ Horsley's Collection Treaties, p. 140.

² Estrades' Amb. and Negot. 12mo. Amst. 1712, pp. 182, 203.

ELIZABETH,

SECOND DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER I.

ELIZABETH'S birth—Baptism—Odes—Early training—Portrait—Taken to mass—Separation from her parents—Delicate health—Removals—Stoppage of her supplies—Parliament settles an allowance on her—Changes her attendants—She remonstrates—Her new establishment—Oath required from her servants—Her education—Learning—Works dedicated to her—Placed in charge of the Earl of Northumberland—Letter to her sister Mary—Household reduced—Joined by the Duke of York—She urges him to escape—He attempts it, but fails—The Parliament fears a seizure of the royal children by the army—The king begs to see them—Fairfax urges it—The petition granted—Their first interview—And subsequent intercourse—Letters of Charles I. to Elizabeth—She complains of disturbance from the sentinels—The king a prisoner at Carisbrook—Escape of the Duke of York—Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester at Syon House—Correspondence with her father—He is sentenced to death—Parting interview with his children—Elizabeth's distress—Induces illness—Her income ill-paid—She requests to go abroad but is refused—Removed to the charge of the Countess of Leicester—Residence at Penshurst Castle—Dedications of poems to her—Portraits—Her removal from England decided on—Sent to Carisbrook Castle—Her melancholy increases—Fever ensues—Her death and funeral—Parliamentary decisions about her—Tomb discovered—Testamentary bequests—Elegies.

THE second of the ill-fated daughters of Charles I. was born at St. James's Palace, on Monday, December 28th, 1635, about ten o'clock, P.M., and was privately baptized the following Saturday, by Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ The greetings in verse which were poured

¹ Laud's Diary, fol. Lond. 1695, date Dec. 28, 1635.

fourth to welcome the royal infant, contain allusions to the facts that she was born on the day of the Holy Innocents, at a time when the earth was covered with snow, a fitting emblem of her purity; that she imparted fresh gladness to the Christmas festivities; and that she equalized the balance of the sexes in the royal family, by adding a daughter to the two sons and one daughter of which it was already composed.¹ Cartwright, in an ode addressed to her when she was three months old, represents her as lying awake in her cradle, whilst a crowd of young Cupids flock around, in admiration of her infantile beauty.

“These Venus’ eyes, says one, these are
Our mother’s sparks, but chaster far;
And Thetis’ silver feet are there,
The father sure is lord o’ the seas,
Fair one, saith this, we bring you flowers,
The garden one day shall be yours,
Wear on your cheeks these; when you do
Venture at words you’ll speak ’em too.”²

When Elizabeth was a little older, she was considered strongly to resemble the Princess Mary; and the sight of the two lovely sisters, at play together, suggested an ode from which is extracted the following simile.

“So have I seen (to dress their mistress May),
Two silken sister-flowers consult, and lay
Their bashful cheeks together; newly they
Peeped from their buds, showed like the garden’s eyes
Scarce waked; like was the crimson of their joys—
Like were the tears they wept—so like that one
Seemed but the other’s kind reflection.”³

The States of Holland, who were contemplating a friendly embassy to England, took occasion, on the birth of the princess, to send to the king a congratulatory present, consisting of costly china, ambergris, a valuable time-piece, and several pictures, including four Titians, and two Tintoretos.⁴

¹ *Carmina Natalitia ad Cunas Principis Elizabethæ*, 4to. Camb. 1635.

² Cartwright’s *Poems*, 8vo. Lond. 1651, p. 268.

³ Crashaw, *Delight of the Muses*, 12mo. Lond. 1648, p. 51.

⁴ Sanderson’s *Charles I.* fol. Lond. 1658, p. 207; Bennett’s *Hist. Eng.* vol. iii. p. 81.

The child was placed, with her elder sister, under the care of the Countess of Roxburgh; but she had her own suite of attendants, consisting of a dresser, three watchers or nurses, a groom of the back stairs, and two others of inferior rank.¹ To these, as she grew older, were added writing and dancing masters, musicians, and other educational agents.²

When Elizabeth was a few months old, the royal children were sent to reside at Richmond, and as the plague had appeared in several districts in and near London, the privy council issued an order to the local authorities, to see well to it, that no "lodgers, beggars, or vagrant persons," be suffered to come into the neighbourhood, and that all possible precautions be taken against infection.³

In 1637, during a temporary absence of Charles I., Henrietta Maria went to Hampton Court, and had her children brought to spend some days with her. She wished them to be present at her vesper service, when Elizabeth, not yet two years old, became very restless. To quiet her, a book of devotion belonging to one of the priests was shewn to her, which contained a picture of our Saviour, tied to the pillar in the judgment hall, and submitting to the scourge. Her infant sympathies were excited: she exclaimed, "Poor man, poor man," and kissed the picture many times. Her mother, delighted with this trait of early sensibility, and, as she hoped, devotion, related it to the king: he laughed, and merely said, "she begins young."⁴

At the age of five years, Elizabeth was painted at full length by Vaughan, and the portrait was engraved by Hollar, for a curious and now rare book, entitled "The True Effigies of the Royal Progeny." She is represented as very fair, her hair dressed in the Stuart style, with long loose ringlets, her limbs and figure rounded with the plumpness of early childhood. In one hand she holds a rose, and a squirrel is on the table beside her;

¹ Harl. MS. 7623 f. 11 b. & 3791 f. 114.

² Chapter House Hist. Documents, 2nd Series, No. 120.

³ Order in Council, 18 May, 1636, Privy Council Office, Whitehall.

⁴ Coneo's Desp. Vatican Transcripts, vol. 48, f. 403.

her costume is the same, so familiar in the portraits of her mother, except that the bust is less exposed. Below the portrait are the following lines:—

ELIZABETH PRINCESS.

Here is the grace of nature's workmanship,
Wherein herself herself she did outstrip;
And were the muses all in one combined,
They could not blazon her heroic mind.
Perfection's masterpiece, art's wonderment,
Heaven's darling and Great Britain's ornament.
Elizabeth the fair, the rare, the great,
In birth, and blood, and virtues full, replete,¹
An high-prized jewel, an unvalued gem,
(Of more worth than a kingly diadem),
If heaven be pleased such blessings to bestow,
That grace may grow as she in years do grow,
Her name and fame may curb the powers of Rome,
And freely spread God's word through Christendom.
Meantime, let's rest in hope, through heaven's high hand,
This princess shall add blessings to the land.

The account of the early wooing of the Princess Elizabeth by the Prince of Orange, and of the subsequent change in the matrimonial scheme which substituted her elder sister in her place, has already been detailed in the preceding memoir. As a consequence of the betrothal of Mary, in the spring of 1642, Elizabeth had to part not only from her sister, but from her mother, though with a happy unconsciousness, on both sides, that they were never to meet again. Henrietta Maria went over to Holland with the princess royal; the Prince of Wales became more frequently the companion of his father; and he and the Duke of York, being of an age to dispense with nursery surveillance, were both removed from the pale of parliamentary influence, and shared the wandering and changeful fortunes of the royalists. The little princess and the infant Duke of Gloucester, who were too young to encounter hardships, led a life more recluse than ever, at St. James's Palace.¹

¹ Lord Clarendon speaks of three children as being in the care of the Parliament, in 1643, but this is a mistake, the Princesses Anne and Catherine were dead, Henrietta not yet born, and James Duke of York did not fall into their hands till 1646.—*Lady Theresa Lewis's Clarendon and his Contemporaries*, vol. i. p. 282.

In October, 1642, the plague having become prevalent in the neighbourhood of the palace, the Commons passed a resolution, that they should be removed, not into the country, lest some warm-hearted royalist should take possession of them, and find them a home where they would be beyond the reach of recovery, but to some convenient house, in a healthy locality in the city; and that of Lord Cottington, in Broad-street, was proposed. Thither, accordingly, they were taken; but Elizabeth became languid and indisposed. Her health from childhood was feeble;¹ the confinement of town life was prejudicial to her, and her governess sent to acquaint the House of Lords that she was so unwell as to render it essential for her to return at once to St. James's, if no more suitable residence could be found. They communicated with the Commons: a *ruse* was evidently feared, for the governess was only permitted to effect the removal on condition of her giving a distinct pledge that the children should not be taken away from St. James's without consent of the two Houses; and the Earl of Pembroke, their parliamentary *custos*, was ordered to attend them during their transfer, and to continue his personal supervision.

In December, and again in January, 1643, equerries of the king came over expressly to see them: passes were granted by the parliament, though clogged with strict conditions that they should be attended by the yeoman usher of the House, should return at once, after seeing the children, and neither speak nor convey a letter to any person whatever.²

Another effect which the civil disturbances produced upon the inmates of the royal nursery, was a stoppage of pecuniary supplies, resulting from the refusal to pass the bill of tunnage and poundage, which had furnished funds

¹ As early as 1640, when her marriage with the Prince of Orange was on the *tapis*, the English secretary of state alluded, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, to the possibility of the match being frustrated, because Elizabeth had not a strong constitution, and might die before it could be completed.—*Vane to Prince of Orange. Addit. MS. 18738, f. 68.*

² Journ. Lords. vol. v. pp. 419, 464, 477, 481, 517, 571, Oct. 1642, Jan. 1643, Perfect Diurnal.

for their maintenance. The king was therefore obliged to support them from his private purse, which he did for some time, expending upon them the greater part of his limited personal income; but this also was taken away in course of time, the Commons observing that if his majesty could afford to make war upon them, he could afford to buy his own clothes! The wants of the poor children, consequently, became so urgent, that their governess, the Countess of Roxburgh, sent a remonstrance to parliament on the subject. The speaker, after instituting inquiries into the truth of her statements, declared, in the house, that the condition of poverty into which the royal children were plunged, was such that he should be ashamed to speak of it, or to have it publicly known.¹ The House promised to take the matter into consideration; they consulted with the Lords, and in October, 1642, directions were given to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the officers of the Mint, to hand over the sum of 800*l.* per month, in discharge of their household expenses, to Cornelius Holland, who, though lately paymaster of the prince, had become a staunch parliamentarian. But this allowance was burdened with a debt of 780*l.* to Lord Say and Seale, which he, as one of the Treasury commissioners, had advanced to the children, during their distress, and which the Houses refused otherwise to reimburse.³ Difficulties having arisen about the payments, six months afterwards a definite order was passed, that the children should be supplied from the Mint with their usual allowances for diet, apparel, and other necessities.⁴

This act of complaisance, however, was followed by an order for a strict investigation into the characters and doctrines of the clergy who preached in the chapel at St. James's; none were to be allowed to hold forth before

¹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, May 3, 1642; *Newspapers*, Sept. 1642.

² *Journ. Lords*, vol. vi. pp. 422-3, 429; *Special Passages*, 3 Nov. 1642.

³ In December, 1642, Master Franklyn, of the Exchequer, was summoned before the Commons for disobeying the order of Parliament, in refusing to pay the monies appointed for the maintenance of the king's children.—*Perfect Diurnal*, 5 Dec.

⁴ *Journ. Com.* vol. iii. p. 68.

the royal children but orthodox and able divines; and any superstitious pictures found there were to be defaced. Another regulation was passed, more painful to the juvenile group, that if any papists or disaffected persons were found amongst their attendants, they should be removed, and no persons be permitted to hold any office about them, who were not willing to subscribe to the "solemn league and covenant;" in other words, that none who continued faithful to the father, should be allowed to associate with the children.¹ The consequence of this mandate was an order cashiering most of the household, from the governess downwards. Elizabeth was so distressed with this proposed change, that, child as she was, hardly eight years of age, she ventured an appeal from the House of Commons to that of the Lords, to whom she addressed the following touching letter, too simple to have been dictated by any but a child.

"My Lords,

"I account myself very miserable that I must have my servants taken from me, and strangers put to me. You promised me that you would have a care of me, and I hope you will shew it, in preventing so great a grief as this would be to me. I pray, my lords, consider of it, and give me cause to thank you, and to rest

"Your loving friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"To the right honourable the lords and peers in parliament."²

This note Elizabeth herself gave to the Earl of Pembroke, and he presented it to the House of Peers, by whom it was read with some surprise, as they had not been consulted by the Lower House on these proceedings. They sent the note to the Commons, and desired to know whether the facts mentioned in the letter of the princess were true.³ The Commons avowed them, and urged, as one important motive for their execution, the detection of a scheme to remove the children to Oxford, then the southern capital of Charles I.⁴ This apology was not

¹ Journ. Com. vol. iii. pp. 145, 327; Parl. Remonstrances, June, 1642.

² Journ. Lords. vol. vi. p. 341.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Merc. Aulicus, Feb. 3, 1643-4; Vicar's Eng. Parl. 4to. Lond. 1646, pt. iii. p. 99.

deemed sufficient by the Lords, who voted it a breach of the privilege of their house, to have the servants of the king's children displaced without their approval. They appointed a committee to sit upon the subject, consisting of the lords general and admiral, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Manchester, and Salisbury, Lords Say and Seale, Howard, and Willoughby. These noblemen were instructed to visit St. James's, carefully to examine and report upon the state of the household, and to give in a list of such attendants as they thought requisite. The Commons intimated the necessity not only of change, but of retrenchment in expenditure, and begged that since their lordships had been pleased to take the king's children into their own hands, they would look well after these points; they declared the household at St. James's was in no better order than the garrison at Oxford; that there was misappropriation of moneys, and constant passing of letters to and from the royalists.¹

The visitation took place, and, as the result, some reductions were made, and a list of attendants was drawn up, which was sent to the Commons for their approval. Many of the former household preferred subscribing to the parliamentary conditions to leaving their young charge, and therefore the change was less complete than had originally been contemplated. Lady Vere was first appointed to take the place of governess, vacated by the Countess of Roxburgh; but either she objected to it or the Lords did not concur in the choice, for the Countess of Dorset was ultimately installed into office.²

The establishment, as finally decided upon, was on a liberal scale; it consisted of the Countess of Dorset, formerly designated to the office by Charles I.; Lady Southcote, lady of the bedchamber to the princess, two cofferesses, one of whom, Mrs. Lee, was retained at her own special petition; four chamber women, a laundress, and starcher; two physicians, the elder being Sir Theodore Mayerne; six chaplains, and one household chaplain; two gentlemen ushers, a French teacher, and four pages, exclusive of household officers and servants, tradespeople,

¹ Journ. Lords, vol. vi. pp. 393, 436, 445, 448, 470, 513, 537.

² Ibid. p. 153, Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 148.

and a number of attendants, solely for the service of the young duke. Eleven servants were dismissed, amongst whom were the Ladies Fiennes and Gray, ladies of the bedchamber, and the former French master, M. d'Aranjon.¹

The servants retained and those re-appointed were allowed the same diet, wages, and livery, as were settled by the king's last orders for his establishment, which bore date March, 1641. The further regulations were that prayers be read in the family, morning and afternoon, and two sermons preached on the Sunday; that the gates be locked every evening at sunset, and on no occasion opened after ten o'clock without special license of the chief resident officer. That in addition to the 100*l.* monthly for household expenses, extra funds should be provided for apparel, &c., but that unlimited power should remain with the House of Peers to alter the regulations, diminish the expenditure, or change the attendants, as they might think fit.²

To each person that accepted office in the household the following oath was administered:—

“I, A. B., do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will not hinder the education of any of the king's children in the true Protestant religion, piety, or holiness of life; but will, according to my place, calling, and duty, advance the same; and if I know that any person doth endeavour to hinder such education of any of them, I will make the same known, at least to three of the committee appointed by the two Houses of Parliament, for the regulating of the household of St. James's, whereof there shall be one lord and two commons. I do further covenant and promise, that I will no way endeavour to work or cause any misunderstanding or disaffection between any of the king's children and either House of Parliament, or any member of either house; but if I know any practice or endeavour of this kind, I will reveal the same, as aforesaid. And I do further promise, that if I receive any message or letter from Oxford, or the court, or any place where-soever, that concerns the removal of the king's children, or any of them, or that may be prejudicial to the Houses of Parliament, or any one of them, or any member thereof, I will reveal the same as

¹ Some of the dismissed women servants were allowed to go to the queen at Exeter, but on condition that they should not be the bearers of letters prejudicial to the State; that is, that the poor children should not be allowed to write any complaints of these proceedings.

² Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 476; Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 535.

aforesaid. Neither will I send any letter, or give any word or message, to be sent to Oxford or elsewhere, that may be prejudicial to the king's children, or to either or both Houses of Parliament, or any member of either house. Neither will I, in my own person, repair to Oxford, or any other the king's quarters, during this war, without leave first had of the aforesaid committee, or five of them at the least.¹

The court party published their views of these transactions. They made extracts from the lectures of "Master Stephen Marshall," one of the chaplains appointed to preach monthly before the children, ridiculing their inappropriateness, and stigmatizing them as hypocritical. When it is remembered, indeed, that Elizabeth was only eight years old, and her little brother four, these long-winded orations could not be expected to prove very acceptable or profitable. Exceptions were also taken against the new appointments, as consisting mainly of the immediate friends and relatives of members of the Houses,

¹ Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 516. A digest of the whole proceeding is thus given by one of the Puritanic writers, in the peculiar phraseology which formed the Shibboleth of their party. "About the middle of this instant December," he says, "the Duke of Gloucester and the lady Princess Elizabeth, the two pledges of the crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland, royally kept and maintained by the Parliament at St. James's, were, by a private Oxonian plot, designed with the close help of some malignant and disaffected persons about them, to be conveyed to Oxford. But letters being intercepted, they were presently the better secured, and all ill-disposed servants about them ordered to be removed, and good ministers placed in the room of bad ones, and to preach monthly by turns at St. James's, reverend and godly Mr. Stephen Marshall, and Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick, being appointed, two of them for this service. Much also about the same time, by an ordinance of Parliament, there was again further order taken for the more holy and happy institution and education of his majesty's two children at St. James's, where several new officers and attendants were appointed to wait on the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, as namely, reverend, religious, and learned Mr. Torshell, to be household chaplain; and that truly pious and gracious gentleman, Mr. Humphreys, to be comptroller, &c.; and that those which were malignant, corrupt, and popishly affected, should be quite displaced, and removed thence, and the former prelatical priests to be also utterly cashiered, and in their stead, reverend and truly pious and orthodoxly learned Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick, and Mr. William Spurstow, were assigned to preach constantly by turns before them, thus, by God's gracious assistance and special blessing, to instil holy and wholesome principles into their princely hearts."—*Vicar's Eng. Parl. Chron.* 4to Lond. 1646. pt. iii. pp. 99. 175.

in contradiction to their assertion, that the members would not accept offices for their own pecuniary benefit; and Cornelius Holland was especially noticed, because he was a member of Parliament, and yet had the chief post about the royal children.¹

The king was unusually anxious about all these changes in the domestic arrangements of his children, and, at his request, a letter of inquiry respecting them was sent by the Earl of Forth to the Earl of Essex. The answer was haughty and abrupt. The Commons "hoped that they should take as good care, both of the souls and the bodies of his majesty's children, as those at Oxford could have done," and the Earl of Essex was desired to prepare a reply to that effect.² An attempt was next made by the royalists to obtain possession of the prince and princess, by offering to negotiate an exchange between them and some parliamentary officers, who were taken prisoners in the war. The proposition was refused, on the plea that the royal children were not prisoners at all, and therefore not open to such a negotiation.³

The health of Elizabeth still continued feeble; in the autumn of 1643, while running across a room, she fell and broke her leg, and though the bone reunited well and speedily, the confinement occasioned by the injury was prejudicial to her strength.⁴ In July, 1644, change of air was recommended, and the princess and her brother, with their retinue, were removed to Chelsea, to the residence of Sir John Danvers; but strict orders were issued that the "court of guard" should not pay them the honour of escorting them in their passage.⁵ As winter approached they were again removed, not to St. James's, on account of the plague having appeared in the vicinity, but to Whitehall, the situation of which was considered more salubrious.⁶

The tedium of the weary years which she passed in separation from her parents and friends, with no other

¹ Merc. Aulicus, Feb. 1643-4.

² Journ. Commons, vol. iii. pp. 414, 425.

³ Gaz. de France, 1644, p. 212.

⁴ Dumoulin to Brienne, 2 Sept. 1643, Harl. MS. 4551.

⁵ Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 571.

⁶ Perfect Diurnal, 16 September, 1644.

associate than her little brother, was greatly relieved to Elizabeth by her love of study. Her lessons were mainly received from Mrs. Makin, the linguist, sister to John Pell, linguist and mathematician, whose ideas of female education are developed in a curious essay on the subject, published in 1673, when she kept a school at Tottenham high-cross. This good lady's division of time was into two parts, one to be spent in serious study and the acquisition of languages, of which she professed herself competent to teach Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, and Spanish; the other to be devoted to the accomplishments of music and singing, dancing, writing, needlework, &c.¹

At a very early age Elizabeth manifested so strong a love for books, that her learned preceptress found equal pride and delight in the exercise of her abilities. Before she was eight years old, she read and wrote French, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. To the two last languages she was more particularly inclined by the religious bent of her mind, which led her to delight in the study of Scripture, in taking notes of pulpit discourses, and in conversation upon the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Some interesting particulars bearing upon her premature developments occur in a dedication to her, by William Greenhill, of a learned exposition of the first five chapters of Ezekiel, published in 1644,² the comprehension of which involved the knowledge of several languages. From it are taken the following extracts:—

“To the excellent princess, and most hopeful lady, the Princess Elizabeth, her highness,

“May it please your Highness,

“Solomon, the wisest of princes, counsels us to remember our Creator in the days of our youth; it's a great virtue to be mindful of

¹ Jesse's House of Stuart, vol. ii. p. 250.

² The author is indebted to the courtesy of T. M. Stokes, Esq., of Tyndale House, Cheltenham, for directing her attention to this work. Greenhill published expositions of other chapters of Ezekiel in 1648 and 1649, but they were not *then* dedicated to the daughter of the unfortunate Charles I.

God timely : Timothy from a child knew the Holy Scriptures : Josiah, that good prince, while he was yet young, or tender, (as the Hebrew bears it,) began to seek after the Lord ; he did that which was right in his sight, he walked in the ways of David, he turned not aside to the right hand or left. The Lord takes special notice when young ones are mindful of him : the children's crying Hosanna is recorded in the Gospel ; children walking in the truth is observed by John, and the Lord minded the good that was found in the child of Jeroboam : doubtless God's eye is upon your highness, for that good is found in you in these your tender years, and is well pleased, that your sweetness of nature, and choiceness of wit, are joined with desire to know him, with love to his worship, affection to the godly, and delight in such sentences as these are, viz.

Χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ παντοτε, πάλιν ἐρῶ χαίρετε.

Deus meus et omnia

La mia Grandezza dal Eccelso.

“ All which with these precious speeches of yours, ‘ I had rather be a beggar here than not go to heaven,’ and ‘ how shall I be sure to go to heaven?’ are acceptable to the Highest, and make strong impressions upon us inferiors. Your desire to know the original tongues, that you may understand the Scriptures better, your resolution to write them out with your own princely hand, and so come to the perfect knowledge of them, breed in us hopes that you will exceed all your sex, and be without equal in Europe, as Drusius said of his son, who, at five years, learned Hebrew, and at twelve writ it extempore, both in prose and verse. Encouraging instances your own sex will afford.”

A number of these instances are recapitulated by our author, who then continues:—

“ Your highness seems to aim at all the excellences in the pre-mentioned ; for your writing out the Lord's Prayer in Greek, some [texts of Scripture in Hebrew, your endeavour after the exact knowledge of those holy tongues, with other languages and learned accomplishments, your diligent hearing of the word, careful noting of sermons, understanding answers at the catechising, and frequent questioning about holy things, do promise great matters from you. If the harvest be answerable to the spring, your highness will be the wonder of the learned, and glory of the godly. It is my unhappiness that I cannot be sufficiently adjuvant to such princely beginnings ; yet, because this following treatise is an exposition of Scripture, I take the boldness to present it to your highness, and shall continue to pray to Him who is all able to give all, that he would preserve your royal person, bless your hopeful endeavours, fill you with all divine perfections, make you a chief praise in Israel, and fit you for an eternal weight of glory.

“ Your highness's most humble servant,

“ WILLIAM GREENHILL.”

Making allowance for the flattery too common in a dedication, abundant proof remains in the *facts* quoted above, that the naturally quick genius of the princess had been carefully nurtured, and encouraged to a degree which

would operate very unfavourably on her delicate physical frame.

A few years later, an erudite scholar, Alexander Rowley, dedicated to her a vocabulary of the Hebrew and Greek words used in Scripture, with their explanation in Latin and English, which was published in two volumes 12mo., and entitled "The Scholar's Companion, or a little library, containing all the interpretations of the Hebrew and Greek Bible, by all authors, first into the Latin, and now (with the English and every Latin word added thereunto), brought into a pocket-book, not only for the ease of the learned but also that the unlearned may come to the knowledge of both Testaments in the original tongues." The apology of the author for dedicating his work to the "peerless Princess Elizabeth" is that, "hearing the fame of the rare inclination of your highness to the study of the book of books, and of its two original languages, the Hebrew and the Greek, both encourages me (in all due respects) to prefer this little book unto your highness's hands,—to prevent the loss of that which cannot be bought,—the time which is spent on those several great volumes, all which this containeth. That tedious journey being much eased and shortened, proceed with the greater joy, most excellent princess, in those lovely royal ways you have begun to tread, to the example of all worthy women, the women of Europe, and (which is worth more than all the world,) the everlasting happiness of your own soul."

Early in the year 1645, the declining health of the Countess of Dorset rendered it essential that Elizabeth and her brother should be transferred to other hands; and the Earl of Northumberland, the most important of the nobility on the Parliamentary side, was appointed to take them in charge. A newspaper correspondent records, under the date of March 13th, "The lords were pleased this day to make the noble Earl of Northumberland governor, and his lady governess, of His Majesty's children now at Whitehall. The action brings to thought the brave education given to Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, alone, under God, the recovery of the Gospel out of blind Popery; since, the glory of these nations for scores of

years: no doubt these two worthies will make it their study to have those princes so instructed, that not these kingdoms, but all Christendom, shall have cause to thank them."¹

The earl's salary was 3,000*l.* a year, with 9,500*l.* for the diet of his royal wards. Their servants were again brought under review, and a fresh selection was made, but with so much regard to those already appointed by Parliament, that the changes were not material.² Whilst these negotiations were transpiring the Countess of Dorset died. "She was much commended," writes a contemporary, "for that piety and religion which appeared in her own person, and as much for her godly and conscientious care and pains in the education of those royal branches."³ In consequence of her decease the new guardians entered at once upon their office. This change was greatly to the advantage of the princess and her brother: their new protectors, in spite of their adhesion to the Parliament, were persons of aristocratic habits of thought and feeling; the earl, moreover, had been a friend of Charles I., who had promoted him to important offices, and he successfully stipulated for permission to treat the prince and princess as the son and daughter of a king.⁴ He removed them from London to one of his country residences, probably Syon House, where they spent a summer of more tranquil happiness than had recently fallen to their lot. Towards its close, Elizabeth addressed to her sister Mary the following letter, the only autograph of hers known to be in existence.

"Dear Sister,

"I am glad of so fit an opportunity to present my love to you. I intended to have sent you some venison, but being prevented at this time, I hope I shall have it ready to entertain you at the Hague, when you return. Pray believe me to be,

"Your most affectionate sister,

"Sept. 11, 1645.

"ELIZABETH.

"To my dear sister, Princess Mary."⁵

¹ Moderate Intelligencer, March 13 to 20, 1645.

² Journ. Lords, vol. vii. pp. 277-9, 317, 325, 358; Vicar's Eng. Parl. pt. iv. p. 129.

³ Weekly Intellig. 20 May, 1644.

⁴ Journ. Lords, vol. vii. p. 379.

⁵ Harl. MS. 6988, f. 188.

The day on which this letter was dated, a discussion took place in Parliament upon the subject of the royal children. The charges incurred in their support were thought to be larger than was necessary; and the Earl of Northumberland was authorized to make such reductions in their establishment, as would enable him to maintain them on an income of 5,000*l.* a year. This was to be placed entirely at his disposal, and was to cover every expense, excepting the salaries of the physicians and the wages of the servants, which, with retiring pensions to those who were dismissed, amounting to upwards of 3,120*l.* a year, were still discharged by Parliament.¹ The earl was requested to select for their residence any one of the royal palaces in town, Whitehall, Somerset House, or St. James's, and to take tapestries, bedding, plate, furniture, &c. from the royal stores, as he thought fitting, for their use. He made choice of St. James's, and thither the princess and her brother were removed. Though they now lived with diminished income, still the affectionate respect with which they were treated by their guardians, and their freedom from all other surveillance, greatly increased their comfort.²

The sudden movement by which Charles I. placed himself in the hands of the Scots' army, involved the young Duke of York, round whom the royalist junto at Oxford still rallied, in a painful dilemma, as the plague had broken out there; his poverty also was becoming a source of great annoyance; he was already deeply in debt, and had no funds for his ordinary household expenses. Under these circumstances he wrote to the king his father, asking permission to join his sister and brother in London, the Houses of Parliament having sent him an invitation, with assurances of honourable provision and entertainment.³ Meanwhile the king, at the entreaty of the Scots, surrendered all his garrisons, Oxford being among the number. The course of the young duke, therefore, was no longer optional: one of the articles of surrender

¹ Weekly Intelligencer, July 1646; Journ. Com. vol. v. p. 335; Perfect Diurnal, 15 Sept.

² Journ. Lords, vol. vii. pp. 452, 573; Tanner, MS. 60, pt. i. f. 86.

³ Perfect Diurnal, July 27; Perfect Occurrences, July 31.

was that he, with his household, goods, and servants, should be honourably conveyed to London, placed with his brother and sister, and provided for by Parliament.¹ The royal boy and his suite travelled in coaches sent by the Earl of Northumberland, arriving in the vicinity of London on the 28th of July; he was met with all courtesy by the Earl of Northumberland and several Parliamentary deputies, and conveyed in state to St. James's. The people thronged from all quarters to see him, strewed his path with flowers, and filled the air with acclamations of joy.² A vote of 600*l.* was immediately passed, to provide him with a coach and suitable apparel, and 7,500*l.* a year was allotted to Northumberland for his maintenance.³ A condition, however, was made, that the whole of the duke's retinue should be dismissed, and his attendants chosen by the Earl of Northumberland.⁴ A tutor was appointed for him, and the arrangements of his household were made in a style far exceeding in comfort those of the disorderly and poverty-stricken group by whom he was surrounded at Oxford; but he soon found that, with this gain, he had lost his freedom.

Elizabeth received her brother with feelings of mingled joy and sorrow: his companionship was one of the greatest boons that could have been granted to her comparative solitude, yet with a vigour and feeling beyond her years, she expressed her regret at seeing him in the hands of his father's foes, and repeatedly told him, that were she a boy, she would not long remain a captive, however light or glittering might be the fetters that bound her. To his sister's half playful, half earnest, raillery, was added the more serious request of his father, to whom the duke had contrived to send a letter; the king, in reply, urged him, if he could do it without incurring serious danger, to make his escape, and join him in Newcastle, or to go into France to the queen his mother. This letter was intercepted, and the Earl of Northumberland considered that

¹ Whitelocke, p. 280.

² *Mercurius Civicus*, July 30, 1646.

³ Carey's *Memorial of Civil War*, 8vo. Lond. 1842, vol. i. p. 125; Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 66.

⁴ Whitelocke, pp. 213, 215-6, 258.

his duty obliged him to lay the matter before Parliament. He was instructed to make inquiry on the subject.¹

The ingenuousness of the duke's replies, and his tender age, induced the Parliament to take no further notice of his delinquency, except to require the earl in future to keep stricter watch over him. Northumberland promised to use all due care, but at the same time he formally declared in Parliament, that as there were evidently plots on foot for the rescue of the duke, to which the boy was himself a party, he could not be responsible for his safekeeping.² The earl was seriously cautioned, however, that the Parliament had information, that many delinquents from the king's quarters had had frequent access to his children, and he was ordered henceforth to permit no such persons to be admitted into their presence.³

In March, 1647, the Earl of Northumberland obtained leave to remove the princes and princess into the country, and Hampton Court was selected, and fitted up for their summer residence; but they had not enjoyed their rural retreat many weeks, when an event occurred which produced a sudden change in their movements. Charles I., having been transferred by the Scots to the Parliament, was travelling towards London, attended by Parliamentary commissioners, and had advanced as far as Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, when a troop of horse seized and conducted him to the head-quarters of the army at Newmarket.

¹ Perfect Occurrences, 1st Jan. 1647 ; Moderate Intelligencer, Dec. 24, 1646. A newspaper writer records that :—"The duke denied it the first time, but when his lordship, after he had further inquired into the business, and pressed his highness the second time, desiring him to deal plainly and ingenuously with him in it—asking him what advantage his going away would be to him, and telling him how much he thereby would prejudice him to whose care and government the parliament had committed him : whereat the duke, being a little startled, did acknowledge that there was such a design, to which end he had received a letter from the king his father, sent by one Johnston, a servant of the king's, from Newcastle, to which his highness had consented. His lordship asking the reason why his highness would assent, he replied that he did it out of obedience to the king's command, and in kindness to his father, and being asked why he would not discover it, he answered affectionately, he had so many obligations from a loving father as to command secrecy from him."

² Journ. Lords, vol. viii. p. 620, vol. ix. pp. 77, 87.

³ Mercurius Civicus, Sept. 3, 1646.

This event took place on the 4th of June: tidings of it reached London the following day, and threw the whole city into consternation. Necessary orders were issued for the emergency, one of which was, that the royal family should immediately be brought back to St. James's, lest they, too, should be seized by the army. It was 11 o'clock in the evening before the Parliamentary messenger arrived at Hampton Court with his orders. They were so peremptory that the Earl of Northumberland had no room for hesitation. He promised instant obedience, though he said the inconvenience would be very great, as there was no provision made in town for the reception of the children. To town accordingly they came.¹

About a month after their change of residence, the king, whose movements were regulated by those of the army, was permitted to go under a strong escort to Windsor, where he hoped to find his children, having previously sent a request to Parliament, that they might be permitted to join him there for a few days. This petition, which would hardly have been refused to the meanest subject in the kingdom, was denied to its nominal sovereign, from a fear lest the children also should be taken out of their hands by the army.² The disappointed Charles returned to Caversham, in Berkshire, a former seat of Lord Craven, and there laid his cause before General Fairfax, who promised to use his powerful influence in seconding his wishes for an interview with his long-separated family. The king therefore sent the following letter to the Duke of York.

"Caversham, 4 July, 1647.

"James,

"I am in hope that you may be permitted, with your brother and sister, to come to some place betwixt this and London, where I may see you; and to this end, therefore, I command you to ask leave of the two houses to make a journey (if it may be), for a night or two; but rather than not to see you, I will be content to come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night. And, foreseeing the fear of your being within the power of the army, as I am, may be objected to hinder

¹ Journ. Lords, vol. ix. pp. 80, 87, 236, 240; Journ. Com. vol. v. pp. 19, 198.

² Rushworth, vol. vi. pp. 603-4; Whitelocke, p. 257; Weekly Intellig. July 6th.

this my desire, I have full assurance from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the chief officers that there will be no interruption or impediment made by them for your return, how and when you please. So God bless you ;

“ Your loving father,

“ CHARLES R.

“ Send me word, as soon as you can, of the time and place where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your brother, and sister.”¹

This letter was sent by the Duke of York to the Houses of Parliament, with an earnest entreaty, on his own part and that of his brother and sister, that they might be allowed an interview with their father: this was seconded by a letter from Fairfax, in which he argued, that the favour solicited could by no means prejudice the interests of Parliament; that it was an act of civility which would highly gratify the king; and that he would himself guarantee the safe return of the children, after the interval of two days' absence.² Thus urged, the House of Lords consented at once, and the Commons, after some hesitation, concurred, with the stipulation that the Earl of Northumberland should accompany his charge.³

The 16th of July was a day of joyous excitement at St. James's. The royal children were up early in the morning, and before seven o'clock they were ready to set out. In the first coach rode the princess, with her two brothers and the Earl of Northumberland; a second contained the gentlewomen in attendance on Elizabeth and the young dukes, and a third their gentlemen.⁴ Attended by a strong guard of city militia, they set out for Maidenhead, in Berkshire, where the king was to meet them and accompany them to Caversham. The rural population of this small town and the neighbouring villages, sympathized in the anticipated joy of the royal family, and flocked in great numbers to see them: when, at ten o'clock A.M., the princess and her brothers drove into the town, they found the streets strewn with flowers and green boughs and

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 612.

² Sanderson's Charles I. fol, Lond. 1658, p. 945; King's Desires to Fairfax, 4to, 1647.

³ Journ. Com. vol. v. p. 241; Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 612; Whitelocke, pp. 258-9.

⁴ Perfect Occurrences, 9-16 July, 1647.

scented herbs, whilst acclamations of welcome were heard on every side. About ten o'clock they drew up at the Greyhound inn, the principal one of the place; but their eager impatience had anticipated the trysting time, and they had to wait nearly an hour, before the king, attended by a well-armed escort, galloped up to the door. They rushed to meet him, and after the first exclamations of wild delight, and the first warm embraces, the royal father might be seen with his two younger children on his knees, and the Duke of York clinging caressingly to his side.

James had been parted comparatively a short time from his father; but five long and anxious years had elapsed since the fair faces of his younger son and daughter had greeted his eyes. He had left Elizabeth a child of seven years; he found her a graceful and still delicate girl of twelve, with an expression of meek and thoughtful sorrow on her brow, that was only too much in unison with his own feelings. The pet and plaything of the group was the little Harry, Duke of Gloucester, a sprightly boy of seven; he had never seen his father since he was two years of age, and though he had heard much of him, and of the anticipated meeting, he was at first unconscious that the melancholy stranger, so simply dressed, who was introduced to him, was indeed the king. "Do you know me, child?" said Charles. "No," was the boy's reply. The king, in a mournful tone, rejoined: "I am your father, child; and it is not one of the least of my misfortunes that I have brought you and your brothers and sisters into the world to share my miseries."

At these words, the elder children burst into tears; but their father, reluctant to have their meeting marred by sorrowful reflections, soon recovered his wonted calmness. A few minutes afterwards, General Fairfax entered the apartment. He was personally unknown to the royal children; but his manner, and the deference paid to him by the attendants, at once convinced Elizabeth that he was a person of importance. She inquired who he was, and on being informed that it was the general, went up to him, and with the greatest courtesy tendered him her thanks for the high happiness she now enjoyed, in the sight of her dear father, which she knew was obtained

only by his industry and management. She earnestly assured him that he should be subjected to no hazard on their account; that she should always be grateful to him, and should it ever be in her power, she should be only too happy to requite the favour. The general, half pleased and half amused by the grave eloquence of the little lady, returned her his humble thanks, assured her that he had only performed one of the least of the duties he owed to his sovereign's children, and requested permission to kiss her hand, which was gracefully accorded.¹

The princess then returned to her father, and a cheerful conversation began, which lasted till dinner was served. Of this repast they partook together, and then drove off to Caversham, a beautiful country mansion on the banks of the Thames, opposite Reading, and still a conspicuous object from the railway. There apartments were prepared, at the expense of Parliament, for the princes and princess, and suitable provision was made in every way for their accommodation. In this pleasant retreat they were allowed to remain two days, during which the king heard from his children much of their past history. At the close of the second day the re-united family were compelled to part. The children could not refrain from tears when they took leave of their father, but he consoled them with hopes of frequent intercourse yet to come.²

Within a week after their return to London, the summer heat again brought the plague, which showed itself in the vicinity of St. James's Palace. The Earl of Northumberland hastily removed his royal charge from one side of the palace to the other, and made repeated and earnest solicitations to the Houses to be permitted to take them out of town, to Syon House. An order was passed to that effect, but with the embargo of a little delay in the time of their departure. Suspicions were afloat that a plot was on foot to rescue them altogether from the control of Parliament, which gaining

¹ Moderate Intelligencer, July 22nd, 1647; Perfect Diurnal, 12-19 July; Perfect Summary, 19-26 July.

² Herbert's Memoirs of Two Last years of Charles I. p. 42; Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 625; Whitelocke, p. 259; Gaz. de France, p. 676.

strength, the permission for their departure was revoked, and it was resolved that they should be removed into the city under the escort of a strong guard of city militia. A deputation, consisting of Sir John Burgoyne and three other members of the Lower House, was sent to tell the princess and her brother the unwelcome tidings that it was the will and pleasure of their disposers that they should exchange their anticipated summer retreat for a residence in the heart of London. The mansion of the Lord Mayor was chosen, for a temporary abode, and Lord Car and Mr. Boynton were appointed to attend the princess and her brothers thither, and request the mayor, in the name of both Houses of Parliament, to take charge of them.¹ Another committee of both Houses was formed, consisting of the Earls of Pembroke and Lincoln, Lord Hunsdon, and several commoners, to select a place for their permanent removal, and to examine into the supposed plot for their abduction.

Meanwhile the army, having received support from influential members of both Houses, took possession of London, and as they now swayed the Parliament after their will, the Earl of Northumberland was permitted to remove with his *protégés* to Syon House, and in response to a complaint of the ill-payment of their pension, which had compelled him to expend in their behalf nearly 2,000*l.* of his own money, the Commons ordered an immediate supply.²

King Charles was removed to Hampton Court about the same time, and orders were given that the king and his children should occasionally visit each other.³ Charles eagerly availed himself of this permission. Without any notice given beforehand, on the morning of August 23rd he rose early, and called for the officers of the guard to appoint some horse to attend him to Syon House, knowing that he should not be permitted to go alone. The troop was prepared, and at seven o'clock he started, his equerry riding bare-headed before him, the parliamentary

¹ Perfect Occurrences, 6th August.

² Journ. Lords, vol. ix. pp. 339, 345, 357, 364; Journ. Com. vol. v. pp. 251, 258, 260-1.

³ Journ. Lords, vol. ix. pp. 405, 408; Weekly Intellig. Aug. 31.

commissioners at his side, and a troop of Cromwell's horse a little distance behind. "A little after eight o'clock this day, in the morning," writes a correspondent from Syon, "his majesty came hither, with the commissioners and guards, and rejoiced much to see his children, giving the Earl of Northumberland thanks for his great care of them. Many things passed between the king and the Duke of York, as to inquire into his and his brother's and sister's health and content, and the like, in all which his majesty received much satisfaction. The commissioners sent into the country towns thereabouts to fetch in provisions for the king's dinner, which was brought in presently. And his majesty dined here this day with his children, which hath much pleased the country hereabouts that his majesty is come so near his Parliament."

Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied him, says that the princess and her brothers fell on their knees before their royal parent, as was their usual custom, to ask his blessing, which he gave them with much fervency; and that he was greatly pleased to see the honourable manner in which they were treated by their host and hostess. The visit was repeated on the 31st of August, when the Earl and Countess of Northumberland provided a handsome entertainment for the king and his party, which was, in fact, a court in miniature, as officers, chaplains, nobles, &c., were allowed to flock freely to him.¹ An apartment at Syon House, which was dedicated to the king's use in these visits, still retains the name of King Charles's room.²

On September 7th, the princes and princess, attended by the Countess of Northumberland, were with their father when the commissioners of England and Scotland were announced. The king ordered their admission, and bade them proceed at once with their business, observing that there was nothing they could say which he objected for his children to hear.

A newspaper writer, under the date of September 13th, records, "His majesty's children came yesterday in

¹ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 48; Whitelocke, p. 267.

² To her Grace the Duchess of Northumberland the author is indebted for the facilities afforded in tracing the historical reminiscences of this interesting site.

the afternoon to Hampton Court, to ask blessing of him; they were a long time in the garden, running and playing before the king. His majesty expressed much joy to see them with him, and his faithful subjects that were there expressed as much joy to see them all together."¹

Again, the correspondent of the "Perfect Occurrences," writing from Hampton Court, under the date of September 16th, says, "The king dined here yesterday: the Duke of York sat on his majesty's right hand; his majesty is very fond of him, and loving to all the children; he bears the young lady often in his arms."

These halcyon days of Elizabeth's existence were rendered the more pleasant by the prospect that existed of an accommodation between the king and Parliament, which would put an end to the long period of civil strife.

During the remainder of the month the intercourse of the royal family continued to be free and frequent. The king availed himself of these precious opportunities to instil into the minds of his children such principles of conduct, and such practical advices, as might be useful to them in after-life. With the Duke of York, who was now fifteen years of age, he conversed freely on the state of public affairs, advising him, should matters grow worse, and his father be made a positive prisoner, to escape as soon as possible to his sister Mary in Holland. With Elizabeth his conversation was of a lighter turn, though she often surprised and delighted him by the acuteness of her remarks, and her shrewd observations on the persons who surrounded her, and the circumstances of her past history. To her the king's instructions were, to be patient under the oppressions to which she might be subjected; to maintain implicit obedience to the queen her mother; and, in case of his decease, to the Prince of Wales, who would then be her sovereign, and never to allow herself to be united in marriage without their approbation. In one thing only he absolved her from filial obedience to the queen, and that was in point of her religion; he charged her, as she valued his blessing, never to listen or consent to any argument which might weaken

¹ Weekly Intelligencer, Sept. 16th, 1647.

her attachment to the Protestant faith as it was held by the Church of England, to which, however fallen and persecuted, he commanded her steadfastly to adhere.¹

The Earl of Northumberland was occasionally present at these discourses. Charles manifested no resentment towards him for the ingratitude he had shewn in forsaking the party of his benefactor, though he did gently and firmly state his opinion that had Northumberland remained true to the royal cause, his influence and example would have turned the balance in its favour. He also hinted that if the earl were willing to return to his allegiance, he would form an alliance with his family, by marrying the Duke of York to one of his daughters. Neither remonstrance nor allurement, however, proved of any avail.²

Whilst with their father, the children were often introduced, not only to members of his court, but to the parliamentary or military officers who visited him. General Fairfax, who was often with the king, treated them with so much friendliness that even the little Henry learned to conquer his repugnance to the glittering armour in which he was attired, and to climb upon his knee, and stroke his grisly beard; familiarities which the general loved to encourage.

Cromwell was frequently present at these interviews, and was accustomed to describe the intercourse between the king and his children as the most touching sight he ever beheld. The Duke of York also noted, and related in after-life, that whereas all the officers who were introduced to the royal children kissed their hands, none but Cromwell bent the knee.³

An early acquaintance with misfortune had led the youthful Elizabeth to quell the irritable feelings which might arise in her mind towards her own and her father's foes; and to treat them with a propitiating mildness and courtesy that excited general admiration, and procured for her the *soubriquet* of "Temperance;" which, it was

¹ Clarendon Hist. vol. iii. p. 109.

² Vatican Transcripts, vol. xlii. p. 418.

³ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 673; Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1653.

said, she had merited more richly than the Princess Mary Tudor, to whom, for similar developments of patience under trials, her brother Edward VI. was accustomed to apply that epithet.¹ She trained her little brother, who was so long her companion, to similar habits of self-control, and encouraged him to treat all who approached him with a friendliness much less difficult for him to maintain, at his thoughtless age, than for his instructress.

At the commencement of October, it was projected to remove the princess and her brothers to St. James's, as usual, for the winter. The king, anxious that this circumstance should not put a stop to the intercourse with his children which formed the principal charm of his existence, addressed the following letter to General Fairfax.

"CHARLES REX.

"We have received great content in the frequent repair to us hither of our children from Syon; and hearing that the Earl of Northumberland (under whose care they are) is now towards a remove with them to St. James's, so as there they will be at a greater distance from us, we are desirous you will add this acceptable civility to your former ones as to write effectually to the two Houses of Parliament, that my Lord of Northumberland may be authorized, once in ten days, or some such time, to give us the same satisfaction of letting our children visit and remain with us here for a night or two; the distance from London, winter weather, and shortness of days, not permitting such returns as they have hitherto observed. We shall account this a further comfort to us, and acknowledge it accordingly.

"Given at our honour of Hampton Court, the tenth of October 1647.

"To Sir Thomas Fairfax, general."²

The royal request was granted, and the Earl of Northumberland was instructed to take the children to their father, for a few days, as he might desire; but the earl asked permission to communicate with the House, whenever his wards were sent for, that he might not himself incur any responsibility.³

The following little notes, sent in connection with lengthened letters addressed to the Duke of York, were written by the king to Elizabeth, at this juncture, when

¹ Loyd's Charles II. pp. 60-1.

² Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 841.

³ Journ. Lords, vol. ix. pp. 499, 503.

the coalition between the Parliament and the army, by rendering him less necessary to either, was sensibly darkening his prospects.

“Hampton Court, 20 Oct., 1647.

“Dear daughter,

“This is to assure you that it is not through forgetfulness that I have not all this time sent for you; the reasons of which, and when you shall come, shall be told you by your brother James this evening, and so God bless you.

“Your loving father,

“CHARLES R.

“Kiss your brother Harry and my Lady Northumberland for me.”¹

“Dear daughter,

“This is to assure you that it is not through forgetfulness, or any want of kindness, that I have not all this time sent for you, but for such reasons as is fitter for you to imagine, (which you may easily do,) than me to write; but now I hope to see you upon Friday or Saturday next, as your brother James can more particularly tell you; to whom referring you, I rest

“Your loving father,

“CHARLES R.”²

On the appointed Saturday, the children were sent to Hampton Court, with permission to remain till the Monday. This was the first time they had passed a night with their father at his present residence. The apartment occupied by Elizabeth was one opening into the long gallery, in which were stationed two sentinels to keep watch over his majesty, whose sleeping-room also opened into the gallery. Their heavy tramp, the night through, greatly disturbed the repose of the royal maiden, who complained the next morning to her father, that “the soldiers disquieted her.” The king summoned Whalley, their colonel, to his presence, and bade him request his men to be more quiet. He replied, that if they made any noise, it was contrary to his express desire, and that he would reiterate his commands that they should do all in their power not to “disquiet her highness.” Notwithstanding this, the princess, whose delicate health rendered her doubly sensitive, complained the second night that the men prevented her from sleeping. Again his majesty

¹ Addit. MS. 3299, f. 150.

² Ellis's Letters, 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 330.

spoke to the colonel on the subject, and begged that during his daughter's stay, the soldiers might be either quieted or removed to a greater distance. Whalley said that he could not give orders more strict than he had already done; that the men assured him they had stepped so softly that they thought it impossible for her highness to hear them; but he added his willingness to remove them further off, provided his majesty would be graciously pleased to renew his engagement not to attempt an escape. To this the king replied, that the renewal of his engagement involved a point of honour, adding, "you had my engagement; I will not renew it. Keep your guards."¹ These words were significant. The king parted from his children: they returned to London, to hear, within a few days, that their father had privately left Hampton Court; and soon followed the melancholy tidings that he was a prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

This blow fell heavily upon the young Duke of York and his sister, and from that time they began to concert with each other the means of effecting the duke's escape, according to their father's wish. The task was not an easy one, as on the king's escape, the Earl of Northumberland was ordered to double his care over the children.² Under pretext of addressing his sister, the Princess of Orange, the duke asked and obtained permission to write, and so far evaded the vigilance of Northumberland as to send off the letter. But, before reaching the king, it was intercepted, and was found to contain information of his design. Northumberland narrowly escaped being committed to the Tower, for having allowed the letter to be sent, and was compelled to find and give up the key to the cypher in which it was written.³ The duke was now more carefully watched than ever; and though his personal liberty was not controlled, attendants, who were of undoubted fidelity to the Parliament, escorted him wherever he went. The brother and sister had therefore to exercise great caution in forming their plan, which was

¹ Whalley to Lenthall, 15 Nov. 1647, *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 375.

² *Perfect Occurrences*, Nov. 19, 1647.

³ *Clarend. Papers*, vol. ii. Append. p. 45.

arranged with a tact that reflected credit upon their ingenuity. They introduced into their little circle the game of hide and seek, which became their habitual evening diversion, and the Duke of York was accustomed to select very *outré* hiding places, such as the closets or beds of the servants' apartments, for they had the whole range of the palace, and it was often an hour or more before he was found. Great amusement was afforded to the attendants, in watching the tedious searches of his brother and sister. On the evening of Friday, April 21, 1648, the Earl of Northumberland, who had been absent during the day, visited his youthful charge as usual, about eight o'clock in the evening, found them engaged in their sports, and retired to his apartments. The Duke of York then went to Elizabeth's room, and passed some time in cheerful conversation with her and her attendants; after which he proposed to hide, and that his little brother should seek him, declaring he would give Harry two hours' work. He ran into his sister's room for a moment; but other eyes were upon them, and they could exchange no farewell glance or embrace. The duke then went into the servants' hall, and asked the gardener for a particular key, telling him he wanted to go and hide in his chamber. The man thought it a wonderful mark of condescension, and at once gave it into the hands of his royal highness, who tripped down into the garden, flew across it, opened the gate, locked it behind him, slipped on a female disguise, for which he was probably indebted to Elizabeth's ingenuity, and made his way down to the water side, where a boat in waiting speedily conveyed him to a Dutch skiff that had been observed to loiter in the mouth of the river, for a month past, with her boat moored near the shore.

While all this was transacting, the young Duke of Gloucester, attended by the amused and unsuspecting servants, was hunting the house over to find his brother. At length the Earl of Northumberland, one of whose duties was to attend the princes on their rising and retiring, came, about half-past nine o'clock, to accompany the Duke of York to bed. He was told that he was hiding, and for some time longer no suspicion was excited, till the little Harry began to weary of his search. Then one of the

servants whispered to the child that his brother was hid in the gardener's house. Thither he ran, but the gates were locked; it took some time to force them, and when they reached the cottage, to the consternation of all, the duke was nowhere to be seen. The whole household was dispersed in quest of the fugitive, but no traces of him were found. His only *confidante* had been his sister, and she was either not suspected of connivance, or not questioned. Hard indeed was it for the young beating heart to pass through the hours of agonizing suspense, during which she dreaded lest each succeeding messenger might bring tidings of her brother's capture, and when that fear was past, scarcely less hard to look forward with calmness upon the companionless existence before her, for her younger brother was too young and too light hearted to share her anxieties; but Elizabeth bore up through all, though the frail tenement, in which her strong woman's heart was shrined, was sorely shaken.¹

The very day after the duke's escape, Northumberland gave information of it to the Parliament: he reminded the Houses, that he had already declined to hold himself responsible for the safety of the prince, as, except by making him an absolute prisoner, it was impossible to guard every contingency of escape, and he related to the Lords how the whole affair had happened. After a review of the circumstances, both Lords and Commons agreed in exonerating the earl from blame, and in permitting him, with due precautions, to remove the royal children, when he should think proper, to Syon House or Hampton Court.² He thanked the Houses, and expressed his willingness to take all possible care of the princess and her brother, but still declined any responsibility. There had lately been much dilatoriness in the payment of their allowances, and this also they promised to rectify. The household of the Duke of York was broken up and his horses sold: several of his gentlemen were added to the

¹ Vatican Transcripts, vol. xlii. f. 157; Declaration of the Duke of York, Ellis's Letter, 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 329; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1067; Gaz. de France, 1648, p. 629; Declaration of the Earl of Northumberland about escape of Duke of York.

² Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1074; Journ Lords, vol. x. pp. 220, 237.

suite of the young Duke of Gloucester, with an increased pension of 2,500*l.*; whilst the pension of the Duke of York, including a recent addition of 500*l.* per annum for his field sports, was of course revoked.

After his brother's departure, the younger Stuart prince became an object of greater attention. In the rapid whirl of popular feeling, it had already been contemplated to set aside the sovereign, and there were members in the Parliament who suggested that the youthful Gloucester, whom they had in their own hands, and could mould according to their will, should be raised to fill his father's throne.¹

King Charles, meanwhile, was passing months of anxious sorrow in the Isle of Wight.

The Weekly Intelligencer of February 15, 1648, records that:—

“From the Isle of Wight it is certified that the king is in good health, but melancholy and very retired. When he hears that any come from London, he is passionately desirous to understand how his children do, and the greatest face of joy which he is seen to put on is to hear that they are in good health.”

He carried on an occasional clandestine correspondence with Elizabeth. A letter from her to him was intercepted in February, 1648, which commenced as follows:—

“Most dear father,

“The greatest terrestrial joy that can be to me, is to hear that you are in health and prosperity, and nothing hath been such a terror to me as that I have not heard from you so frequently as formerly; all that I have to support my thoughts is to conceive that the letters are miscarried, &c.”

[Here follows a passage in cypher, to which the Parliament had no key.]

“Then, in the conclusion of the letter,” writes our informant, “the high-born lady concludes with a pious and pithy prayer for his majesty, that God would restore him to those rights which his revolted subjects now illegally and conscionably detain from him, and in his good time to open the eyes of the deluded people of England, now at length to con-

¹ Journ. Com. vol. v. pp. 500, 567; Journ. Lords, vol. ix. p. 502, vol. x. pp. 46, 238, 451, 482; Whitelock, pp. 303, 311; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1105; Gaz. de France, p. 661.

sider in what an intricate labyrinth they are, and that only the clue of loyalty can guide them out; and then she closes all with a direful anathema against all his cursed enemies."¹

The following touching epistle was written by the king to his daughter a few months later.

"Newport, 14th October, 1648.

"Dear daughter,

"It is not want of affection that makes me write so seldom to you, but want of matter such as I could wish, and indeed I am loth to write to those I love when I am out of humour (as I have been these days by-past) lest my letter should trouble those I desire to please; but having this opportunity I would not lose it, though at this time I have nothing to say but God bless you. So I rest,

"Your loving father,

"CHARLES R.

"Give your brother my blessing, with a kiss, and commend me kindly to my Lady Northumberland by the same token."²

This letter was sent by Sir Thomas Herbert, the king's faithful servant, and the author of valuable memorials of the last two years of his life. Elizabeth received the letter with great delight, and had a personal interview with Herbert, to whom she gave her hand to kiss, and sent by him a reply to her father, which is not known to be in existence.³

It is doubtful whether Elizabeth and her brother were made fully acquainted with the events of the fateful

¹ Merc. Publicus, Feb. 29, 1648; Perfect Occurrences, Feb. 25. Different newspapers represent this letter as from the Princesses Mary, Elizabeth, and Henrietta, but the last was too young to write, and this seems to have been Elizabeth's, from the fact that it was accompanied by another from the Duke of York, for which he was called to account, and apologized to Parliament in the following terms:—

"To the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords.

"My Lord,

"I understand that there was a letter of mine intercepted going to the king, which I confess was a fault, and thereupon I desire you to let the House know that I will engage my honour and faith never to engage myself any more in such business. My request is that I may continue where I now am, in doing which you will much oblige me, who am,

"Your affectionate friend,

"St. James's, Feb. 22nd, 1647-8.

"YORK."

Perfect Occurrences, March 3.

² Ellis's Letters, 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 331.

³ Herbert's Last Two Years of Charles I. 8vo. Lond. 1702, p. 47.

autumn and winter of 1648. Their guardian kept them in the country, contrary to custom, through the winter, with a view perhaps of sparing them such information as must have reached them in London, of proceedings which he himself deprecated and refused to sanction. Yet they could not be kept in ignorance, that their father was brought a prisoner to St. James's, and that he was placed before a tribunal of his own subjects. Elizabeth, probably in compliance with some private intimation from her father, wrote on the 22nd of January to the Houses of Parliament, requesting permission to withdraw to Holland, to her sister the Princess of Orange; but amidst the excitement of more stirring affairs, her letter received no attention, and was not even presented to the Houses.

The king's behaviour during his trial was composed and cheerful; his heart failed him only when he thought of those who loved him. He inquired of one who had been with his children, how his "young princess did;" the reply was, that she was very melancholy; "and well she may be so," he replied, "when she hears what death her old father is coming unto." This was said in anticipation, on the 25th of January:¹ the sentence against the king was pronounced on the 27th. One of his latest requests was, that he might be permitted a parting interview with his children, which was reluctantly and ungracefully accorded. He refused to see any other persons, desiring to have time for quiet reflection; and even the Prince Elector, his nephew, and the Duke of Richmond, his attached personal friend, who presented themselves at the door of his chamber, were refused admittance. The time appointed for the farewell to his children was January 29th, the day previous to his execution.

The anguish which rent Elizabeth's bosom was so intense that she was reported to be dead, but on learning that her father wished to see her once again, she mustered all her fortitude to go through the interview which she ardently desired, and yet dreaded. When they arrived at St. James's Palace, and were introduced into the apartment of the king, they were struck to find him so much changed in appearance since they had parted fifteen months

¹ The Moderate, Jan. 25, 1649.

before. His hair had become almost grey; he had neglected to dress either it or his beard from the time that his servants had been taken from him, and his dress, instead of wearing its usual aspect of dignified simplicity, was neglected and forlorn. In spite of all Elizabeth's attempts at self-control, the moment she beheld her father, she burst into a wild and almost convulsive passion of tears: he took her in his arms, seated her on his knee, soothed her by his caresses, and desired her to calm herself and listen to his instructions, as he had things to confide to her ear which he could tell to no one else, and it was important that she should hear and remember them. The conversation that ensued was recorded by herself, as follows:—

“What the king said to me, Jan. 29, 1648-9, being the last time I had the happiness to see him. He told me he was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he could not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should die—it being for the laws and liberties of this land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews's sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery.¹ He told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my mother that his thoughts never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withal, he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her, and bid me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendation to all his friends. So, after he had given me his blessing, I took my leave.

“Farther, he commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him and to those that gave them power, and he feared also to their own souls; and he desired me not to grieve for him, for he should die a martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his throne upon his son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been if he had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

“ELIZABETH.”

When he had concluded his exhortations, Charles said

¹ These books were afterwards sent to the princess by her father as his last bequest.

to his daughter, "Sweet heart, you'll forget this." "No," replied the weeping girl, "I shall never forget this whilst I live," and she promised to write down the particulars at once. To the exactness of her recollection, we are indebted for many particulars not recorded by Herbert, who was a witness of the interview.¹

The little Harry, now just nine years of age, was the next to receive his father's notice. "Then the king taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his knee, said, 'Sweet heart, now they will cut off thy father's head;' upon which words the child looked very steadfastly on him: 'mark, child, what I say, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king; but mark what I say, you must not be a king, so long as your brothers, Charles and James, do live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads (when they can catch them), and cut off thy head too at last; and, therefore, I charge you do not be made a king by them.' At which the child sighing, said, 'I will be torn in pieces

¹ The following is Herbert's account:—"Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester her brother came to take their last farewell of the king their father, and to ask his blessing. This was the 29th of January. The princess being the elder was the most sensible of her royal father's condition, as appeared by her sorrowful look and excessive weeping: and her little brother, seeing his sister weep, he took the like impression, though, by reason of his tender age, he could not have the like apprehension. The king raised them both from off their knees; he kissed them, gave them his blessing, and setting them on his knees, admonished them concerning their duty and loyal observance to the queen their mother, the prince that was their successor, love to the Duke of York, and his other relations. The king then gave them all his jewels, save the George he wore, which was cut in onyx, with great curiosity, and set about with twenty-one fair diamonds, and the reverse set with the like number; and again kissing his children, had such pretty and pertinent answers from them both as drew tears of love and joy from his eyes, and then praying Almighty God to bless them, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly affection. Most sorrowful was this parting, the young princess shedding tears and crying lamentably, so as moved others to pity that formerly were hard-hearted; and at opening the bed-chamber door the king returned hastily from the window and kissed them and blessed them; and so parted.

"This demonstration of a pious affection exceedingly comforted the king in his affliction; so that in a grateful mood he went immediately to prayer, the good bishop and Mr. Herbert being only present."—*Last Two Years of Charles I.* pp. 122, et seq.

first;' which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the king rejoice exceedingly."¹

The king then divided between his children the contents of a small cabinet of jewels, which he had recovered the preceding evening from a trusty servant, who had it long in charge: they consisted chiefly of broken Garters and Georges, valuable only from the gems they contained, but, he observed, they were all he had left to give. To Elizabeth he added the two seals he had hitherto worn upon his person, which were decorated with diamonds. Parting embraces were exchanged, and, anxious to shorten a scene which he had purposely made as brief as possible, Charles was leaving the room to retire to his bed-chamber, when the bitter wail of anguish which burst from his daughter, brought him back once more to her side, to fold her again in his arms, to clasp her to his bosom, to press kisses, how tender! on her wet cheeks and quivering lips, and then—what could he more?—to leave her, feeling that for himself the bitterness of death was past. Elizabeth's agony of sorrow was so heart-rending, that it brought a strange softness over the stern natures of some of the bystanders, who were little wont to be touched with royal sorrows, and had long witnessed unmoved the calmer grief of the father.²

The prince and princess were taken back to Syon House. No pen has recorded how, in her beautiful seclusion, Elizabeth passed the fearful hours of the 30th of January; the bursting heart with which she poured out her soul in prayers for her father, till the fatal hour arrived; the pang of orphan desolation which thrilled to the very core of her sensitive spirit, when the lapse of time made it all but certain that she had no longer a father; the tenacious clinging to the hopeless chance, that after all such a thing could not be—that at the eleventh hour some rescue must have appeared; the agonizing suspense of waiting the arrival of the first messenger from London, who brought a full and final confirmation of her fears, and all the inten-

¹ Loyd's *Memoirs of personages who suffered for Religion*, p. 215; *Last Counsel of a Martyred King*, 4to, Lond. 1660; Whitelocke, p. 374.

² Herbert, *ut sup.* Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1428; *Perfect Diurnal*, Feb. 6th.

sity of hopeless misery that followed. Elizabeth never recovered from the effects of that day, and the short remainder of her career was but a lingering death. Her physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne, in his *Ephemerides*, records, under the date of March 12, 1649, "that the Princess Elizabeth, who was aforetime sad and somewhat liable to complaints of the spleen, and suffered a little from scurvy, from the death of her father, King Charles, beheaded 30th of January, 1648-9, fell into great sorrow, whereby all the other ailments from which she suffered were increased." He goes on to describe these ailments: a hard large tumour in her body had made its appearance; her pulse was rapid, her frame attenuated, her face pale, and her stomach so sickly, that only the smallest quantities of medicine could be borne. A course of potions, pills, and plasters was prescribed, and on the 14th of April Mayerne again visited his patient, and found the tumour less hard, though not reduced in size, but he again complains of the difficulty of treating her, on account of her inability to take medicines. He ordered frequent fomentations of the part affected, and as much exercise as she was able to bear.

One consolation enjoyed by the princess in the midst of sickness and sorrow, was the kindly sympathy of her guardians. The Earl of Northumberland was one of five peers who had the boldness to stand firm against the execution of Charles I.; the consequence was that he was threatened with instant deprivation of the governance of the royal children.¹ The difficulty of finding a substitute, postponed rather than set aside this resolution; meanwhile the promised allowance for their support was so ill paid, that the very charge was in itself a penalty to their guardians. Northumberland, having in vain resorted to Parliament for supplies,² wrote as follows to the Council of State, then sitting at Derby House:—

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"I have, for some months past, been put to maintain the Duke of Gloucester and his sister out of my own purse; and, for want of those allowances which I should have received by appointment of the Parlia-

¹ Vatican Transcripts, vol. 44, fol. 28.

² Tanner MS. No. 57, pt. i. f. 260; Journ. Com. vol. vi. p. 193.

ment, have run myself so far out of money, that I am altogether destitute of means to provide longer for them, or indeed for my own poor family, unless I may have what is owing to me upon those assignments. My apprehension, likewise, of practices upon the Duke of Gloucester, (which probably may not be in my power to prevent), makes me think it necessary for me to acquaint your lordships, that I cannot, upon any terms, undertake to be answerable for him.

"The maintaining and safe keeping of these children being matters of state, I knew not where so properly to apply myself for directions as unto this council; humbly desiring that you would be pleased to consider how they may be otherwise disposed of; and that my looking upon this business of public concernment, may excuse the interruption that is here given to your great affairs, by

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"Syon, April 6th, 1649."¹

"NORTHUMBERLAND.

On the receipt of this letter, the matter was taken seriously into consideration; the princess, distressed at the idea of falling into other and less kindly hands, renewed her request that she might go abroad, and join her sister in Holland. The subject was discussed: some members advocated compliance, on the ground that 1,500*l.* a-year, half the allowance intended henceforth for the royal children, would thus be saved; an intimation that, if dismissed, the princess would be sent into the world utterly unprovided for. There were others, however, who opposed her departure; and the house divided on the question: the *ayes* were 24, the *noes* 29; and Elizabeth's petition, therefore, was refused.²

A resolution was then passed that they should not be placed in the hands of any person who was a member of Parliament; and Sir Edward Harrington and his lady were selected as fitting custodians, with instructions to take the prince and princess to their country seat in Rutlandshire, and an offer of 3,000*l.* a-year for their support.

They declined the onerous charge, on the plea of old age and infirmity;³ and the next offer was made to the

¹ Memorials of the Civil War, by H. Cary, M.A. vol. ii. p. 127.

² Whitelocke, p. 3991; Gaz. de France, p. 295; Journ. Com. vol. vi. p. 194: Perfect Passages, April 26th.

³ The humble petition of Sir Edward Harrington, knight and baronet,

"Sheweth,

"That your petitioner, having received an order from this honour-

Countess of Carlisle.¹ She hesitated; and meanwhile a letter from Northumberland to Sir Henry Vane was communicated to the House, containing a recommendation of his sister, the countess of Leicester, as in all respects suited for the office, and willing to undertake it.² A letter from the princess was also read to the House, concurring in the request of her guardian; and it was complied with.³ The children were formally committed to the care of the earl, or rather the countess of Leicester, for as they were to live in the country, and as the earl was much in London on parliamentary business, their charge mainly devolved upon the lady.

The earl was a nobleman of learning and sterling character. His wife, Lady Dorothy Percy, had presented him with a numerous family, five sons and four daughters, who were now to become companions of the royal children. The second of the sons, whom it is curious to note as amongst the early associates of the children of Charles I., was Algernon Sydney, who suffered in the cause of patriotism, in 1683.

A complete change was now ordered in the mode of treatment of the prince and princess: royalty being abolished in England, its externals were no longer to be maintained. Elizabeth and her brother had hitherto been accustomed to eat at a separate table, to be served with every mark of respect, to be surrounded by a consider-

able house, wherein the care and tuition of the Duke of Gloucester and the lady Elizabeth is committed to him, your petitioner doth and shall ever acknowledge the high honour you have done him, in conferring upon him a trust of so great and public concernment, but so it is that your petitioner and his wife hath for these many years, by reason of their old age, sickness, and many infirmities, retired themselves from all worldly employments, as having strength only left to offer up their hearty prayers to the Almighty for a blessing upon your proceedings. Your petitioner therefore prays, that since, besides the disease of old age, he is at this present, by reason of the gout, so lame as that he cannot walk abroad, much less undertake so necessary and continued an attendance, you would be pleased to spare him therein, as being no way able or fit to perform this service."—*The Moderate*, April 24 to May 1, 1649.

¹ Whitelocke, pp. 399, 404; Gaz. de France, 1649, pp. 295, 309; Journ. Com. vol. vi. p. 196.

² Cary's Memorials of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 133.

³ Mercurius Pacificus, May 31st, 1649.

able household, to have strangers occasionally presented to them to kiss their hands, no one entering their presence save uncovered, and, though helpless and in honorary captivity, to feel that they were still captive *princes*. Now the scene was changed. The countess of Leicester received strict orders to treat the prince and princess merely as the children of a private nobleman: no one was to bend the knee to them, or to remain uncovered in their presence: they were to sit at her table with her own children, as members of her family; and she was to be careful to exclude from them all ceremonial savouring of regality; whilst their attendants were diminished to five or six each.¹ The place of their retirement was Penshurst, in Kent. "Penshurst Castle," writes Howitt, "stands in the midst of a wide valley, on a pleasant elevation, its woods and parks stretching away beyond," — "a fitting abode of the noble Sydneys. Valleys run out on every side from the main one in which it stands; and the hills, which are everywhere at some distance, wind about in a very pleasant and picturesque manner, covered with mingled woods and fields and hop-grounds. The park ranges northward from the house, in a gently ascending slope, and presents you with many objects of interest, not merely in trees of enormous growth, but in trees to which past events and characters have given an everlasting character: especially Sir Philip Sydney's oak, &c. The old banqueting-hall, lighted by five Gothic windows, was fifty-four feet long and forty broad, with a raised dais of sixteen feet at the west end. The massy oak tables, at which the royal children probably dined, still remain."²

At this ancient mansion the royal children arrived, with the countess of Leicester, on Thursday, June 14th; their coming was heralded by a domestic tumult, because the earl, who had before allowed his countess the *liberal* sum of 700*l.* a-year for housekeeping at Penshurst, reduced it to 400*l.*, in consideration of the addition to her income brought by her royal wards. He thus quaintly records the circumstance in his diary:

¹ Journ. Com. vol. vi. pp. 216, 228, 231; Moderate Messenger, 15th June.

² Visits to Remarkable Places, 1st Series, p. 12.

—“In June, 1649, the Parliament placed the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth with my wife, allowing for them 3,000*l.* a-year, which was a great accession of means to my wife, in proportion to the charge of these two children, and ten or eleven servants; and, considering my expenses in fuel, washing, and household stuff, &c., also that I should have less liberty in my own house than I had, and be obliged to attendance which would be troublesome to me, I thought it very reasonable to abate a great part of that 700*l.* a-year; and so from midsummer, 1649, I resolved to take off 400*l.* a-year. This caused a huge storm in the house, but I persisted in it.”¹

On the application of Lady Leicester, the royal furniture and paraphernalia which the prince and princess had hitherto used were sent over for their service.² It was suspected, however, that their hostess was not so strict as was desired in enforcing the required regulations. The following extract from a royalist newspaper³ shows the strong party-feeling existing about them:—

“There is special care taken the two royal prisoners shall be degraded of all princely honour, and for that purpose, that profound hypocrite Lenthall went to the countess of Leicester’s, that he might observe in what manner the royal babes were attended, and whether the noble countess was careful to observe the order of Parliament, whereby she is authorized to take them to her own table as part of her household.

“But the pale-faced rebel was frustrated of his expectation; for he found the two princes served as befits their state, sitting at a table alone, without any company save their waiters. This made the rebel to rage exceedingly; and he began to profess that she should be sure of a great check from the Parliament. To which, like a noble lady, she answered, she did not fear any check, but withal desired to be excused in what she did, saying, ‘she did conceive a difference and distinction ought to be made betwixt her and her household, and the children of her sovereign.’

¹ Blencowe’s Sydney Papers, 8 Lond. R. 3, 1825.

² Perfect Diurnal, June 1825.

³ Mercurius Pragmaticus, June 19-26, 1649.

“To which the traitorous rogue answered, that they were no more than the children of other noblemen, since their father had lost his life as a traitor and tyrant, and the wisdom of the Parliament had thought fit to null kingship for the future; and further, that they should have no other attendance, nor would the Parliament (he knew) suffer such ceremonies, so much scenting of monarchy, to be used, lest people’s hearts shall chance to be corrupted, and again incline to their ancient government.

“This and a great deal more being spoken in a very malicious manner, he took leave of the countess, saying it should be mended; therefore it is feared a devouring Juncto vote will sweep the royal sprigs away from that gallant countess into the hands of some Coridon of state, who will use them as his masters please. Thus these royal infants are likely to be tossed about as their father of happy memory was in his lifetime, until these devils have an opportunity to murder them as they did his majesty.”

Malicious reports were frequently spread by the royalists that the children were either to be got rid of by poison, or put to some degrading occupation, or given in marriage to members of the families then at the helm of affairs, or put to some “convenient hospital” or charity-school, as “Bessy and Harry Stuart;”¹ but these were mere party rumours, and had no foundation in fact, though they excited much feeling on the part of Queen Henrietta Maria, who urged Charles II. to use his utmost efforts to rescue her “poor Elizabeth” from the hands of her enemies.

The situation of the fallen princess, combined with her reputation for learning, her profound melancholy, and meek resignation, interested many a heart in her fate. Dedications are so frequently the homage to prosperity and power merely, that when offered to adversity, they may be presumed to come more truly from the heart. John Quarles, son of the Francis Quarles of emblematic memory, published a work entitled “A Kingly Bed of

¹ Mercurius Elencticus, June 18, 1649; Royal Diurnal, March 26, 1650; Mercurius Pragmaticus, May.

Misery; a Dream, with an Elegy upon the late King Charles," which he dedicated "To that patroness of virtue, and most illustrious princess, Elizabeth, the sorrowful daughter to our late martyred sovereign, Charles, King of England." "Madam," he writes, "although Heaven hath been pleased to diminish your joys in this miserable kingdom, yet no question but He will hereafter multiply your pleasures in His own. In the meantime, may the glories of heaven and the meditations of your incomparable father's unparalleled virtues keep a constant correspondence with your royal heart, as is the unfeigned prayer of him who dedicates himself to your highness's perfections; and is, madam, a sworn servant to your virtues. JO. QUARLES." A more elaborate panegyric occurs in the dedication, by Charles Wace, of a translation of Sophocles's "Electra."

"Madam,

"These rude and uncomposed airs aspire into your presence, that from your touch they may receive time and laws; if you shall graciously vouchsafe to read them, they will live and breathe. It pleased our renowned lady, Queen Elizabeth, to prefer the learned author to the choice honour of her favourite, and to confer with him in his natural language; neither doth that most illustrious name rest on your highness without a design of Providence, since it speaks in you her piety, and early bonds, and whatsoever she wore of greater value than her crown. May it please you herein to countenance the parallel: only accept the endeavours of the unworthy translator, and give them admission to your virtuous hand, not valuing the present, but receiving the homage; for the authority of your judgment is so pregnant, of so royal and early growth, and so hereditary, that verses licensed by your approbation, like sealed measures, are justified against inferior censures by their mark.

"Plays are the mirrors wherein men's actions are reflected to their own view; which, perhaps, is the true cause, that some, privy to the ugliness of their own guilt, have issued out warrants, for the breaking all those looking-glasses; lest their deformities recoil and become an eye-sore unto themselves. This dim crystal, (sullied with antiquity and long voyage), will return upon your highness some lines and shadows of that piety to your deceased father, which sets you above the age and beyond your years; which makes you better than your country, and higher than your enemies; which lodges you in our eyes as our example, and in our heart as our treasure.

"Be secure, most illustrious princess, you are not so much guarded from flattery, by the arts and vigilancy of the States, as by the transcendency of your own merits. The history of your name shall be an academy whence obsequious rhetoric shall draw forth encomiums to

bleach the defects of unaccomplished queens. Madam, your virtues command, let your clemency favour, the duty of my ambition, which is to be

“The most humble honourer of your highness,
“C. W.”

A friend of the author, not satisfied with this prosaic performance, added to it a dedication in verse, strongly expressive of his indignation at what he considered the unworthy treatment of the princess.

“To the most excellent princess the Lady Elizabeth.

“On my friend's dedication of Electra.

“Great madam, all the muses humbly bow
And kneel, not to the *ordinance*,¹ but you ;
And mine stoops low, as Persians to the sky ;
Low as *their* arrogance is bold and high,
Who have enacted that the hat and knee,
The hinge of honour, be forgot to thee ;
Now though you are deposed in those poor parts,
You're still the same, great princess, in our hearts.
Souls make your train and court, which is no less
Now than when all your palace was a press.
State, pomp, obsequious throngs, and such gay things,
Are compliments, and make but tapestry kings.
Spare sceptres, crowns, nay blood, still there remains
The PRINCESS ; not so by the father's veins
Alone, but virtues, which are such they woo
Your realms and subjects wheresoe'er you go.
You own a word, a look, a touch will smooth
Unfiled Indians to obedient love.
See foreign princes crowd and press to lay
Their kingdoms by thy side, and next age may
See the score of thy royal parents' wrongs
Revenged by kings which now sleep in thy loins.
You and the duke are all our hold and fort,
Henry presents the camp, and you the court.
The royal widow with her beauteous sky
Of Ladies, are seen in your cheek and eye,
And in great Gloucester's little self alone,
The father breathes, and brother is at home.
Then leave us not, dear pair, lest that we throw
Ourselves down where dead plummets used to go.
It is your innocence does countermand
Destruction, and bids fire and brimstone stand ;
And when the rolling mountains would come on,
You like those little seeds bid them begone.

¹ Referring to the order that none should kneel to the princess.

On the account, too, that it is your ray,
 Madam, alone, keeps green up in the bay ;
 The poet here presents Electra's eye,
 A crystal for to dress your cypress by,
 To set your veil, and sighs, and what you wear,
 Instead of pearl, each oriental tear.
 And while you sit in those shades of your dress,
 And gloom of your attire, a tragic verse,
 Moving with pensive gait and reverend feet,
 May to your eye a smooth admittance meet ;
 If that it pass the guard and die not there,
 For foreign spy, or Charles's messenger. H.P." ¹

Allusion is here made to the deep mourning which the princess wore from the time of her father's decease, and which she never laid aside. A portrait of her, in her sable attire, is prefixed to Wace's volume, with a cherub drawing aside a black veil from her brow, and thus addressing her:—

“From thy afflicted veil, that cypress bower,
 Still watered fresh by thy celestial shower,
 Come forth, come forth, bright captive, and declare,
 With a full orb, the innocent and fair.”

This portrait is without name ; but its genuineness as a likeness is testified by its strong resemblance to the only authentic portrait of Elizabeth, now known to be in existence—that at Syon House. In the latter, painted whilst she was a ward of the Earl of Northumberland, the costume is more fanciful and decorated, and the hair dressed in the short waving curls characteristic of the Stuart period. In the former, the one engraved as the frontispiece to the present volume, the hair is loose and long ; but the attitude and cast of the head are the same in both.

The life led by the princess and her brother at Penshurst was one of extreme seclusion. They were most fortunate in the choice of a tutor, of the name of Lovel,

¹ An epilogue to the poem was also printed, anticipatory of the return of Charles II. to Scotland, his restoration to the crown, the deliverance of the princess, and her resumption of her true and merited position. It is dedicated to her, and exhorts her to put off sorrow, which ill greets the royal stranger, and to wear smiles of welcome for an arrival which is to put an end to all the woes of the past.

a descendant, in the female line, of the Sydneys, who proved both an excellent instructor and a valuable friend to the young duke and his sister.¹ The health of Elizabeth was slowly but steadily declining; and she no longer enjoyed the care of her former physician, Mayerne, who, with all her other superior attendants, had been dismissed on the removal to Penshurst. The countess of Leicester, however, touched with sympathy for the young and unfortunate, whilst complying in the main with parliamentary instructions, treated her wards with kindness almost amounting to tenderness. On this account, there was some discussion about the propriety of their removal, and of their location in the family of Oliver Cromwell, who was generally mentioned in the royalist journals under the *soubriquet* of PRIDE. "But what they mean," says one of these, "by putting the king's children to Pride to tutor, is the wonder of many, some resolving themselves that the duke is to be brought up to brewing; and that, incomparable for her age and virtues, the Lady Elizabeth shall be forced to marry the young drayman, nick-named a colonel, to see if they can beget a new royal progeny to heir the crown when they have killed all the rest; others are of opinion that Pride shall have the honour of poisoning them, because they are now sensible that they can never enjoy themselves, nor have peace, till they have rooted up all those royal plants, and Pride, (the author of destruction,) should be their executioner."²

Their removal was not however resolved upon at that time.

In the summer of 1650, much excitement arose from the tidings that Charles II. had landed in Scotland, and that his partizans were increasing. Sir Henry Mildmay, formerly master of the jewel-house to Charles I., now a stanch Parliamentarian, who had more than once been sent on a commission to inquire into the state of the young Stuarts, reported that amidst the numerous designs which were on foot the peace of the kingdom might be endangered by the presence of the late king's children, and he suggested their removal beyond the limits of the

¹ Clar. Hist. vol. iii. p. 703.

² Royal Diurnal, March 26, 1650.

Commonwealth. The subject was discussed in parliament, and it was at once resolved that they should be sent away; but the place of their future residence, the mode of their transportation, and their fit maintenance, as long as it was the pleasure of the Houses to maintain them, were questions referred to the Council of State for deliberation.¹ Their resolutions were speedily expressed in the following letter to Colonel Sydenham, governor of the Isle of Wight:—

“ Sir,

“ The Parliament hath appointed that the two children of the late king, who are now at the Earl of Leicester's, at Penshurst, shall be sent out of the limits of the Commonwealth: I have referred the same to this council to see done accordingly; and until that can be done, we have thought it fit and necessary they be sent to Carisbrook Castle, I have sent you this notice hereof before, that you might be ready for them. And for that we are informed there are designs of mischief carrying on in several places, we recommend that island to your more especial care. And if there be any persons therein whom you shall judge may bring danger thereunto, you are hereby desired and authorized to put them out of the isle, and to seize upon and secure the horses, arms, and ammunition, of any whom you shall suspect will make an ill use of them to interrupt the public peace.

“ Signed in the names and by order of the Council of State, appointed by the authority of Parliament.

“ JOSEPH BRADSHAW, President.

“ Whitehall, 29th August, 1650.”

An order was also sent to Anthony Mildmay, brother to Sir Henry Mildmay, governor of Carisbrook, who had been carver to the king during his residence there, that he and his lady should conduct the prince and princess to the island; into their hands accordingly, on the 9th of August, 1650, the Earl and Countess of Leicester resigned their charge.² With them was also conveyed away such furniture as was their property, or rather the property of the late king, and now consequently of the State, but had been preserved for their use, and was delivered up by the countess of Leicester.³ The number of Elizabeth's

¹ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 158.

² Leicester's Diary, Blencowe's Sydney Papers, p. 103.

³ A curious inventory of it still remains; it consisted of a bedstead of crimson velvet, with gold and silver lace and fringe; down-bed and pillows; crimson damask window curtains; Turkey carpets; arras and

attendants was now reduced to four, a gentlewoman, laundress, groom of the chamber, and gentleman usher.¹ She and her brother were ordered to be treated simply as the children of a private gentleman; the Duke of Gloucester's title was taken away, and he became Harry Stuart, or Mr. Harry, as his attendants styled him. The title of *lady* was still accorded to the princess.

Before leaving Penshurst, Elizabeth, who was too conscious from past experience that every change in her destiny was for the worse, left in the hands of Lord Leicester the only two jewels of value which she possessed, a pearl necklace and a diamond ornament, requesting him to preserve them, and dispose of them according to the future instructions she might send him. They then set out on their melancholy journey, which, short as it was in distance, lasted a week, for although they landed at Cowes on the 13th of August,² it was not till the 16th that they entered the gloomy precincts of Carisbrook Castle.

They little understood the sensitive delicacy of Elizabeth's mental temperament, who chose Carisbrook as the place of her temporary sojourn. A writer who was intimately acquainted with her mother's court, and associated there with those who had been the companions of her latter

tapestry hangings; 12 folding-stools of green velvet, trimmed with gold and silver fringe; 2 green velvet chairs, with cushions and footstools, 2 high chairs of yellow wrought satin with cushions and footstools, and 1 of crimson velvet; 1 bedstead of green velvet, laced and fringed with gold and silver, with furniture for three other beds.

The list of plate included:—

2 Basins and ewers	1 Ladle
6 Candlesticks	1 Long spoon
44 Trencher-plates	2 Plates with snuffers
6 Fruit dishes	2 Caudle cups with covers
6 Platters	2 Porringers
6 Dishes	1 Drinking-cup
6 Ewers	1 Tankard
2 Chargers	2 Sugar bonds
1 Warming-pan	3 Salts
10 Spoons	1 Little basin and ewer
2 Chafers with covers	1 Chafing-dish.

These goods were sold the following year, and realized the sum of £1,275 3s.

¹ Peck *Desider. Curiosa*, p. 423.

² Private Memoranda of Sir John Oglander, kindly communicated by George Hillier, esq.

days, informs us that "she was absorbed in melancholy thoughts on approaching the castle to which she was going. There she made many doleful reflections: she thought that it was the wretched place where rebellious subjects had imprisoned their prince and their lawful sovereign; where royalty had been treated like a slave by infamous rebels; where enraged malice had oppressed innocence; which the king, her dearest father, had quitted only to ascend a lamentable scaffold; and shuddered on calling to mind all the disasters and calamities of her royal house.

These melancholy thoughts, which she long and studiously revolved in her mind, made such deep impressions on her heart, and so heated her blood, that a violent fever ensued. It seemed at first that it was too violent to last long, but the event proved otherwise; for the disorder kept increasing, resisted all remedies, and at length put an end to the life of the afflicted princess."¹

The particulars of Elizabeth's last illness are given in a contemporary newspaper. It appears that on Monday, August 22nd, within less than a week after her arrival at Carisbrook, she was playing at bowls with her young brother Harry, on the bowling-green of the castle, which had been constructed for Charles I., and had formed his sole recreation. This was one of the few games which the brother and sister could share together, and Elizabeth delighted in it, because it reminded her of her father. In the midst of their sport, a sudden and heavy shower of rain came on, and the princess was very wet before she reached home. The next day she complained of headache, and showed feverish symptoms, which, though at first slight and intermitting, increased upon her. The following Sunday, September 1st, she was confined to her bed, from which she never rose again. Anthony Mildmay, her guardian for the time being, took such means as lay in his power for her restoration: he first summoned to her aid Dr. Bagnall, a worthy and able physician of Newport, and several other doctors from the neighbourhood; and when the case assumed a more serious aspect, sent an express up to town to consult Sir Theodore Mayerne, who knew Elizabeth's constitution from childhood.

¹ Gamache's Diary, Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 397.

Mayerne, now an old man, upwards of eighty, did not come in person, but sent several medical men, with a whole host of prescriptions; they arrived too late however to be of any service.¹

The saintly demeanour of the dying girl, elicited the surprize and admiration of all who approached her. One of her attendants writes:—"After very many rare ejaculatory expressions, abundantly demonstrating her unparalleled piety, to the eternal honour of her own memory, and the astonishment of those who waited on her, she took leave of the world on Sunday, the eighth of the same September."

She died about three o'clock in the afternoon, one of her last acts being to bequeath memorials of her love to her brother and to the Countess of Leicester; she charged Mr. Lovell, her brother's tutor, who remained with her to the end, to convey to the earl and countess her last remembrances.²

At the moment when tidings of the death of the royal lady were communicated to the Parliament, they were in consultation as to her future disposition. Feeling herself increasingly ill from the time of her arrival at Carisbrook, she had once again sent a petition to be allowed to join her sister the Princess of Orange, which was at length accorded. The council of state recommended an allowance of 1000*l.* a-year, to be granted so long as she should continue to act inoffensively towards the Commonwealth of England. The first half year's allowance was to be paid beforehand, and the cost of her

¹ Perfect Passages, 13 Sept. 1650. At the close of his page of prescriptions occur the following significant words, added afterwards:—"Mors sceptrâ legionibus æquat; nil aurum, nil pompa juvat, nil sanguis avorum. Excipe virtutem, cætera mortes erunt."

In another part of the same MS. he thus mentions her death:—

"Ex febre malignâ, tunc grassante, obiit in Vecti Insulâ, *procul a medicis & remediis*, die 8 Septemb. circa tertiam pomeridianam." The "*procul a medicis*" refers to the absence of London physicians; Elizabeth had the best advice the place could afford.

² Moderate Intelligencer, Sept. 18; Merc. Polit. Sept. 12, 1650; Blencowe's Sydney Papers, p. 15. The apartments which she occupied at Carisbrook, and in which she died, are still pointed out to the visitor.

maintenance and transportation defrayed, until she could be shipped away.¹ Her brother was to be similarly sent to his cousin, the Elector Palatine, at Heidelberg, with a pension of 1,500*l.* a-year.²

These resolutions, thus rendered nugatory by a stronger fiat than their own, were exchanged for deliberations upon the interment of the princess, and the disposal of her few remaining attendants, whose deportment was recorded by Mildmay to have been very civil and inoffensive. Her funeral is thus described by Fuller,³ who had the information of an eye-witness.

“Her body, being embalmed, was carefully disposed of in a coffin of lead, and on the four-and-twentieth of the said month, was brought in a borrowed coach, from the castle to the town of Newport, attended thither with her few late servants. At the end of the town, the corpse was met and waited on by the mayor and aldermen thereof, in their formalities, to the church, where, about the middle of the east part of the chancel, in St. Thomas’s Chapel, her highness was interred in a small vault purposely made, with an inscription of the date of her death engraved on her coffin.”

¹ These facts, derived from a source so unquestionable as the state records of the kingdom, afford ample contradiction to the malignant rumours set afloat during the past century, and repeated by Hume and other careless and romance-loving authors, that the princess was to be apprenticed to a button-maker, and her brother to a shoe-maker, by order of Parliament. (See *Cromwell’s Life*, by Cromwell, 8vo. Lond: 1821, vol. i. p. 394.) One writer professes to have heard of the indentures, as yet in existence, amongst the records of Newport. (Jesse’s *House of Stuart*, vol. ii. p. 253.) This statement we are able to deny on the authority of Henry Hearn, esq., the present town-clerk, and careful keeper of the records, to whom we are indebted for a personal communication on the subject. The whole tenor of their treatment goes against the probability of such a supposition as that of their degradation to servile employments. William Lenthall, speaker of the House of Commons during the whole period of the civil war, alleges as one of the merits for which he pleads against his exclusion from the act of oblivion, passed by Charles II.: “I was not wanting in the duty I owed to his majesty’s children, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Lady Elizabeth, that were here; and there was no opportunity but I made it my care to get necessaries and conveniences for them; and this will be testified by several that attended them.”

² *Journ. Com.* vol. iv. p. 463; *Gaz. de Fr.* p. 1434.

³ *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 108.

The inscription was simply as follows :—

“ELIZABETH, 2nd daughter
of the late King CHARLES,
deceased September 8th, M. D. C. L.”¹

No monumental stone was erected to mark the resting-place of Elizabeth Stuart; the letters “E. S.,” cut in the nearest wall, alone pointed out the spot where her remains were deposited. A traveller in the Isle of Wight, about the year 1680, mentions that in Newport church, “near the pulpit, under a plain stone, is buried one of King Charles’s sisters.”² After the lapse of time, the fact that the dust of the royal maiden laid amongst them, was little heeded by the inhabitants of Newport; but in the year 1793, in digging a grave for a son of Lord Delaware, near the communion table, the vault was discovered, in which, resting on stone tressels, and in perfect preservation, still remained the leaden coffin and the urn of the princess.³ Her present Majesty, with the grace that so constantly characterizes her actions, is about to atone for past negligence, by the erection of a suitable monument to the unfortunate princess, to be placed in the church at Newport, now in process of reconstruction.

Elizabeth had little property to bestow; excepting the jewels left in the custody of the Earl of Leicester, nothing which she used could she venture to call her own. Of those jewels, the pearl necklace she bequeathed, on her dying bed, to her brother Harry, as a last memento of love, and the diamond ornament to the Earl and Countess of Leicester, in token of gratitude for their kindness, but the earl had much difficulty in vindicating his claim to this bequest.⁴

¹ The entry in the register of burials, under the date September 24, notices the interment of “Elizabeth, daughter of King Charles.”—Pennant’s Journey, vol. i. p. 166.

² Harl. MS. 7001, f. 429.

³ British Magazine, 1764, p. 487; Pennant’s Journey, vol. i. p. 166; Mudie’s Isle of Wight, p. 177; Pyne’s Royal Residences, p. 7, note; Gentleman’s Magazine, June, 1853; They are engraved, as then seen, in Tomkin’s Isle of Wight, fol. Lond. 1796, vol. i. p. 167.

⁴ He laid before the council the following statement :—

“In June, 1649, it pleased the Parliament to command my wife to take the charge of the late lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester ;

A document in proof of it, was registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, from which we give the following authenticated copy.

“Be it remembered that the Lady Elizabeth, deceased, daughter of the late king, having, whilst she lived, deposited with the Earl of

wherewith (because I thought it an argument of the Parliament's trust and confidence in my wife and me) I was very well contented, though I expected no other advantage, but rather trouble and inconvenience by it. I also conceived it to be the Parliament's pleasure, that care should be taken of them, and that to do so would be an acceptable service to the Parliament, which, therefore, on my part accordingly I endeavoured to perform, for the time that they were in my house; with which, I think, they were not unsatisfied. And in August, 1650, when the said lady Elizabeth knew that (by order of the council of state) she and her said brother were to be removed from my house, she sent me two jewels, the one of pearl and the other of diamonds, with a letter in these very civil words:—‘I desire your lordship will be pleased to take into your care and custody my necklace of pearl and my diamond jewel, until such time as I shall, by a letter or some other sure token, desire your lordship to return them to me.’ Which letter, all written with her own hand, I am able to show. I could not refuse so harmless a request to an innocent person of her sex and quality, and so I took the said jewels into my custody; and soon after, the said lady gave me directions, signifying her pleasure how she would have the said jewels disposed of. This was whilst she was in my house; and afterwards, upon her death-bed, she declared her will to be, that her brother, the Duke of Gloucester, should have the said pearls, or the value of them; and that the said diamond jewel should remain (as she had formerly directed) to my wife and me, as (I think) I shall be able to prove. And I hope the Parliament will not deny a young innocent lady the liberty which every subject hath, to dispose of her goods, especially such goods as never belonged to the late king, queen, or prince, (nor to the crown, which is considered in the former act,) but were given to her by a stranger; and, if they were so given to her, it is likely that they might be given by her, unless she had forfeited her right and property in them. But I know that if the Parliament, or you, by authority thereof, will command the said jewels from me, it is not for me to keep them; yet I humbly desire that this may be remembered, that all sovereign states, monarchical or other, allow to subjects and private persons the liberty to show and defend, by ordinary and legal ways, their rights and claims to private possessions and inheritances, though in opposition to the titles and interest of the State itself.

Thus I have made known unto you what hath been or is in my custody, and how it came to be so. And I conceive that I cannot be thought to conceal the same, for the Duke of Gloucester knoweth that I have acknowledged it to him that his said sister committed to my custody the said pearls, and had given them to him; neither have I

Leicester a jewel of diamonds, did, in the month of August, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty, being then in her perfect mind and memory, with a serious purpose to dispose of the said jewel by her last will nuncupative, declare her mind and meaning therein as followeth : To wit, 'The jewel of diamonds which I formerly delivered to the Earl of Leicester, I give and bequeath unto the Countess of Leicester, his wife ; and my mind and will is that when I die, she shall receive and enjoy the same ;' or the said Lady Elizabeth did declare her will and mind touching the said jewel, in words to the effect and purpose aforementioned. In the presence of credible witnesses.

"LEICESTER,
"D. SUNDERLAND."

This was allowed as valid, and the claim of the Countess of Leicester admitted, for we find

"The two and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty-one, a Commission issued forth to the Right Honorable Dame Dorothy, Countess of Leicester, to administer of a jewel, given and bequeathed in and by the last will and testament of the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the late king, deceased, to whom was committed administration of the said jewel, being first by virtue of a Commission legally sworn, well and truly to administer the same."

embezzled or fraudulently conveyed away anything ; for whatsoever of that kind was in my custody is still in my power to produce, which very readily I shall do when it is required of me ; but I thought it an impertinent officiousness for me to give an account (which I could not imagine you expected of me, till lately that I saw the additional act aforesaid) of those things which were in my custody, whereof the Parliament had never taken notice, nor comprehended them, for aught that I ever heard, in any former act, but belonged to the said lady Elizabeth who, as I think, was never convicted of any delinquency, nor charged with any crime.

And now I humbly desire leave to make claim unto the said two jewels ; to the pearls, by interest of trust for the Duke of Gloucester, to whom, I conceive, his sister deceased, by her last will, hath bequeathed the same ; and to the other of diamonds, in behalf of my wife and myself, to whom she gave it, as I doubt not but your justice will give me leave to prove legally, if I can. And I hope the Parliament will not deny my wife and me the honour of that testimony of the said Lady Elizabeth's satisfaction with our care of her in the time that, as the Parliament's servants, she was received and entertained by us at our house. But now that I have made my claim, I humbly submit it to the judgment of the Parliament, and of those that are or shall be appointed by the Parliament, to judge by it as they shall think most agreeable to law, justice, and honour."—*Cary's Memorials of the Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 384.

The untimely fate of the royal girl was the subject of general regret, and several of the courts of Europe, particularly those of France and Savoy, to which she was related, put on mourning for her.¹ "The queen, her mother," writes a contemporary, "could not learn her melancholy death without shedding many tears. The King, her brother, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess of Orange, manifested the greater sorrow, on account of the illustrious and extraordinary qualities with which nature had enriched that beautiful princess. They looked upon her as an instrument that might contribute to the re-establishment of their royal house, by means of some high marriage."²

Those who knew Elizabeth's great intellectual promise, lamented still more her early death: they speak of her as "a lady of parts above her age, the quickness of her mind making recompense for the weakness of her body." "The hawks of Norway," writes Fuller, "where a winter's day is hardly an hour of clear light, are the swiftest of wing of any fowl under the firmament, nature teaching them to bestir themselves, to lengthen the shortness of the time with their swiftness. Such the active piety of this lady, improving the little life allotted her, in running the way of God's commandments."³

Amongst the numerous elegies poured forth to her memory, we select the following extracts.

"ELEGY ON THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

"He knows who hears in secret, and prevents
Our works while couched but in sincere intents :
He can articulate the collected sense
When dumb amazement swallows eloquence ;
Who those afflictions did to her assign,
Sees her vast sorrows' far extended line,
And to unpitied anguish lent an ear,
Which humble inward throbs did more endear.

Now, though pale grief hath culled her blooming years,
Planted along the bank of flowing tears ;

¹ Merc. Polit. 14-21 Nov. 1650.

² Gamache's Diary, Court and Times of Charles I. vol. i. p. 397.

³ Worthies, vol. ii. p. 103.

An orphan scorned, and thrall'd to the commands
 (Her dame thrice changed), at last, of servile hands ;
 Though she, poor innocent, in ominous Wight
 Must be restrained (which slew by a new slight):
 Nor did attain to her dear mother's face
 Or sovereign brother's passionate embrace.
 Yet the just God doth righteous cries regard,
 And faith reaps an unfailing sure reward ;
 For these black waters but enhance each gem
 Which sparkles in her Orient diadem.

Nor can the riper sinners hence much boast
 One royal captive loosed, one hostage lost."

ON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH,
 In Carisbrook Castle.¹

They who lament thy death, now thou art gone,
 And would depose thee from thy heavenly throne,
 Envy (great princess), thy most glorious state:
 Who wish thee here, wish thee unfortunate.
 Thy thick afflictions taught thee to despise
 This world, (if it had aught to tempt the wise)
 To thee it was a restless stage of grief,
 Which ne'er admitted respite or relief.
 Thy parents' peaceful hours were fled and gone,
 Their persons scorned, their honours trampled on,
 Before thy tender soul could understand
 The blessings wherewith peace does crown a land ;
 How were they forced by tumults from thy sight,
 As soon as thou in them couldst take delight,
 As if their persecutors did contrive,
 To make thee orphan while they were alive.
 Hence all thy days were sad, and all thy food
 Converted into melancholy blood.
 Hence didst thou vent, in thy young harmless years,
 The air thou suckst in sighs, thy drink in tears.
 But a firm hope in heaven held up thy head,
 And kept thee, dying still, from being dead.
 How didst thou study to improve thy parts,
 By the accession of all noble arts,
 And in short time wert such a wonder grown
 For virtue, judgment, apprehension,
 That it will pose the wiser world to show,
 How it was possible thou shouldst be so.—
 Unless they will agree, that fathers may
 Beget their children's souls ; for the same ray

¹ Harl. MS. 393, f. 9.

Which gave thee lustre, they behold who look
 Unprejudiced upon thy father's book.
 And as the sun no sooner leaves the earth,
 To give ensuing darkness its new birth,
 But light, that came by emanation thence,
 Muffles itself in black, and straight goes hence ;—
 So when thou knew'st thy royal father dead,
 Thou, like a ray from him, would'st needs have fled.
 And ever since thou hast been drawing on,
 Thy father's death was thy consumption.
 How didst thou vex, how didst thou macerate
 Thyself, with sad remembrance of his fate,
 And yet, as if thou didst too long endure,
 And thy death were too slow, as well as sure,—
 Thou to thy father's prison must be sent,
 That thy last stock of life may there be spent.
 What hadst thou done, that could deserve the hate
 And cruel persecution of the State ?
 Is innocence a crime ? But 'twas decreed
 Thy father's race, as well as he, must bleed ;
 And they knew well the sufferings of the line,
 Could never be completed without thine.
 Then did thy soul with piercing sorrow melt,
 And such as, but by thee, was never felt.
 Till all thy stock of moisture being gone,
 A fever, like a fire, did set upon
 Thy weak remaining parts, and gave thy grief,
 By death, its timely and desired relief.
 Thy soul, like incense, up to heaven flies,
 Thou diedst a MARTYR and a SACRIFICE.

ANNE,

THIRD DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

Birth — Odes — Delicate health — Death — Post mortem — Portrait —
Elegy.

THE Princess Anne was born at 12 P.M. on St. Patrick's Day, Friday, March 17th, 1637, in St. James's Palace. On the occasion of her birth, the University of Cambridge alone produced upwards of 130 odes, in which classic similes were exhausted to furnish comparisons for the infant and her royal sisters, Mary and Elizabeth. Now they were Juno, Minerva, and Venus; now the Fates, the Graces, the elder Muses, &c. Every circumstance of the infant's birth, her protracted arrival, the hour of the night, the day of the month, the season of the year, was the foundation of some quaint conceit.¹

The child was privately baptized by Archbishop Laud, on the 30th of March. Her name was that of her aunt, Anne of Austria, Queen of France.² Soon afterwards her place was assigned in the royal nursery at Richmond, and she had her suite of attendants, ten in number.³ Her health, from early infancy, was extremely delicate: a

¹ Musarum Cantab. Congratulatio, 4to. Camb. 1637.

² Laud's Diary, March 30th, 1637; Harl. MS. 6988, f. 133.

³ Harl. MS. 7623, f. 11, b.

constant feverish cough showed a tendency to disease of the lungs, and before she had completed her fourth year, consumption terminated her existence. "Being minded by those about her,"¹ says Fuller, "to call upon God, even when the pangs of death were upon her," 'I am not able,' saith she, 'to say my long prayer (meaning the Lord's prayer), but I will say my short one,—'Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, lest I sleep the sleep of death.'² This done, the little lamb gave up the ghost."³

The royal parents, distressed at the death of their child, ordered a careful *post-mortem* examination, as the result of which the following document was drawn up by Sir Theodore Mayerne:—⁴

"We, the undersigned physicians and surgeons in ordinary of their majesties, certify to all those to whom it appertaineth, that having been called to open the late high and illustrious princess, Madam Anne, third daughter of Charles, most serene King of Great Britain &c., who died at Richmond, the 5th of November, 1640, of a suffocating catarrh, with inflammatory disposition of the lungs, accompanied with continual fever, oppression and difficulty of breathing, constant cough, and extreme debility, the roots of which ailments have been in her a long time; and considering the parts, as well external as internal, have found the body disposed as follows, &c."

The examination proved that constitutional defects, and no accidental circumstance, such as a fall or contusion, had shortened her days. The closing sentence runs thus:—

"From the above, it is easy to judge that this princess could not be long-lived, and that a great part of her life (under the good pleasure of God), has been at least as much owing to art as to nature, which seems to have been as little favourable to her in the first formation of the vital parts, which have found this common mother less favourable in regard to them than to the animal parts, and this has, in no small degree, contributed to her dissolution."

"Given at Richmond, this 6th of the month, of the year aforesaid."

¹ "Mistress Conant, a rocker, to whom she spake it."

² Psalm xiii. v. 3.

³ Fuller speaks of her as "a very pregnant lady above her age," Worthies, vol ii. p. 108.

⁴ Letters and prescriptions of Sir Theodore Mayerne, Middlehill MS. 2339, f. 271, in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

The body was privately interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

A quaint engraving of this child was published a few months after her death. It shows her with a round baby-face, a close-fitting skull cap, entirely covering the head and fastened under the chin, and a costume such as might have become her grandmother: a ball is grasped in her little fat hands, but there is a thoughtful expression about the eyes not in keeping with childish merriment. Annexed to the portrait are the following elegiac verses on

THE PRINCESS ANNA, DECEASED.

Anna is like a circle's endless frame,
For read it forward, backward, 'tis the same.
Eternity is circular, and round,
And Anna hath eternal glory found.
Grim death snatched hence her spotless innocence
Before she did (or knew to do) offence.
Could royal blood or beauty lengthen breath,
Or mortal life outreach the bounds of death,
If prayers, sighs, tears, and people's ardent love,
The fatal stroke of destiny could move,
Our joy in her, with her, had still survived,
Who now, of joy (for her), are quite deprived.
Within her princely model did inherit
A most sweet, affable, and princely spirit,
Whose life death's frost nipp'd as it 'gan to bloom,
And laid her in her sad, untimely tomb.
Before she scarcely knew to do amiss,
The Almighty took her to eternal bliss;
Her life not half a quarter David's span,
Yet when she died, she then to live began.
Before five sinful summers were expired,
Her soul to God (from whom it came) retired.
On earth we bootless may her loss lament,
Whilst she's enthroned in glory permanent.¹

¹ True Effigies of the Royal Family, 4to. Lond. 1640.

CATHERINE,

FOURTH DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

Birth—Notice by Fuller—Ode on her death.

OF this princess, who was born on the 29th of January, 1639, we have little record beyond the date of her birth, preserved by her sister Elizabeth, in a private memorandum, and the following notice by Fuller.¹ “Catherine, fourth daughter to King Charles and Queen Mary, was born at Whitehall, (the queen mother then being at St. James’s,) and survived not above half an hour after her baptizing; so that it is charity to mention her whose memory is likely to be lost, so short her continuance in this life; the rather because her name is not entered as it ought into the register of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, as indeed none of the king’s children, save Prince Charles, though they were born in that parish. And hereupon a story depends. I am credibly informed that at the birth of every child of the king, born at Whitehall or St. James’s, full five pounds were ever faithfully paid to some unfaithful receivers thereof, to record the names of such children in the register of St. Martin’s. But the money being embezzled (we know

¹ Fuller’s Worthies, vol. ii. p. 108.

by *some*, God knows by *whom*) no memorial is entered of them. Sad, that bounty should betray any to such baseness, and that which was intended to make them the more solemnly remembered should occasion that they should be more silently forgotten. Say not 'Let the children of mean persons be written down in registers: king's children are registers to themselves, or all England is a register to them,' for sure I am this common confidence hath been the cause that we have been so often at a loss about the nativities and other properties of those of royal extraction."

Catherine, however, had scarcely been a Stuart had she died unsung. The following is extracted from a lengthened elegy over her premature fate by Lovelace:—¹

You that can aptly mix your joys with cries,
And weave white Ios with black elegies,
Can carol out a dirge, and in one breath,
Sing to the tune, either of life or death;
You that can weep the gladness of the spheres,
And pen a hymn, instead of ink, with tears,
Here, here, your unproportion'd wit let fall,
To celebrate this new-born funeral,
And greet that little greatness, which from the womb
Dropt both a load to the cradle, and the tomb.

* * * * *

Ah! wert thou born for this, only to call
The king and queen guests to your burial?
To bid good night, your day not yet begun,
And show us a setting, ere a rising sun.

* * * * *

Or in your journey towards heaven say,
Took you the world a little in your way?
Sawest and dislikedst its vain pomp, then didst fly
Up for eternal glories to the sky?
Like a religious ambitious one
Aspiredst for the everlasting crown?

Ah! holy traitor to your brother prince,
Robbed of his birth-right, and pre-eminence,
Could you ascend yon chair of state ere him,
And snatch from the heir the starry diadem?
Making your honours now as much uneven,
As God's on earth are less than saints in heaven.

¹ Lucasta and other poems, p. 20, 24mo. Lond. 1649.

Triumph ! sing triumphs then ! oh, put on all
 Your richest looks drest for this festival ;
 Thoughts full of ravished reverence, with eyes
 So fixed as when a saint we canonize ;
 Clap wings with seraphims before the throne,
 At this eternal coronation.
 And teach your souls new mirth, such as may be
 Worthy this birth-day to divinity.

But ah ! these blast your feasts, the jubilees
 We send you up are sad, as were our cries,
 And of true joy, we can express no more,
 Thus crowned, than when we buried thee before.

Princess in heaven, forgiveness grant, whilst we
 Resign our office to the hierarchy.

HENRIETTA ANNE,

FIFTH DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER I.

Born in misfortune—Baptism in Exeter Cathedral—Flight of her mother—Her governess—Charles I. visits Exeter—Fixes her revenues—The Queen displeased at her remaining in Exeter—Siege of the city—Its surrender—Correspondence about the place of her retreat—Her governess solicits supplies—The child ordered to St. James's—Lady Dalkeith remonstrates—But unsuccessfully—She elopes with the princess—Her letter to the household—Carries Henrietta in disguise to France—Delight of the queen—Ode to Lady Dalkeith—Poverty of the queen—Death of Charles I. and arrival of Charles II. in Paris—Henrietta educated a Catholic—Her juvenile zeal—Early grace—Hyde blamed for her Popish training—Vindicates himself—Attempted perversion of the Duke of Gloucester—Henrietta's excitement—Her first appearances in public—Visit of her sister Mary—Louis XIV. slights her—Her devotional exercises—Portrait of her by De la Serre—She takes part in a masque—Visits the baths of Bourbon—Retreat at Chaliot—Letter to Charles II.—Marriage of Louis XIV. decided on—Proposals for Henrietta's union—Philip of France offers her his hand—And is accepted—Restoration of Charles II.—His letter to Henrietta—Her letters to him—Her introduction to Maria Theresa—Ball at St. Cloud—Interview between queen-mothers—Entry into Paris of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa—Their visit to the princess—Formal demand for her hand—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Henrietta's letter to the king—Disputes on precedence with Mdle. Montpensier—Voyage to England—Entry into London—Resides at Whitehall—Thomas Toll's address to the princesses—10,000*l.* voted by House of Commons—Visits of Pepys and Evelyn—And of French embassy—Attentions paid by the Duke of Buckingham—Pecuniary preparations for mar-

riage—Soisson's record of negotiations—Contract—Death of Mary of Orange—Monsieur's impatience for marriage—Henrietta and her mother set out for France accompanied by Buckingham—Hindered by storm—Princess ill—Again sets sail—Lands at Havre—Buckingham sent on to Paris—Gamache's account—Met by Monsieur—[?] And by French king and queen—Arrival at Paris—Monsieur's jealousy of Buckingham—Betrothal—Marriage—Announced to Charles II. by Louis XIV—Descriptions of the bride.

THE cloud of misfortunes which followed through life the last and loveliest of the daughters of Charles I., gloomed heavily over the hour of her birth. The queen her mother was the subject of popular displeasure, almost amounting to hatred, and the civil war raged so fiercely that it was a difficult matter to decide where she could lay her head to await the hour of nature's peril and sorrow. Oxford was not thought safe or suitable. At first it was proposed that she should cross over to Ireland, and put herself under the protection of the Marquis of Ormond; but this was considered too hazardous an undertaking in her delicate state of health. Bristol and Ludlow were then talked of, but the place finally selected was the ancient city of Exeter, which was well garrisoned and held for King Charles by the governor, Sir John Berkeley, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion.¹ There the queen arrived about the 20th of May, 1644, in a state of extreme suffering: her letters to the king at that period speak touchingly of her sad forebodings of approaching death, for she never expected to survive her confinement. Sir Theodore Mayerne was in attendance, having obeyed the summons contained in a brief but emphatic note from Charles I.,—"*Mayerne, pour l'amour de moi, allez chercher ma femme.*"² Sir John Hinton, another of the royal physicians, was also there, and the Parliament had permitted some slight provisions for the exigence to be made in London, by a maid servant of the Countess of Denbigh, sent for the purpose.³

At length, on the 16th of June, an infant princess was ushered into the world. It was at first reported that

¹ Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, fol. Lond. Append. Letters vol. iii. p. 247.

² Ellis's Letters, 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 316.

³ Journ. Lords, vol. vi. pp. 476, 490.

she was born dead, or that she died immediately upon her birth. The latter statement had nearly proved true, for a succession of violent convulsion fits placed her life in jeopardy; but a good constitution and careful medical skill brought her through in safety.¹

The tidings of her birth reached her royal father at Buckingham on the 26th of August, and he sent off an immediate despatch, ordering that she should be baptized in the cathedral of Exeter, according to the forms of the Church of England. He feared lest the religious zeal of the queen should induce her to prescribe a private Romanist baptism for the child. His wishes were complied with. A canopy of state was hastily erected over a font, which was set up in the body of the cathedral; but no heraldic display or pompous ceremonial was to be seen.² Doubt and dread were gathering fast in the hearts of the stanch royalists; for the parliamentary hosts, under the Earl of Essex, were already condensing their formidable masses in the neighbourhood of the city. The queen sent to ask a safe-conduct to Bath or Bristol, but was refused, Essex professing that, without orders from Parliament, he dared not offer more than to wait upon her Majesty to London.³ This proposal was of course rejected, and the queen's position became very critical: she knew that the state of the king's affairs rendered it most important that he should not come westward, yet she was certain that he would do so, and attempt, at all hazards, to relieve Exeter, were she besieged in the place. She therefore resolved, as a *dernier ressort*, to abandon her infant, and escape, where and as she could, from her peril-fraught position. This resolution, in her position, was all but desperate; and such she felt it to be. She wrote to her husband, assuring him of her willingness to make even her life a sacrifice to his cause, and bidding him a tender farewell, in case she should perish in the attempt.⁴

¹ Monteith, *Hist. troubles Britain*, p. 180; Salmonet, *Hist. des troubles d'Angleterre*, fol. Paris, 1661, p. 249; *Perf. Diurn.* June, 1644.

² *Weekly Account*, 4-11 July, 1644; *Gent. Mag.* June, 1853.

³ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 684.

⁴ The correspondence of Queen Henrietta Maria, at this important crisis of her life, will shortly be published in a collection of her letters, edited by the author of the present volume.

Within fifteen days from her confinement, Henrietta Maria, tearing herself away from her unconscious baby, set out on her dangerous journey, which terminated in her safe arrival in France.¹

The young Henrietta was left at Bedford House, the place of her birth, a mansion belonging to the Russell family, on the site of a convent of black friars, which was taken down in 1773; but the locality of which is still marked by Bedford Crescent, erected on the same ground.² She was committed by her mother to the special care of Sir John Berkeley, governor of the city, also a tenant of Bedford House, who was charged not to overlook the interests of the princess, in any extremity to which he might be reduced. Her personal guardian was Lady Dalkeith, who had been destined to that office by Charles I. and his queen, before the birth of their child. To her the queen's orders were, that whenever a siege seemed inevitable, she should at once remove her charge to such place as might, at the time, seem most expedient. Lady Dalkeith, by her fidelity and tender assiduity, proved herself well worthy of the confidence reposed in her.

Under the loving care of this second mother, the helpless infant was surrounded with all that could tend to her physical welfare, and the absence of her mother operated in her favour, by removing one of the principal inducements to the siege of Exeter. Essex retired further west, and was followed by King Charles, who, on the 26th of July, arrived at Exeter *en route* for Cornwall, and found his little daughter, a delicate infant of six weeks old. He passed the night at Bedford House, and left it the following morning. In September he returned from the west, and on the 17th of that month was again at Exeter, where he spent nearly a week, and saw his daughter Henrietta for the last time. Before leaving her, he assigned for her maintenance the greater part of the excise revenues of the place, and established her household, appointing for her chaplain Dr. Fuller, well

¹ Gaz. de France, 1644, pp. 599, 636; Gamache's Diary, p. 359.

² Gent.'s Mag. June, 1753.

known as the worthy historian of the "Worthies of England."¹

For some months the little princess was allowed to remain undisturbed, save by an attempt to alienate her revenues for purposes connected with military operations. In August, 1645, when she was more than a year old, her eldest brother, the Prince of Wales, took up his headquarters at Exeter for a month. Soon after his departure the armies of the Parliament, under Generals Fairfax and Waller, laid siege to the place, and owing to the failure of an effort of the governess to remove her into Cornwall, the princess still continued in the city. Meanwhile the queen suffered intense anxiety in regard to her infant. On the first apprehension of danger, she wrote to Lady Dalkeith, ordering her to remove at once, and was distressed beyond measure, when she found that the child was actually exposed to all the horrors of a siege. Her fancy pictured a thousand dangers to which she might fall a victim, and in the agony of her excitement, she uttered severe reproaches against the conduct of Lady Dalkeith, for not taking the princess away from the city before the siege commenced. Lord Jermyn repeated the queen's censures to Sir Edward Hyde, who wrote as follows:—²

"In reply to your postscript concerning the princess at Exeter, and her governess, I think it will break her heart when she hears of the queen's displeasure, which, pardon me for saying, is with much severity conceived against her. Your motto seems to be that "an unfortunate friend is as bad as an unfaithful." I'll be bold to say (let the success be what it will), the governess is as faultless in the business as you are, and hath been as punctual, as solicitous, and as impatient to obey the queen's directions, as she could be to save her soul; she could not act

¹ Journeys of Charles I. Somers' Historic Tracts, vol. v. p. 268; Clar. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 674, 852, edit. 1819; Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 304. Fuller, dedicating to Lady Dalkeith a small work, entitled "Good thoughts in bad times," 18mo. Lond. 1645, interrupts the quaint conceits of his dedication thus: "But I am tedious, for your honour can spare no more minutes from looking on a better book, her infant highness, committed to your charge. Was ever more hope of worth in a less volume? But oh, how excellently will the same, in due time, be set forth, seeing the paper is so pure, and your ladyship the overseer to correct the press!"

² Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 203.

her part without assistance, and what assistance could she have? How could she have left Exeter, and whither have gone? She had just got the queen's letter when the prince was last at Exeter, about the end of September; she showed it me, and asked my help; I durst not communicate, the season being not come which was pointed out by the queen for her remove, which was when Exeter should be in danger to be besieged, which we had no reason to believe would be before winter was over. It was no wonder if they were not forward to leave that place till forced, since there they had complete subsistence, which nobody else had, and which they could not expect in any other place in England. No more remained to be done but to foresee the danger and provide in time for her remove. On the enemy's advance we had reason to believe our troops, then little inferior in number, would have stopped them awhile, and moreover a report was just then raised that we were carrying the Prince of Wales to France, which caused strange disturbance, and at Exeter itself people would have formally protested against it had not the governor prevented them. In Cornwall, at the public sessions, a petition was framed by the judges that the Prince should be desired to declare that no adverse fortune should drive him out of the kingdom, but it was suppressed by Killigrew; even the servants spoke big, and vowed what they would do if the prince's removal were undertaken. Was this the time to remove the princess? Had it been done, all security for the prince's safety would have passed away. The governess would have procured a pass to bring the princess to Cornwall, had not letters been taken at Dartwell, by which the designs of transporting her transpired. You have now the whole story, and may conclude the governess could as easily have beaten Fairfax as prevented being shut up in Exeter; from whence I hope she will yet get safely with her charge, to whom I am confident she hath omitted no part of her duty."

The possession of Exeter was considered by both parties a point of vital importance: the prince made strenuous efforts to relieve it, but failed. Fairfax summoned the governor to surrender, but he refused, declaring that his trust had been delivered to him as from God, and that he would discharge it to the best of his power. The siege was now changed into a blockade, which lasted till the 3rd of April, when the sufferings of the garrison from famine became so severe, and the chance of rescue so hopeless, that Berkeley was compelled to listen to terms of surrender. One of these was, that the Princess Henrietta should remain in safety in Exeter, if it was thought fitting; if not, that her governess, and all her household, should be allowed to pass, with their plate, money, and goods, to any place they chose, within twenty days after the conclusion of the treaty; that carriages should be pro-

vided for them, at reasonable rates; that her future maintenance should be allowed by Parliament; and that meanwhile a messenger from the governess should be allowed a passport to go to the king, and learn his pleasure respecting the future residence of his child.¹ The reply of the king was conveyed by Lady Dalkeith, in a letter to Fairfax, as follows:—

“Sir,

“I have prevailed with Mr. Ashburnham to acquaint you that I have his majesty’s allowance to remain with the princess for some time about London, in any of his majesty’s houses. I have judged Richmond the fittest. This bearer will inform you of those particulars concerning the settlement of the princess in that place, wherein I conceive your assistance and recommendation to the parliament to be necessary, which his majesty will acknowledge as a service, and I as an obligation to,

“Sir,

“April 18.

“Your humble servant,

“For Sir Thomas Fairfax, General

“A. DALKEITH.

“of the Parliament’s Forces.”²

The general forwarded her letter to London, accompanied by the following note.

“Sir,

“I received this inclosed this day from the Lady Dalkeith. I thought fit to haste the same unto you, desiring you to move the honourable House to know their pleasure concerning the same, and that an answer may be returned by this bearer, who is appointed to meet the lady at Salisbury on Thursday next. Having no more to trouble you withal, I rest,

“Your humble servant,

“FAIRFAX.

“Chard, April 19,

“1646.

“For the honourable Wm. Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the honourable House of Commons.”³

The next notice we have of the movements of the royal child is from a Parliamentarian soldier at Exeter; “The Princess Henrietta, the last of the royal offspring, but the first that was in any town when it stooped to the obedience of the Parliament, came out with her gover-

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 263 ; Lloyd’s Memoirs, p. 98 ; Agreement for surrender at Exeter, April 13, 1644.

² Tanner MS. No. 59, part i. fol. 82, Bodleian Library, Holograph.

³ Ibid. fol. 80.

ness upon the entering of our force, and, we hear, is gone with Sir John Berkeley to Oxford."¹

For some reason, which does not appear, the princess went neither to Oxford nor to Richmond, but to Oatlands, where she arrived towards the close of April. Her governess was in no enviable position: the funds assigned for her royal charge were no longer available after the surrender of Exeter; she made several fruitless applications to the generals of the army and to the Parliament, for definite orders about the family and revenues of the princess and her promised maintenance, but receiving no reply, she at length addressed the Committee for the County of Surrey as follows:—

"Gentlemen,

"Whilst I was on the way hither, I dispatched several letters to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Speakers of both Houses, to desire a speedy signification of the parliament's intentions concerning the princess's family, which I had brought towards London, with some difficulty and charge to myself, the more willingly because I judged it agreeable to the desires of the parliament. Their more weighty affairs have hindered them from giving that despatch that is most necessary to our condition. I desire therefore that you would favour me with your best assistance herein, and in the meantime that you would cause some temporary order to be settled out of the receipts of this county for the princess's household, according to a list this bearer will deliver unto you, which will be a very great service to his majesty, and a favour to

"Your humble servant,

"Oatlands, May the 14th,

"A. DALKEITH.

"1646."

"For the honourable the Committee of the County of Surrey at Kingston."²

The magistrates communicated with Parliament on the subject, and the result was an order, passed in the House of Commons on the 24th of May, that the Princess Henrietta should be brought up to London, and placed with her sister and brother at St. James's Palace,—that the whole of her retinue should be dismissed, and a committee appointed to take care that she wanted nothing suitable to her birth and quality, and that a proper allowance should be made for her support.³ This was a thunder-

¹ Mercurius Civicus, April 23.

² Tanner MS. No. 59, pt. i. fol. 187, Bodleian Library, original.

³ Perfect Passages, June 4th.

stroke to the tender-hearted *gouvernante*: she had watched over her delicate nursling with the utmost care, looking forward to the time when she should be able to present her, in blooming health, to her royal parents: she regarded her as a sacred charge, and had but recently received a letter from the king, enjoining her not, on any consideration, to allow herself to be separated from the princess. She, therefore, sent a remonstrance, earnest but respectful, to the speaker of the House of Commons, entreating permission, under any conditions they might be pleased to impose, to remain with her little charge, and arguing that but for her full confidence in the general promise given at Exeter, for the maintenance of the princess, she could then have insisted upon and obtained more specific conditions.¹ The appeal was renewed, in almost the same terms, in the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords.²

“My Lord,

“Presently upon the surrender of Exeter, while the Princess Henrietta, under my care, was on her way towards these parts, I presented your lordship my humble desires to the parliament concerning the settlement of her highness with such allowance as to them should seem expedient, since which time there having been nothing therein determined, I have been necessitated to renew those desires. I am not now so hopeful as I was, yet once more entreat that the honourable Houses would be pleased to consider that I received this trust from his majesty—that I have his injunction, as will appear by this letter I have sent inclosed to your lordship, not to leave the princess—and that by the article of Exeter (which concerns her highness), you may also perceive she is to be disposed of according to his majesty's direction; that I have preserved her highness—not without many cares and fears—from a weak to a very hopeful condition of health—that I am best acquainted with her condition and constitution—that my coming into these parts was voluntary—that I have disbursed a great sum of money for the support of her highness and her family since the treaty at Exeter—that I have, because the time is very precious in the condition I am in, endeavoured to anticipate all possible obstructions, which, I humbly conceive, did either arise from the charge or inconvenience of dividing the king's children into two families, or that they had not full confidence in me, or that there is some other exception to my person. To all which I did humbly answer that I did cheerfully consent to remain with her highness at St. James's, and to be subordinate to my Lord and Lady

¹ Carey's Memorials, vol. i. p. 99.

² Tanner MS. No. 59, pt. i. fol. 369, Bodleian Library, original.

of Northumberland, and from time to time receive and follow their directions concerning the princess, and to be continued no longer than, after the severest reflection upon my deportment, I shall appear without the least exception.

“All my desire is now to be continued about her person, quitting all power, without being any kind of burden to the parliament, or inconvenience to my Lord and Lady of Northumberland, resolving to bring such an obedience as I hope shall make me acceptable. And I do very humbly conceive I have not at any time deserved ill of the parliament, which does often make me hope this request will be granted, without which I am ruined, my interest and inclination being both in this service. But if this be not satisfactory, I have only these requests, that I may be reimbursed the money I have laid out during my attendance and expectation of the parliament’s pleasure, and that I may have a pass to send one to his majesty to know his pleasure, without which, in honour and honesty, I cannot deliver up his child. And in the meantime (which cannot be long), I most humbly entreat there may be a present order for a weekly allowance for her highness and her family, which will enable me with more patience to expect the reimbursement of my money. Having nothing more but my earnest and humble instance to have these communicated to both the honourable Houses, if it be thought fit, I do most humbly entreat it may be by a conference and a speedy signification of the parliament’s pleasure.

“I remain, my lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“Oatlands, the 28th June,

“A. DALKEITH.

“1646.”

This letter was no more successful than its predecessor; and Lady Dalkeith resolved that, whatever amount of personal risk might be incurred, she would carry the child away from England, and take her to her mother in France. She intrusted her design to no one, not even to the hired servants of the royal child, who were all taken by surprise when, on Friday, July 25, 1646, their little mistress and her governess were suddenly missing. A few hours elapsed, and some alarm was beginning to be felt, when the following letter from Lady Dalkeith was brought to Oatlands.

“Gentlewomen,

“You are witness with what patience I have expected the pleasure of the parliament; I have found it impossible to obtain any justice to her highness, or favour to myself, or any of you. I was no longer able to keep her, which was the cause I have been forced to take this upon me. Be pleased to repair to his majesty, all of you, or as many of you as think fit; I then am sure you will enjoy the blessing of serving her highness, which, believe me, is heartily wished by me.

It will be a great mark of your faithfulness and kindness to your mistress to conceal her being gone as long as you can, and it will make your past service more considered, and that to come more acceptable. And, trust me, your divulging of it will be of no advantage to you. Thus you may do it, seeming to expect her the day following after the receipt of this letter, and then cause to deliver this other to Mr. Marshall, after you have read it, and tell him—which is truth—that I have removed her highness to a better air, whither you may, if you will, follow her.

“All her wearing clothes, woollen or linen, you may distribute amongst you; the little plate she hath, Mrs. Case will have a care of; her other things are to be continued with Mr. Marshall. I am so confident you will behave yourselves kindly and faithfully to your mistress, that you may yet more oblige me to be, what you shall always find me, which is to you all,

“A very hearty, kind, friend,

“A. DALKEITH.¹

“For her Highness the Princess

“Henrietta, her gentlewomen.”

The dismayed household acted in this emergency with the fidelity which Lady Dalkeith had exacted from them, and it was not till July 28th, that they communicated to Parliament the tidings of the elopement of the princess. No orders were given for search or pursuit; the more prudent among the members suggested, that if Lady Dalkeith chose to take away the child, the only result that could accrue to them was, that they should no longer have the expense of her maintenance, and therefore it was so much the better.¹

Meanwhile the governess and her little pupil were proceeding on their toilsome journey. Lady Dalkeith had procured a tattered dress, in which to disguise the child, and called her Peter, as the nearest approximation to her mutterings of princess. She clothed herself in corresponding attire, as the wife of a valet-de-chambre, and to disguise her figure, which was tall and elegant, she stuffed out her back with linen, so as to appear hunch-backed. Her only confidant, one of the princess's gentlemen, was disguised as her husband; and thus on foot, with her royal charge, then upwards of two years old, in her arms or on her back, the faithful governess trudged the weary miles to Dover, and went unsuspected on board the ordinary French packet. Her only real danger of

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 318.

detection on the road arose from the petulance of the little Henrietta. The child was indignant to see her costly dress exchanged for rags and dirt; and in her infantile language, she tried to assure all that came near her, that these were not her own clothes, and that she was not Peter, but the little princess. Fortunately her lisplings were little comprehended or heeded by any but her loving guardian, who strove in vain to check them. Once landed at Calais, all necessity for concealment was removed, and the grand daughter of Henri Quatre was permitted, to her great satisfaction, to put off her homely attire, and to appear again as "the little princess."¹

We will continue our narrative in the words of Père Cyprien de Gamache, afterwards the tutor and spiritual adviser of the royal child, to whose recently published diary we are indebted for the preservation of many particulars relating to her early life.

"Intelligence of the whole affair was despatched to the queen, who quickly sent her carriages; and the gouvernante, with all her train, reached Paris in safety, and respectfully placed in the hands of her majesty the precious deposit, which she had so happily preserved amidst so many awful dangers. O, the transports of joy! O, the excessive consolation to the heart of the queen! She embraced, she hugged, she kissed again and again that royal infant. The father of the prodigal son made extraordinary rejoicings on his return; his delight and consolation were heightened by the reflection that this dear son had been lost, and was happily preserved and found, that a sort of death had taken away life, and that life was restored. The queen, having much greater cause to say the same in another sense, had also more reason to open her heart to joy, and to fill it with consolation. Many thanksgivings did she render to God for this mercy; and, regarding the princess as a child of blessing (*un enfant de bénédiction*), she resolved, with the grace of God, to have her instructed in the Catholic and Roman religion, and to use all her efforts to obtain the consent of the king her husband."²

The king was equally rejoiced, though so secret was the proceeding kept, that he first heard from Paris of the safe arrival of his daughter there; and he expressed his full

¹ Gamache's Diary, Court &c. Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 409-410; Life Henrietta Maria, by C. C. p. 274; Salmonet, p. 329; Gaz. de France, p. 755.

² Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 410.

approval, and his warm sense of obligation to Lady Dalkeith.¹

At the time of her daughter's arrival, the queen, with the Prince of Wales, who had escaped to France a month or two previously, was at St. Germain; thither the English ambassador repaired, to pay his respects to the royal child. In his despatch of August 17th he records:—"I was yesterday at St. Germain, to kiss the sweet little Princess Henrietta's hands; the manner of the Lady Dalkeith's bringing her highness away from Oatlands is a pretty romance."²

Lady Dalkeith was quite a heroine in the French Court, and the more readily acknowledged as such, because a serious illness was the result of her exertions on behalf of her little charge. A new-year's ode, by Edmund Waller, dedicated to her when the death of her father-in-law had exchanged her title for that of Countess of Morton, thus extols, in verse, her romantic exploits:—

" TO MY
" LADY MORTON,
ON
" NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1650.

" At the Louvre, in Paris.

" Madam,

" New years may well expect to find
Welcome from you, to whom they are so kind.
Still as they pass, they court, and smile on you,
And make your beauty as themselves seem new :
To the fair Villiers we Dalkeith prefer,
And fairest Morton now as much as her ;
So, like the sun's advance your titles show,
Which, as he rises, does the warmer grow.

But thus to style you fair, your sex's praise
Gives you but myrtle, who may challenge bays :
From armed foes to bring a royal prize,
Shows your brave heart victorious as your eyes :

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 246. King to Jermyn and Culpepper, August 12, 1646.

² Brown's Despatches, *sub dato*, Addit. MS. 12185.

If Judith, marching with the General's head,
 Can give us passion when her story's read,
 What may the living do which brought away,
 Though a less bloody, yet a nobler prey?
 Who from our flaming Troy, with a bold hand,
 Snatch'd her fair charge, the princess, like a brand;
 A brand preserved to warm some prince's heart,
 And make whole kingdoms take her brother's part;
 So Venus from prevailing Greeks did shroud
 The hope of Rome, and saved him in a cloud;
 This gallant act may cancel all our rage,
 Begin a better, and absolve this age.

Dark shades become the portrait of our time:
 Here weeps misfortune, and there triumphs crime;
 Let him that draws it hide the rest in night,
 This portion only may endure the light,
 Where the kind nymph, changing her faultless shape,
 Becomes unhandsome handsomely to 'scape,
 When through the guards, the river, and the sea,
 Faith, beauty, wit, and courage, made their way.

As the brave eagle does with sorrow see
 The forest wasted, and that lofty tree,
 Which holds her nest, about to be o'erborne
 Before the feathers of her young are grown,
 She will not leave them, nor she cannot stay,
 But bears them boldly on her wings away;
 So fled the dame, and o'er the ocean bore
 Her princely burden to the Gallic shore.

Born in the storms of war, this royal fair,
 Produc'd like lightning in tempestuous air,
 Though now she flies her native isle, less kind,
 Less safe for her, than either sea or wind,
 Shall, when the blossom of her beauty's shown,
 See her great brother on the British throne,
 Where peace shall smile, and no dispute arise,
 But which rules most, his sceptre, or her eyes."

Crowns and sceptres, however, were far-distant from the prospective vision of the little Henrietta. The civil disturbances in France in 1648, best known as the war of the Fronde, reduced her mother and herself to a state of pitiable destitution. The Queen Regent of France, being anxious to remove her son from Paris during the struggle, sent in haste to St. Germain, the palace appropriated to her sister-in-law, to request that, as its position was strong and convenient, she would vacate it for any

other royal residence she might please to select. This message reached Queen Henrietta late in the evening of Tuesday, Sept. 12th; she delayed not to comply, and early the next morning, with her household, arrived at the Louvre. She did not fear the insurgents, and she preferred her former apartments to an unprepared and desolate palace. Henrietta accompanied her mother, and during many succeeding months, whilst hostile armies were besieging and besieged in Paris, the queen and princess were reduced to great difficulties. Cardinal de Retz, the head of the anti-royalist party, styled the Frondeurs, thus records a visit paid to the desolate queen at the Louvre:—

“Five or six days before the king left Paris, I went to see the Queen of England, whom I found in the bedroom of her daughter. She said to me at first, ‘You see I am come to keep Henrietta company: the poor child has not been able to rise to-day, for want of fire.’ The truth was, that six months had elapsed since the Cardinal had had any pension paid to the queen: the tradespeople would no longer supply her with anything, and there was not a bit of wood in the house. You will do me the justice to believe, that the daughter of England did not stay in bed the next day for want of a faggot. I spoke of it after the lapse of some days: I exaggerated the shame of this abandonment, and parliament sent 40,000 livres to the Queen of England. Posterity will hardly believe that a Queen of England, and a grand-daughter of Henri Quatre, wanted a faggot to enable her to rise, in the month of January, in the Louvre, and under the eyes of a court of France. In reading history, we shudder at baseness less monstrous than this.”¹

But anguish far deeper awaited the royal mother, in the tidings of the execution of Charles I. Henrietta was a mere child, not having completed her fifth year: she had no recollection of her father, and was thus spared participation in the grief she witnessed, excepting so far as her sensitive heart led her, even early, to sympathize with the distress of others. The queen, her mother, left her for some time, to hide her own grief within the walls

¹ Card. de Retz, *Mémoires*, edit. 1751, vol. ii. p. 2967.

of a convent, where a child was no fitting inmate; her governess, the Countess of Morton, was strictly charged meanwhile to attend to her physical welfare, and Father Cyprien de Gamache, to the interests of her soul. She occasionally received the visits of Englishmen and ladies of quality who were in Paris, and solicited presentation to the little princess; but little variety occurred in her nursery life, until the summer of 1650, when her eldest brother, now Charles II., was expected in Paris. The queen-mother returned to the capital, and set off thence with her little daughter, in a train of six coaches and fifty horsemen, to meet and welcome the young king. Charles resided for some time with his mother: his little sister became his favourite plaything, and a deep and life-long attachment was cemented between them.¹

Queen Henrietta Maria had been intent, ever since the arrival of her daughter in France, on bringing her up in her own religion, and had entreated permission from the king so to do. She always asserted that Charles had granted this permission, and that she had it under his own hand;—if the statement be true, the concession must have been elicited by the persuasion, that in that one particular the conscience of his wife would lead her to disobey him if he refused her: since his latest admonitions to his other children were of obedience to their mother, in all points excepting religion.

The queen, impressed with the conviction that this darling little one had been providentially rescued and brought to her, for the salvation of her soul, lost no time in making efforts to inspire her with religious zeal, and Father Cyprien's efforts were equally earnest. They are thus recorded by his own pen:—²

“As soon as the sparks of reason began to glimmer in the mind of that precious child, the queen honoured me with the command to instruct her, took the trouble herself to lead her to the chapel of the Louvre, where I taught the children the Christian doctrine, and, nobly exercising the humility of Christianity, she deemed it no abasement of

¹ Lady Fanshawe's autobiography, 8vo. Lond. 1830, p. 83; Evelyn vol. i. p. 240; Perfect Diurnal, July 13, 1650.

² Court and Times of Charles I. pp. 411-51.

the royal dignity to stay and listen all the time that I was catechising, like the lowest of the company ; nay, the Spirit of God, which enables us to profit by the smallest things, inspired her with such a fondness for these instructions, that she said aloud, on going away, that she would always come to hear them. Such was her resolution ; but it was not carried into effect, being set aside by persons who had not either her zeal or her humility.

“ However, I then began the instruction of that royal princess ; I infused into her infant mind the elements of the Christian religion, and adapted my instructions to her capacity. In proportion as her judgment became formed, and she advanced in that kind of knowledge, I unfolded to her the secrets of our mysteries, endeavoured to fill her mind with Gospel truths, and to impart to her a thorough conception of the three great obligations which she owed to God ;—to be called to the Catholic religion, out of which there is no salvation ;—to profit so advantageously in spiritual matters by the revolutions and troubles in England ;—to have been chosen from all eternity to profess the true faith,—and to be the only one of the royal house to possess that ineffable felicity to see herself happily in the way to heaven, whither the princes and princesses of her family could not come, while heresy made them walk in other tracks. I represented to her mildly the greatness of these blessings, and how highly she ought to prize them, adoring Divine Providence, who had permitted the disturbances in Great Britain to save her ; for, had that kingdom remained quiet, according to all human appearances the king, her father, would not have consented to her being a Catholic, as we have already observed, as well to counteract the opinion of many of his subjects that he was inclined to Popery, as from being falsely, but firmly, persuaded that paradise is open to Protestants as well as to Catholics, and that both may alike be saved, whatever be their creeds.

“ And, because the Countess of Morton was Protestant, and always present at the instructions which I gave to the little princess, I frequently urged these points,—the great gratitude which she owed to God for her vocation to the Catholic religion ; the importance of showing zeal, firmness, constancy, in it, of never separating from it for any human consideration, or any interest whatever ; because eternal salvation is preferable to all the grandeur, to all the advantages, to all the fortune of the world. I impressed upon her, by all the reasons proportioned to her understanding, that this salvation is not to be obtained but in the Catholic religion. This truth, so frequently repeated, caused Lady Morton to say, when familiarly conversing with the princess, ‘ I do think Father Cyprien is working so hard at the catechism as much on my account as on your royal highness’s.’ This the princess, who possessed a good understanding, related to me afterwards in secret.

“ I recollect that, one day, the queen, her mother, seeing her with pleasure so warm in the cause of religion, said to her, ‘ My dear, as you have so much zeal, why do you not convert your gouvernante ?’ ‘ Madam,’ replied the princess, in her childish reasoning, ‘ I do as much as I can in that way.’ ‘ And what is that,’ rejoined the queen. ‘ Madam,’ answered the princess, in her infantine innocence, ‘ I

embrace my *gouvernante*, I hug her, I kiss her, I say to her, 'Lady Morton, be converted; be a Catholic: you must be a Catholic to be saved. Father Cyprien tells me so very often; you have heard him as well as I: be a Catholic, my good lady, and I will love you dearly!' God, who makes use of the mouths of innocent little children to draw praise from them, caused this innocent princess to speak thus to her *gouvernante*, with whom I afterwards had several conferences: she became persuaded that the Catholic religion was the safest for eternal salvation; human interests prevented her from admitting that it was absolutely necessary for it. At length she was convinced; she acquiesced in it; she believed it; deferring, however, the practice of that faith from worldly considerations.

"After long delays, she resolved to go to England, to settle all her affairs there, to return to France, and then make a public profession of the Catholic religion. But, how awful are the judgments of God! and how dangerous it is not to answer him when, by oft-repeated inspirations, he speaks to our hearts, calls us, urges us to listen, and to obey him! The *gouvernante* failed sorely in this duty. Success in this conduct proved extremely baneful to her; for, being in London on account of her domestic affairs, she was seized with a very violent inflammatory fever, which led her into thoughts and resolutions contrary to the happy change which she had projected. Seeing a Catholic lady, a good friend of hers, enter her chamber—'Madam,' said she, aloud, 'talk not to me about religion; urge me not to be a Catholic, I never will be one.' Thus died that miserable lady, who pretended to dispose of divine graces according to her good pleasure."

Such is the judgment of Father Cyprien, who evidently calculated rather prematurely upon his converts. After giving another similar instance, he thus continues his narrative:—

"After all these amusing digressions, which are connected with the subject of which we are treating, to resume and to continue the history of our little princess, we must state that she was tenderly loved by the queen her mother, as it is commonly the case that fathers and mothers are fondest of the last child whom they have brought into the world; witness the patriarch Jacob, who was more attached to Joseph and Benjamin than to any of his other children. The queen reckoned the little princess as the last of her children, though she had a true mother's affection for them all, yet it was remarked that the little princess was the best beloved. She was endowed with a noble understanding, extraordinary beauty, and uncommon skill in all the exercises befitting her royal rank. She was so successful in them, that she equalled the best performers in dancing, in playing upon musical instruments, in the ballet, and the like. Her agility, her exquisite figure, her sweetly majestic carriage, all her motions, were so correct, so well regulated, that there was nobody but praised her. The report of her abilities spread to all quarters. The Duchess of Savoy envied her sister, the queen, mother of the little princess, for it, and, under the idea that she was brought up, like the other princes and princesses her

other princes and princesses her brothers and sisters, in the Protestant religion, she added that it were to be wished that as great pains might be taken to form the mind of the princess, her niece, and to fill it with Christian truths, as were taken to form her body to all the noble exercises of her rank.

"On this intimation, the queen thought it necessary to make known, not only to France, but to all the neighbouring states, that her daughter was brought up in the profession of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. For this purpose she commanded me to write, print, and publish the Christian instructions which I had given to the young princess. This command, and the order of my superiors, obliged me to give to the world '*Les Exercices d'une Ame Royale*,' containing the duties which every Christian owes to God, to the Saints, to his neighbour, and to himself, with the instructions and practices of the employments usual on working days and on holidays.¹ These exercises, contained in three volumes, 8vo, were preceded by another small book, which explains the obligations of baptism. All these books, being published and distributed, made known what the queen desired, namely, that Madame Henriette, her daughter, was educated in the Catholic religion."²

The fruits of Father Cyprien's zeal, however satisfactory to himself, were not equally so in other quarters. At the court of the princess royal, at the Hague, much uneasiness was felt, and Chancellor Hyde was blamed as an accessory to the queen's design. He vindicates himself in a letter to Nicolas, of which the following is an extract:—

"When I was in Holland, a report came there that the queen intended to make her daughter a Catholic. Dr. J. Steward told me, and begged me to speak fully to the king (Charles II.), which I did, and found him fully sensible of the mischief of it, and gave me leave to confer with the council; but all except Lord Hopetown declined doing anything in it. The king, not knowing what to do, resolved to defer it till he came to France, and then to deal resolutely. He was there some time before me, and when I came, told me with some trouble that he had spoken with the queen, and she was passionate on the point; he desired me to speak freely with her, and though no pleasant business, I did it as well as I could have done had it been to save my life. I told her the evil it might do the king by making his own religion suspected, the damage and prejudice it would bring her in the affections of England, and the irrecoverable ruin it would be to the princess. She urged the marriage articles, which she had dispensed with in her other children, but the late king had fully given this to her, and consented under his own hand; that it would be great preferment to the princess, of which she men-

¹ "*Exercices d'une Ame Royale*," &c. enseignez à Son Altesse Royale, Madame Henriette Anne, Princesse de la Grande Bretagne; par le père Cyprien de Gamaches, prédicateur Capucien, 8vo. 1655.

² Court and Times of Charles I. pp. 411-5.

tioned many particulars ; in a word, she was resolved, and it should not be in any body's power to hinder her. I then conjured her not to think of putting her into a nunnery, of which there had been some discourse ; to which she gave me full promise. I told the king all, and, consulting what was to be done, I thought nothing could at present ; for three or four years she would be capable of knowing very little in religion, and before that time I hoped his condition would be so altered that he might be able to remove her, which would be more in his power to do, the less earnestness were now used in it. I told Dr. Steward all about it, who is the only man with whom I have spoken, and he was, or seemed to be, entirely of my mind. Once he asked if she might not be removed to Jersey, and maintained there by that people. You can judge whether that is convenient or possible, or what the king can do. I could not give better counsel, or I would ; not that I was satisfied with the resolution, or will not do all in my power to alter it, by any way under heaven, yet if by that time the king has any place to put her in, it will easily be done ; if not, I know not what to say to it."

This statement did not prove as satisfactory as Hyde had hoped, for Charles II. still persisted in declaring that but for him he should never have consented to the step. Writing again to Nicholas on the 18th of March, Hyde says that he is not to blame for the king's consenting to the princess's being educated a Catholic, and that he wonders what the king means by saying *he* made him give way.

"All I did," he declares, "was to say I did not know which way he could avoid it. Sure I could never be suspected of kindness to that religion, and in that particular of your mistress I think I did more than any other body, and I advised to have had somewhat done when may be it was seasonable enough ; but I confess when I spake with the queen, and saw her passion and resolution in it, I could not advise the king what he could do to remedy it, and then the less was spoken of it for the present I thought the best, till he might be able to do somewhat, which at present he could not. Tell me, I pray you, what could the king have possibly done in that business, if the queen had been willing to have delivered her to him ?"

The plain statement of the chancellor was only too true: Charles II. had neither house, nor home, nor maintenance to offer to his little sister, independently of their mother, and therefore he was compelled to submit to her wishes, supported as they were by those of the French royal family, on whom the queen and princess depended for their very bread. It was with the full sanction of her French relatives that Henrietta Maria made the attack upon the Protestantism of the Duke of Gloucester, re-

corded in an earlier part of this volume. The princess took an interest in her mother's plans, because she was as zealously attached to her faith as so young a child could be expected to be. But when the queen proceeded to measures of rigour and even cruelty, when she turned her son out of doors and refused to see him, the little Henrietta was much distressed. This excited the displeasure of the queen, and she forbade the child, under penalty of her serious anger, to speak to or have any communication with her brother.

Gloucester, aware of her ready sympathies, ventured, when he knew that his mother was absent at Chaliot, to steal into his sister's apartments, to see and take leave of her. Fearing lest if he sent in his name he might be refused, he bade the servants merely to announce that a gentleman wished to speak with her. Henrietta at once guessed the truth; her quick ear had detected either his step or his voice, and with a wild shriek she exclaimed, "Oh God, my brother! oh me, my mother! I am undone for ever: what shall I do?" Her attendants, in tears, knew not what to suggest, and the servant returned to tell the duke that he had better not persist in his attempt, on which he sorrowfully retired.¹ He soon afterwards left Paris, and Henrietta never saw him again. With her two elder brothers she had many opportunities of intercourse, as they were frequently in France; but they were so much her elders, that they regarded her rather as a pet and a plaything than as a companion.

Henrietta's early graces and liveliness rendered her a favourite at the French Court. She appeared in public, whilst still very young, as a spectator of its gay scenes. In 1654 she was present at a fête given by Cardinal Mazarin to the French and English royalties. This was one of her first appearances in public, and her complexion, her grace of manner, and lightness of step elicited a preference above the other youthful beauties of the court.² A few months later, though she had not yet

¹ Account of conversion of Duke of Gloucester. [Somers' Historic Tracts, vol. xi. p. 323.]

² Gazette de Loret. Feb. 1654.

completed her 10th year, she took a part in a ballet-royal, at which Louis XIV. and his brother, and her own brother, the Duke of York, were also actors. The subject was the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis; the *mise en scène* was superb. The king, personating Apollo surrounded by the Muses, descended on the stage, and as it was the fashion of the day for the prologue of royalty to bear upon its own position as well as that of the character it represented, Louis uttered an harangue, boasting of his power, which knew no submission but to that of love. The young Henrietta then stepped forward, in the character of Erato, the muse of lovers, crowned with roses and myrtles, and holding a lyre in her hands. Her introductory speech was as follows:—

Ma race est du plus pur sang
Des dieux, et sur mes montagnes
On me voit tenir un rang
Tout autre que mes compagnes.
Mon jeune et royal aspect
Inspire avec le respect,
La pitoyable tendresse;
Et c'est à moi qu'on s'adresse
Quand on veut plaindre tout haut,
Le sort des grandes personnes,
Et dire tout ce qu'il faut
Sur la chute des couronnes.¹

The play proceeded, and was so much admired that it was repeated on several subsequent evenings.² Henrietta's histrionic talents, thus early developed, proved, in after life, a source of fascinating amusement to herself and others; but during her early girlhood, the queen, her mother, judiciously withheld her from frequent exhibitions.

The following June she went in private, with her mother and two of her brothers, to Rheims, where she witnessed the coronation of her young cousin, Louis XIV., and from that period frequently accompanied her mother in her visits to their royal relatives.³

¹ Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, 4to, Paris, 1654; Gazette de France, p. 386.

² Gaz. de France, 1654, pp. 576, 980.

During the visit of her elder sister, the Princess of Orange, to the French Court, in 1656, Henrietta, though only in her twelfth year, took a prominent part at several entertainments. A ball given by the young Duke of Anjou, brother of Louis XIV., and her own future husband, and another given by the queen-mother, were opened by the French king and the little Henrietta. The elegance and beauty of this royal pair created general admiration. The rhyming court chronicle, well known as the "Gazette de Loret," records, in quaint French verses, that "the young infanta of England, who looked like an angel upon earth, was led out by the Most Christian king, and danced so perfectly that a thousand blessings were showered upon her by all the company, and that every one admired and seemed charmed with the lovely couple."

Among the courtly throng there were many sympathizers in the hopes and wishes of the two queens, their mothers, who indulged in happy visions of their future union. With Henrietta Maria, the wish was natural to place her favourite child on one of the first thrones in Christendom; the feeling of Anne of Austria was of a more unselfish character; she loved the little exiled child, who had sprung up under her own nurture and protection; she saw in her the germs of much that was amiable and endearing, and preferred her, as a daughter-in-law, to any except a daughter of her own house in Spain, with which a matrimonial alliance long seemed a political impossibility.

Louis XIV., however, did not coincide in opinion with his mother and aunt; he was fascinated with the more striking and womanly beauty of Madlle. Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin. Madame de Motteville, one of the ladies of the queen-regent of France, and her most accurate biographer, gives the following court scene:—¹

"In the year 1655, there were many little balls given, and the king often went in mask. There was a great fête at Chancellor Seguier's,

¹ Motteville, *Mém.* vol. iv. p. 369.

and pleasures were frequent amongst the young people. The queen, having invited the Queen of England to come in private some evening, to see the king dance, she complied; and the queen having put on a cornette and a night-dress, to mark that she was keeping her room, received the Queen of England in that manner, and would only admit her maidens and some young ladies and duchesses, wives of the officers of the crown, to compose this little ball. It was only given to elicit admiration for the king, and to divert the Princess of England, who was just growing out of childhood, and showing how charming she would become. The queen took the utmost care that the company, though small, should be handsome, and worthy the royal persons who composed it. The king, too much accustomed to lavish all his honours on the nieces of the cardinal, when he wished to lead the dance, offered his hand to Madame de Mercœur. The queen, surprised by this error, rose quickly from her chair, and whispered softly to him to go and lead out the Princess of England. The Queen of England, who perceived her anger, hastened after her, and begged her not to constrain the king; that her daughter had a pain in her foot, and could not dance. The queen told her that, if the princess did not dance, the king should not dance at all. So the Queen of England, in order to avoid confusion, allowed her daughter to dance, though she was, at least, ill-pleased with the king. He was again scolded in private at night, by the queen his mother; but he told her that he did not like little girls. Yet the Princess of England was then eleven years old, and he sixteen, approaching to seventeen, so that there was no great disproportion between them, but it is true that the king looked twenty."

The young Henrietta, though generally resident at Paris, sometimes accompanied the queen in her lengthened visits to her recently-founded nunnery at Chaliot, and was also her companion in her more special acts of devotion.

We find her, in 1654, attending, with her mother, the ceremonies of the feast of St. Ignatius, at the church of the Jesuits, Rue St. Antoine, where they heard the vesper service and a sermon, and then went into the house to inspect its rich ornaments and curiosities; after which they partook of a collation of the finest fruits of the season. In April, 1656, the queen took her over to Chaliot, at the fête of St. Francis, where, at one of the convents, the relics of the saint were borne round in procession.¹ The innocent zeal of her childhood had now merged into the deeper fervour of early womanhood, and

¹ *Gazettes de France*, 1654, p. 828; 1656, p. 372; 1657, p. 50; *Merc. Polit.* April 10, 1656. The above are only a few of numerous entries relating to the court fêtes and religious services at which the

the princess's devotion to her religion amply satisfied the wishes of her spiritual guide. Gamache speaks of her as "a princess of extraordinary merit, not only for the graces and beauties of mind, with which nature, prodigal of its gifts, has most liberally enriched her, but much more for the holiness of religion, and the sentiments of piety that heaven has shed abroad in her heart."¹ In other respects, he pronounces a verdict equally favourable, declares her reasoning powers to be extraordinary for her age, that "she is already elevated to a perfection which gives astonishment and pleasure to all those who have the honour to know her, that none can dispute the marvellous advantages of nature, which has given her a body ennobled with the richest qualities which are capable of gaining the affections; address in all exercises fit for the dignity of a princess, a lively and penetrating wit, with excellent inclinations to good."²

That this testimony is not flattered, we have the additional evidence of the royal historiographer of France, M. de la Serre. He wrote a laudatory eulogy, entitled "A portrait of Her Royal Highness, Henrietta, Princess of England, dedicated to Monsieur, only brother of the King." "It is difficult," he says, "to pourtray a countenance without defect: perfect beauties dazzle the eyes of the beholder, and cause the pencil to fall from the hands that would describe them." Still he ventures to make the attempt, and having once begun, allows free scope to the exuberance of his admiration.

"Her figure is rich, her bearing grave, her hair most beautiful, her brow a mirror, representing the majesty of her race, and her eyes matchless; in short, the sun sees nothing to equal her. The beauty of her soul can only be compared to that of her countenance. Her disposition is so good that from the moment of first learning to follow virtue, she needed no other guide. She speaks so agreeably that the pleasure of hearing her is no less than that of seeing her: in

Gazette de France records the presence of the princess; but as nothing of personal character is involved, a further enumeration would be tedious.

¹ Dedication to Henrietta Maria of "Exercices d'une âme royale," vol. i.

² Ibid. Dedication of vol. ii.

singing, echo alone can equal her, and in other accomplishments she is unrivalled. She has the mind, the voice, the beauty of an angel; let it not be thought strange if Heaven enriches her with its rare treasures. Who can express her goodness, grace, sweetness, and wisdom? She possesses a thousand other qualities; least of all is that of *princess*."

Allowing for the exaggeration of courtly praise, enough remains to prove that Henrietta was endowed with eminent attractiveness.

In the summer of 1657, we find the princess accompanying her mother to Bourbon-aux-Bains, to try the effect of its salubrious waters upon the failing health of the queen. They left early in September, and returned to Paris on the 8th of October.¹ The visit proved so beneficial that it was repeated in the following year. After a few weeks spent at Chaliot in April, they set out on the 7th of May. At Bourbon they joined the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, with their two younger daughters, Mesdemoiselles d'Orleans and de Valois, and there passed the remainder of the month with great benefit to their health. On May 31st the English queen and princess left Bourbon, and reached Paris on June 7th.² Sir John Reresby, an English cavalier, who visited the French capital in 1659, thus describes his intercourse with the princess at the Palais Royal. "As I spoke the language of the country, and danced pretty well, the young princess, then about fifteen years of age, behaved towards me with all the civil freedom that might be; she made me dance with her, played on the harpsichord to me in her highness's chamber, suffered me to wait on her as she walked in the garden, and sometimes to toss her in a swing between two trees, and, in fine, to be present at all her innocent diversions."³

Henrietta's time and attention were about equally divided between the courtly festivities into which she entered with the zest natural to her age, and the devotional observances to which her own religious impulses, and the zeal of her mother, alike urged her. It is curious, in

¹ Gaz. de France, pp. 924, 1056.

² Ibid. 1658, pp. 438, 511, 531.

³ Reresby's Memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1734, p. 3.

running over the pages of the French newspapers of the time, to find her one day leading off a magnificent ball, or acting a part at a courtly drama, and another, visiting some sacred shrine or relics, or spending a few days at Chaliot, where her mother delighted to see her waiting upon the nuns, that she might thus learn a lesson in humility, to counterbalance the homage and flattery she received from other quarters.

Towards the close of 1659, she retired with the queen her mother to Colombes. The following letter, the earliest epistolary production of the princess, is to be ascribed to this period, as allusion is made to the peace, concluded at the end of the year, between the long hostile powers of France and Spain.

"I would not let my Lord Inchiquin set out, without assuring your majesty of the respect I have for you. You do me too much honour in writing to me so often. I am afraid that gives you trouble, and I should be sorry for your majesty to have any for the sake of a little sister who does not deserve it, but who knows how to be grateful for that honour, and is delighted with it.

"I hope that the peace will give you all the happiness you can wish for, in which I shall have much joy, on account of the love and respect which I feel for your majesty: it is the greater for me, since it gives me the hope of seeing you, which is the thing desired passionately by

"To the King."¹

"Your very humble servant.

The anticipations of Henrietta in regard to her brother's visit were realized: he spent a short time with his mother and sister at Colombes, but the peace was far from giving him the happiness which they had hoped. The fortunes of Charles II. never seemed at a lower ebb than at the present moment. He was utterly forsaken by France, Cardinal Mazarin refusing to insert any clause in his behalf, in the recently concluded treaty with Spain; whilst the latter power, though friendly, was not disposed to take up his cause single-handed. The result of the alliance between France and Spain was the projected marriage of Louis XIV. to his cousin, the infanta Maria Theresa. A marriage was also hinted at between Philip Duke of Anjou, only brother of Louis, and the second daughter of Spain, with the condition that *Monsieur*, as

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, Art. 73, French Holograph.

Philip was always termed, should become a resident in Spain, and, in case of the death of the Prince of Spain, the only male successor, the future king consort of the country;—Maria Theresa having, by her marriage treaty, relinquished the succession for herself and her descendants.¹ But Anne of Austria had different views. No sooner had she seen her elder son prospectively united to the bride whom she was so anxious to hail as her daughter-in-law, than she reverted to the English princess as a wife for her remaining son, Philip, Duke of Anjou. The probabilities which opened out early in 1660, that Charles II. would be reinstated in his paternal inheritance, facilitated her views, and she hinted her wishes very intelligibly to the Henrietta's mother.² No match that could now be proposed for the princess would have proved so acceptable to the English queen, as it secured the permanent residence of her beloved child at the court where she herself expected to end her days. She, therefore, listened to the overtures with undisguised satisfaction.

The settlement in life of Henrietta had long been one of the objects nearest her heart. She had suggested an alliance for her with her cousin, the Duke of Savoy, but was thwarted by Cardinal Mazarin, who had set his mind on making one of his nieces Duchess of Savoy. At her request, Louis XIV. had made overtures to the Duke of Florence, but these likewise were coolly received, and in spite of her charms the portionless princess had no suitor. Louis XIV. had been prejudiced against Henrietta as a girl: she had on several occasions been made a bugbear to him; he was sometimes compelled to pay attentions to her, which he longed to bestow elsewhere, and when he wished to perpetrate a love-match, and no foreign princess was at the moment available, who could be proposed as a substitute for the object of his affections, the English princess was talked *at* him, as a suitable wife. Monsieur, on the contrary, had always treated her with great respect, and one of the ladies of the court intimated that she was the object of his choice, long before the marriage was seriously contemplated by their mothers. Louis XIV. rallied his brother about her, declaring that she was evi-

¹ Harl. MS. 3628, f. 272.

² Motteville, vol. v. p. 82.

dently destined for him, since nobody else would have her; he himself had refused her, the Dukes of Savoy had refused her, the Duke of Florence had followed their example, so his brother must certainly have her.¹

On the 29th of May, 1660, the tidings reached Paris that Charles II. was proclaimed King of England; and on the 7th of June, a courier arrived at Colombes, whither the queen and princess had retired, to announce that Charles had been warmly welcomed at Dover and Canterbury, and was about to enter London in triumph. The queen-mother had a thanksgiving service at Colombes, and thence went to Paris, where bonfires were lighted before her palace, fireworks let off, largesses given to all comers, and a ball for the nobility and gentry closed the day. The morrow found the queen and princess at Chaliot, whither they retired to offer their thanksgivings for the happy event. There Henrietta received the following note from her brother, written the day after his landing in England.

“Canterbury, May 26th.

“I was so tormented with business at the Hague that I could not write to you before my departure; but I left orders with my sister² to send you a small present from me, which I hope you will soon receive. I arrived yesterday at Dover, where I found Monk, with a great number of the nobility, who almost overwhelmed me with kindness and joy for my return. My head is so dreadfully stunned with the acclamations of the people, and the vast amount of business, that I know not whether I am writing sense or nonsense; therefore pardon me if I say no more than that

“I am entirely yours.

“For my dear sister.”³

Henrietta replied as follows:—

“Colombes, June 15, 1660.

“I have received the letter you have written me, by M. Proger, which has delighted me no little; for to know that you have arrived in England, and at the same time that you have remembered me, has given me the greatest joy in the world; and in truth I wish I could see

¹ Montpensier, *Mém.* vol. vii. p. 188. La Fayette, *Hist. Madame Henriette*, Paris, p. 389.

² Mary, Princess of Orange.

³ From the original, formerly in the collection of M. Donnadieu.

you to express fully to you what I think thereupon ; and you will see that it is true that there is no one more your servant than I.

“To the king.”¹

The following was dispatched a few weeks later :—

“Colombes, July 30.

“If even you were disposed to forget me. my importunity will prevent you ; but for this time, I should not have written to you, had it not been for the prayer of my Lord Dungarvan, by whom the queen would have written, had she not been ill ; but, thank God, it has not been a dangerous complaint, since it was only caused by fruit. I hope you will excuse this, for I have not been able to refuse him, as he was a relation of Madame de Kinalmeky, and I will use this opportunity also to assure you that

“I am your most humble servant.”²

The king sent his sister a present, with which she was highly delighted, of a side-saddle and horse trappings of green velvet, richly embroidered, and trimmed with gold and silver lace.³

The French court, at this juncture, were *en route* for the south of France, where Louis XIV. was to meet his Spanish bride. On their return, they passed some time in retirement at Fontainebleau and Vincennes, whither the queen-mother of France conducted Henrietta and her mother to introduce them to the young queen.⁴ A few days later, Monsieur gave an entertainment at his residence of St. Cloud, to the queen his mother and the young princess of England. A ball ensued, which was opened by Philip and Henrietta, and many whispers ran through the room of the suitability to each other of the youthful pair, whose *liaison* no longer remained a secret. This was on the 12th of August ; on the 17th, Henrietta thus addressed her brother :—

“Colombes, 17th August.

“I have been unwilling to fail in writing to you by M. Fevrier, who is going to you on the assurance which has been given him that he would deceive more than half the kingdom, and he even hopes to begin with you.”⁵

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 68, French Holograph.

² Ibid. art. 60.

³ Warrants, 10 Aug. 1660, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's. !

⁴ Parl. Intellig. July, Aug. 1660.

⁵ M. Fevrier was a conjuring astrologer, who excited considerable attention in France.

"We are going soon to Paris to see the *entrée* of the young queen, which will be the 26th of this month. I would offer to send you an account if my Lord Jermyn was not staying over that time, and I am sure he will perform it better than I, who am, more than any one,

"Your most humble servant,¹

"To the king."

The queen and princess returned to Paris on the 24th. On that day an important call was paid by the queen-mother of France to Henrietta Maria, which is thus detailed by the latter to her son Charles II.:—

"Paris, $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁵₈th August, 1660.

"I arrived in this town yesterday; as soon as I got in, the queen called to see me, and informed me that she came on the part of the king, her son, to tell me that they both unitedly begged me to be pleased to approve a request they had to make of me, which was, that I would do Monsieur the honour to give him my daughter in marriage, and that they had resolved to send an ambassador to you to this effect; she also said many friendly things to me about you and myself. I answered her that the king and she would do my daughter too much honour, and that I would not fail to let you know of this proposal. I beg you to favour it. In the interim, before we can send the ambassador, I think you should give me permission to say that you approve it.

"I assure you that your sister is not at all displeased about it; and as to Monsieur, he is violently in love, and quite impatient for your reply. My Lord Jermyn is staying till after the *entrée*. The cardinal has postponed him, promising to finish all in that time. The *entrée* will be to-morrow, so that he will be able to set out on Monday, at the latest."²

Accordingly, on the following day, Louis XIV. and his bride, Maria Theresa of Spain, made their state entrance into Paris: Henrietta and her mother, with the queen-mother of France, watched the gorgeous procession from the windows of the Hôtel Beauvais, Rue St. Antoine. Monsieur, Henrietta's future husband, rode on a white charger, splendidly attired, very near the queen, and his handsome appearance excited much attention.

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 64, French Holograph. The princess was perpetually scribbling little notes, sometimes three in a day, to her brother, chiefly of introduction to persons returning to England. She apologizes, and fears he will think her incorrigible. See Lamb. MS. 645, art. 59, 63.

² Lambeth MS. art. 119. This letter confirms the statement of Madame de Motteville on the subject; see her *Memoirs*, édit. Petitot, vol. lxx. p. 82.

As they passed the Hôtel Beauvais, the *cortège* paused for a moment, to salute the royal group assembled at its windows, and then swept on, with their splendid train. Two days afterwards, Louis XIV. and his queen called on the princess and her mother: Monsieur was with them, and they took Henrietta in their carriage to share their drive. On the 9th of September, Cardinal Mazarin gave one of his splendid entertainments to the royalties of France and England; Monsieur appeared not with the French royal family, but with the English queen and princess, his future wife and mother-in-law.¹

The double change produced in the prospects of the young Henrietta by her brother's restoration, and her own anticipated union, rendered her more than ever an object of attraction. The resort of the Parisian world of fashion to the Palais Cardinal exceeded that to the French court, where the young Spanish queen of Louis XIV. exercised a sway far less potent than that of the younger and more fascinating English princess.² Her future husband, really attached to his beautiful cousin, and flattered by the admiration she excited, was sedulous and unremitting in his attentions.

In order to complete the arrangements for Henrietta's marriage, a special ambassador, the Comte de Soissons, was sent to England as the bearer of a formal demand for the princess, couched in terms of elaborate eulogy on her beauties and virtues;³ but it was considered expedient that the queen-mother herself should go over, and take with her her young daughter, who had not seen her native land since she left it as a mere infant. Whilst deliberating on their movements, they received tidings of the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, with which Henrietta was much affected. She addressed her brother Charles as follows:—

“Colombes, 10th October.

“Since I wrote you, so cruel a misfortune has happened that, up to this hour, I have not had resolution to speak to you of it, finding no

¹ Gaz. de Loret, 14 Aug. 1660.

² Reresby's Memoirs, p. 5.

³ Louis XIV. to Charles II, Oct. 16, 1660, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

terms suitable to express it in; the feeling which you have of it being so just that no one can help taking their share, in which I have the honour to partake equally with you and the rest. I think the best way is to keep silence, which I shall do, when I have told you that the thing I most wish for is to have the happiness of seeing you, which I hope will be very soon, and then I shall be able to show you how much I am your most humble servant. Everybody can say the same to you, but assuredly there are few who are so as truly as I,

“Your most humble servant.

“To the king.”¹

The visits of condolence which, according to custom, were paid to the queen and princess on this occasion, brought to a crisis a contest for precedence which had for some time been pending between Mademoiselle de Montpensier and her cousin, the English princess. Mademoiselle had hitherto looked upon Henrietta as a little girl, with whom no ceremony was needful; but as she began to play an important part in society, the haughty heiress thought it time to assert her own position. The queen-mother of England applied to the dowager of France, who was exceedingly angry with her niece's presumption, since a grand-daughter of France could not claim higher rank than a daughter of England. Mademoiselle, however, was obdurate, and though severely lectured by her aunt of France, she declared she would not go to see her cousin at all unless the precedence might be granted, least when she was her visitor. She therefore absented herself for some time, but the death of the young duke necessitating a call, Henrietta Maria, satisfied with the full acknowledgment of her daughter's claims by the French court, waived the point, and the wilful lady had her way. The princess received her guest reclining in bed, as was customary in deep mourning, but she granted her the coveted honours.²

About the middle of October, the queen and princess began to make preparations for their journey. They were to be attended by Henrietta's cousin, Edward, Prince Palatine, the son of the Queen of Bohemia, whose perversion to the Romish faith has been alluded to in a

¹ Lamb. MS. 645, art. 66, French Holograph.

² Montpensier, *Mémoires*, vol. viii. p. 37; Henrietta Maria to Charles II. August 27th, Lamb. MS. 645.

former part of this volume. They set out on the $\frac{19}{29}$ th of October, amidst many regrets from their royal relatives of France, who all attended them some distance on their route; Monsieur's adieus were blended with warmly-expressed hopes of their speedy return, and of the subsequent fulfilment of his marriage. On the 21st of October they reached Beauvais, where they were received with regal honours, by the magistrates of the city and the burgesses under arms. The 1st of November, being a fête-day, they attended cathedral service at Beauvais, and did not depart till the 23rd; on the evening of that day, they reached Crèvecœur, where a country nobleman, the Sieur de Menevillette, went out to meet them, with the gentry of the neighbouring district, and gave them a handsome entertainment at his house. On the 24th they slept at Poix, the 25th at Abbeville, and on the 26th they reached Calais, whence they were to sail; but the winds were so stormy and contrary, that they did not embark till the 28th.¹ Father Cyprien de Gamache, Henrietta's confessor, who was one of the party, thus describes the voyage.

“They took shipping at Calais in English vessels, in which the highest nobles of the court of England had come to compliment and accompany the Queen on behalf of the King, her son. I know not if there was ever seen so dead a calm, which made the sea look like glass; the wind was so completely at rest, that the sails of the ships, deprived of the desirable breezes, kept those large vessels motionless. In spite of all the efforts of the crews, it took two days to cross from Calais to Dover, though the distance is so short that, with a fair wind, it may be performed in three hours. The Duke of York, high-admiral, came to receive the queen, his mother, with the whole fleet, composed of such a multitude of ships, and ranged in such a manner, that their masts appeared like large trees, and resembled a spacious wood. When on board, the guns began to thunder; each ship firing in its turn and order, one after another, they kept up a noise marvellously loud and delightful, which lasted for a good half hour, at Calais and at Dover. All the rarest and the most exquisite viands rendered the supper sumptuous, not only for the Queen and for Madame her daughter, but likewise for all those who enjoyed it, gratifying the palate and satisfying that craving hunger which the calm sea air had produced. This regale was at the cost of the Duke of York, who knew that we were fasting. It was then Lent: in order to obtain an exemption for it, he had the goodness to

¹ Gaz. de France, pp. 1101-2; Gaz. de Loret, 30th Oct. 1660.

come to us, and said, 'I have heard that, at this time, you do not eat meat, and that you are fasting; you will fare ill, for not only have we no supply of fish, but all these people are Huguenots, who will not do what they might to treat you well; but, while I am speaking, I recollect that we have some sturgeon here. I will go and order it to be given to you.' We returned warm thanks to that prince, in admiration of his rare kindness.

"On approaching Dover, the King came to meet the Queen, his mother: the respect, the attentions, and all the testimonies of perfect joy which he paid her, may be better imagined than described. In this excess of joy, and in delightful conversations, the ships advanced and arrived at Dover, where the King had prepared festivities of extraordinary magnificence for his honoured mother, for the princess, his sister, and for all their retinues, whose expenses he defrayed.

The meeting was joyful indeed to the young Henrietta; she had not the associations with the past which revived in her mother's heart sad reminiscences of the last parting scene at Dover. The royal family rode together in one coach to Canterbury, where they were met by the corporation, and the recorder made a speech to her majesty congratulatory of her return, and re-union with her family.¹ Thence they went on to Rochester, where they spent the night;² the queen-mother seems to have shrunk from a public entry into London; their arrival is thus recorded:—

"The second day of November, the queen, the king's mother, and the princess Henrietta came into London; for that the queen had left this land nineteen years before, her coming was very private, Lambeth way, where the king, the queen, Duke of York, Prince Edward, and the rest took water at Lambeth, crossed the Thames, and all safely arrived at Whitehall: and that night, in many places, bells rang, and in some streets bonfires, and here and there shows of joy. Her coming not through the city was one great reason that no more joy was made, for many did scarcely know that indeed she was at Whitehall that night."³ The fact was that the unpopularity of the queen was not quite forgotten, and although bonfires

¹ Addit. MS. 6308, fol. 20.

² Diar. Europ. 1660, p. 35.

³ Addit. MS. 10116, f. 215; Mercurius Redivivus, 2 Nov. 1660.

blazed lustily in the courtly quarters, only three were noticed in the city, properly so called.¹

The queen-mother and Henrietta took up their residence in Whitehall Palace, where Charles II., the Duke of York, and the princess-royal, were already domiciled; they formed one family, sharing the same table, and blending in the same circle. Mary and Henrietta gladly renewed the affectionate familiarity which they had enjoyed during the visit of the former to the French court. Their sisterly union is alluded to by an author bearing the unfortunate appellation of Thomas Toll, who dedicated to the two princesses, "one in affection, though different it may be in some persuasion," a small volume, entitled "The Female Duel, or the Ladies' Looking Glass, representing a Scripture Combat, about business of Religion, fairly carried on between a Roman Catholic Lady and the Wife of a dignified Person in the Church of England."

"Your very presence here," he says, "has ransomed our country; and by your all-healing examples, set a new, fair, and reformed face upon all our womankind. The one being the highest patroness of all conjugal and vidual honour, and the other the most pure pattern of all virgin sweetness and chastity, and both appear to be no less than two intelligences, that have left the heavenly orbs, and vouchsafed yourselves to be incased, as those beautiful bodies, for the benefit and glory of your sex. To whom, therefore, could this 'Ladies' Looking-glass' be more properly presented than to your royal highnesses, to whom all that is good in your sex amongst us must be ever attributed, as rays only reflected from your perfections? This is my humble plea, most incomparable princesses, according to which, joined with my dear acknowledgments and most dutiful confession, I doubt not but your princely goodness will dispense a pardon to

"Most dear princesses,

"Your royal highnesses' most humble devoted vassal,

"and loyal servant of your royal family,

"THOS. TOLL."

The House of Commons offered its congratulations to Henrietta, and voted her a present of 10,000*l.*, which she acknowledged in a letter to the speaker. She apologized that she could not do it well in the English

¹ Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 154.

tongue, but desired to supply all defects by an English heart.¹

The rumours of Henrietta's beauty had preceded her to England, and expectation was raised to a high pitch to behold the lovely creature, who was said to outshine all the beauties of the court of Louis XIV. The quaint diarist Pepys, who was at that time greatly enamoured with the appearance of his own wife, to whom he had just given permission to adopt the ridiculous custom of wearing patches on her face, thus records his impressions of a visit to court.

"Mr. Fox came and took me and my wife to the queen's presence, where he got my wife placed behind them when the queen and two princesses came to dinner. The queen is a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence, in any respect nor garb, than any ordinary woman. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation, and her dressing of herself, with her hair frizzed short up to her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her, with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she."

Evelyn mentions a visit paid the day after, when he, with his wife, was presented to Henrietta in her state bed-room, surrounded by the nobles and beauties of the court; but he does not record his impressions of her appearance.² Not so cool, however, were the expressions of one of the French embassy, M. Bartet, who was in the suite of the Comte de Soissons. Writing to Cardinal Mazarin on November 16th, he says, after naming an interview which Soissons had with the queen-mother:—"The princess her daughter was so wearied with her voyage, that she kept her room: however, the queen her mother wished the count to see her, in whatever condition she might be. The king himself led him to her apartments. We found her in a cornette (a mob head-dress),

¹ Kennet's Chron. p. 306; Journ. Lords, vol. xi. p. 177; Journ. Com. vol. viii. p. 175; Gaz. de France, p. 1109.

² Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 23. He also mentions a second visit paid to her a few weeks later, but without any particular worthy of record.—*Ibid.* p. 323.

wrapped in an Indian shawl of a thousand colours, playing at ombre with the Duke of York and the Princess of Orange. Monsieur may be told that he never saw her, even in full dress, more beautiful than she was that day. I remember one day when he was leading her by the hand through your gallery, I told him that she was as lovely as though she were his little guardian angel; but I had not as much ground for it even then, as when she was in her cornette and Indian shawl at Whitehall."¹

Unfortunately for Henrietta's peace, the agents of her future husband were not the only persons who found her so charming. The Duke of Buckingham, whose attentions to the princess-royal a few years before had created so much unpleasantness, now professed himself a devoted admirer of Henrietta, followed her wherever she went, and acted in a manner that elicited public remark.²

Meanwhile the Comte de Soissons was busily forwarding the completion of the marriage. Several difficulties had still to be removed. Charles II. required that the estate of Monsieur should be more definitely fixed, for the plan of keeping him immeasurably below the king had extended to the withholding even such an appanage as might be considered to belong of right to a son of France. Louis XIV. rectified this objection by creating his brother to the title of Duke of Orleans, rendered vacant by the death of their uncle without heir male, and settling upon him certain revenues, sufficient for comfort, but not large enough to provide him with ample independent resources. Caution was deemed necessary, lest, being nearly allied to a foreign potentate, Monsieur should, on any occasion of discontent, retire to England. The English king had no wish for this, as one of the advantages which he or rather his council hoped to derive from the match was, that it would furnish a powerful inducement to the queen-mother of England to reside permanently in France, and remove her from interference with English politics.³ Another difficulty still remained about providing the princess with

¹ Inedited despatch in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris..

² La Fayette, p. 390.

³ News Letters to Secretary Williamson, Oct. 12 and 14, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

a suitable dower. The English finances were in an exhausted state, owing to the heavy draws made upon them from all quarters at the restoration; and Louis took advantage of this circumstance to try to obtain from Charles II. what he cared for far more than money; the restoration of the port of Dunkirk, which was in the hands of the English. Charles refused this; reasons of state rendered it advisable for him to maintain so important a sea-port; and he promised his sister a portion of 40,000*l.* sterling instead.

A few formalities alone had now to be arranged,—obstacles there were none. The following extracts record the process of the ambassador's negotiations:—

“8th Nov. As to the marriage of Monsieur with the Princess of England, I regard it rather as a family and domestic matter than as merely a matter of state. The king talks about it so publicly every day, and sees so clearly all its advantages that there is scarcely any doubt to be entertained about it; but on the contrary, the fullest certainty for believing it will be: and the more, since the sight of the princess will strengthen it still more; for as his majesty loves her person extremely, and knows well that to give her to Monsieur is to make her happy, he will never entertain any other thought, although the emperor's courier who has come here, and Prince Rupert, who is still here, have intimated and even spoken of making a match for her with the emperor, or at least of breaking off that of Monsieur.¹ However, it still continues true that the King of England well understands, by his own judgment, that it is for his interests, and for the life-long happiness of that princess, that Monsieur should marry her.”

“16th Nov. As soon as the queen perceived M. de Soissons, she rose and came to him with eagerness; she remained standing with him more than half an hour, in a conversation to which she did me the honour to call me. The king, her son, joined us at length: he lives with

¹ Mdlle. de Montpensier treats as an absurdity the idea that the princess was sought for by the House of Austria, but this despatch proves it to have been more probable than she supposed.—*Mémoires*, vol. viii. p. 13.

M. de Soissons just as he would do with an old friend, for the king here lives privately with those whom he wishes to treat well, just as is done in the intercourse of friendship amongst ordinary people."

"22nd Nov. Saturday last, the 20th of the month, his highness (the Comte de Soissons) had an audience of the King of England, in which he made the formal demand for the princess, which his Britannic majesty granted in the politest manner in the world, and in terms which your eminence will soon learn from the mouth of the count, to whom he spoke about the king in a manner not to be forgotten. That very evening he gave an account of his mission to the queen his mother, who said thereupon all that the queen and Monsieur can desire."¹

In the marriage contract, the preamble recounts the kindly feelings of Louis XIV. towards his only brother, which have prompted him to confer upon him the Duchies of Orleans, Valois, Chartres, &c., and to seek for him a suitable alliance, which is most satisfactorily found in the Princess of Great Britain, and therefore the following articles are agreed upon, with the full consent of the King and Queen of France, the queen-dowager, and the Duke of Orleans on the one part, and on the other, of Charles II. and of the Queen-mother of England, the guardians of the princess:—

1. The two spouses promise to unite their faith to each other solemnly in presence of the Church.
2. Charles II. consents to give his sister a dower of 40,000 jacobuses, equal to 560,000 livres, and to make her a present of friendship of 20,000 jacobuses more.
3. The French king and his brother agree to endow the princess with 40,000 livres of dower a-year, to be held on the duke's lands, and to give her the Château of Montargis, handsomely furnished, as her residence.
5. The duke and his wife shall, from the day of their marriage, have all their property in common, according to the custom of Paris.

¹ Inedited despatches from the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, obtained by the courtesy of MM. Guizot and Mignet.

8. If she die first, childless, her heirs can only reclaim her portion, not the gift made by Charles, which is to defray the expenses of the marriage.

Several other provisions relate to the contingency of her surviving the duke.

The Earl of St. Albans was sent to Paris soon afterwards as ambassador, with instructions to keep an eye on the interests of the princess, in reference to her establishment, jointure, and the disposal of vacancies in her household, &c.¹

Henrietta now looked upon herself as the affianced bride of the prince who was at that time heir presumptive to the crown of France, and whose rank, independently of the contingencies of the succession, must ever place her in an elevated position in the most brilliant court of Europe. A feeling of marked satisfaction pervaded the English Court, when the Count de Soissons took his *congé*, and departed to record his mission as accomplished. The exhilaration of the royal family, however, received a sudden check in the illness and death of the Princess Mary of Orange. On account of the contagious nature of her sister's disorder, Henrietta was not allowed to see her, but was removed in haste to St. James's Palace. The death of her elder daughter, following so close upon that of the Duke of Gloucester, rendered the queen-mother anxious to remove Henrietta from a land that seemed destined to prove fatal to her race. Moreover, a courier arrived from Monsieur, to express his earnest desire for the speedy return of his beloved. His *maître d'hôtel*, whom he had sent over, was hastened back with tidings that the princess was setting out at once, and that all preliminaries for the marriage were accomplished.² Preparations for the voyage were hastily made. On the 2nd of January, a few days only after the decease of the Princess Mary, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the queen and her daughter took coach in St. James's Park, *en route* for Portsmouth, where they were to embark. The king, with the Duke of Buckingham and most of the

¹ French Correspondence, 1661, State Paper Office.

² Honeywood to Queen of Boh. 21 Dec. 1660.

court, followed them early the next morning; they slept the intervening night at Hampton Court, the melancholy scene of some of the later days of Charles I., the scene, too, of many of the happiest hours of the queen's wedded life, which she had a mournful pleasure in revisiting. Thence they passed on to Guildford, where the town, "to express their joy to behold both their own king and his royal mother, on the morrow presented his majesty a silver basket filled with sweetmeats. From thence his majesty went to Petersfield, and so for Portsmouth, to see the queen, his mother, and the beauteous Princess Henrietta (his majesty's only sister), take shipping for France."¹ The Duke of Buckingham, although he had made no preparations whatever for the voyage, professed such a passionate desire to go over to France with Henrietta, that his facile master was weak enough to consent. After a tender parting, the royal ladies, with their immediate attendants, embarked on board a splendid vessel, called the "London," and, with their suite and equipage occupying several other vessels, set sail with a favourable wind. The following day, however, the wind changed: a fearful storm came on; the pilot was negligent or unskilful, and the vessel ran aground on the Horse-sand, and was for some time in danger of sinking. Buckingham, alarmed for Henrietta as well as for himself, was in the utmost agony of despair, and his excitement rendered him troublesome. To add to the general consternation, Henrietta became feverish and unwell. The vessel was compelled by this misadventure to run back into the harbour, but as soon as it was ready for sailing, the princess expressed her wish to set out, as daily letters from Monsieur urged her to haste. She went on board accordingly, but feverish symptoms returned, and an eruption broke out all over her body. The queen was terrified lest the small-pox, which, within a few months, had struck down two of her children in the bloom of life, was about to attack her beloved Henrietta. The vessel was immediately ordered to put back to Ports-

¹ Kingdom's Intelligencer, Jan. 7, 1661; Pepys, vol. i. p. 166; Kennett, p. 353.

mouth harbour, but several days transpired before it was considered safe to bring the princess on shore.¹

When Charles II. received the tidings of his sister's illness, he sent two of his physicians to visit and assist her. After her landing she had a relapse of her disorder, and for some time much anxiety was felt. For several days her life was considered in imminent peril; her safety was mainly owing to her own firmness, in positively refusing to submit to the bleeding processes, which she believed had been injurious to her sister.² Meanwhile Monsieur, having been fifteen days without tidings, sent an express to inquire the cause of the silence and the delay, and the queen-mother of France also dispatched one of her guard on the same errand. The answer was that the princess had been ill, but was now better; vessels containing their equipage were to set sail at once, with promise that they would follow as soon as possible. Monsieur sent another messenger to Charles II., with a letter, expressing his joy at the recovery of Henrietta, and alluding to the additional obligations he was now under, to share in all that interested the royal family of England.³ The next day, January 25th, the royal pair at length ventured to set sail for France.

At Havre, where they landed, they were received with enthusiasm: cannonading, the noise of trumpets and clarions, and the acclamations of the people, accompanied a procession of the ecclesiastics, judges, soldiery, and upwards of 1000 burgesses, who marched to greet them.⁴

Here Buckingham, who had given them trouble at

¹ Pepys, vol. i. p. 170; Ashmole's Diary, MS. 862, f. 81, Ashmolean Library, Oxford.

² Honeywood to Queen of Bohemia, 25th Jan. 1661. From the original, in a private collection.

³ French Corresp. Jan. 25th, 1661, State Paper Office. One of the attendants of the princess, writing on Jan. 24th, says:—"The expectation we here are now in is the health of my dear princess, which, till this morning, I apprehended, she having had, since blood-letting and purging, almost constant fever; but, God be praised, they are both now so well appeased, that if our French physician gives nature time to recover its strength before embarkment, I hope all will have been for the best, notwithstanding the still remaining dry drought in her highness's mouth."

⁴ Gazette de Loret, 12 Feb. 1661.

Paris, by his vehement and tumultuous excitement when the princess was dangerously ill, became so annoying to her by his assiduities, and the jealousy which he felt or feigned at the attentions paid to her by the English admiral, that they peremptorily ordered him to precede them to Paris, whilst they remained at Havre a few days for repose.¹ Henrietta's confessor, Father Gamache, records the following particulars of their journey thence:—

“The queen was cautioned not to pass through Rouen, because the small-pox was rife there, and had carried off several persons. This was thought at first to be a trick of the governor and of the city, to spare themselves the attentions, services, and expense, necessary for the honourable and pompous reception of her majesty.

“Be this as it may, the queen took another route, on which M. de Longueville, governor of Normandy, came to meet her with a squadron of horse, composed of the smartest and best mounted nobles in the whole province. He had near at hand a *château*, where he magnificently regaled her majesty, all the gentlemen, all the ladies, and her whole court. Next day the first president of the Parliament of Rouen, followed by his whole fine court of justice, came to pay his respects and submissions, accompanied by an excellent and eloquent speech, to which she listened with attention; and, as she was endowed with a very subtle and ready understanding, she made him on the spot a very judicious reply, and recommended to him the Capuchins of that province, with reference to some little disagreement with the Pères Penitens. The president deemed himself highly honoured by the approbation of her majesty, held her recommendation of the Capuchins very dear, and promised to employ all the influence and authority which he possessed, to insure success to it. So, highly pleased, he took leave of the queen, who got into her carriage and continued her journey, accompanied by M. de Longueville and all the gentlemen who had followed him. After they had gone a great way, the queen presented her hearty thanks to all, but particularly to M. de Longueville, and obliged them to return home.

“M. de Montagu, her grand almoner, abbot of St. Martin at Pontoise, earnestly besought her to do him the honour, before she proceeded to Paris, to alight at his abbatial residence, which he had superbly fitted up and prepared for that purpose. She acquiesced in his request, alighted, and stopped in his house, and found all things in excellent order. While she was surveying the rich pictures, the jewellery, the porcelain, the embellishments, there was heard the sound of drums, trumpets, kettle-drums, and presently appeared the king, the queen, and Monsieur, who came to salute the queen, and to express their joy at her happy arrival. The king and the queen his consort, conversed till night with the queen of England; and Monsieur fancied

¹ La Fayette, p. 391.

himself in Paradise on seeing Madame Henrietta, whom he tenderly loved, whom he regarded as his future wife, and whose absence had given him very great pain and uneasiness. Having heard of her illness, his fears lest she should die had occasioned sleepless nights, excitement, agitation, inward pains, dreadful anguish. Looking steadfastly at her, he scarcely knew whether he ought to believe his eyes, so delighted was he to behold her again, and so overcome that he could hardly speak when he kissed her. After some pause, after recovering his spirits, he wished to learn from her own lips the success and the particulars of her journey. He listened with extreme attention and rapturous delight to the narrative of her adventures. Gladly would he have passed the night thus, but it grew late, and he was obliged to break off the conversation, and return with the king to the château of St. Germain. Meanwhile, M. de Montagu had prepared a supper of the most delicate viands and the most delicious wines that he could procure, for the queen and all her attendants.”¹

The newspaper accounts do not mention the visit of the king and queen to Pontoise, which was evidently private and informal, but only that of Monsieur. The following day he returned thither to escort his *fiancée* to Paris. They dined with Abbé Montagu, and in the afternoon proceeded towards Paris. “Their majesties, accompanied by Mademoiselle and a number of lords and ladies, went with a guard of musketeers and horsemen, to meet the queen at St. Denis; whence, after they had expressed an extraordinary joy at the return of her Majesty, and the princess her daughter, they conducted them to this city, to their usual lodgings at the Palais Cardinal, where they were complimented and waited on by a great number of persons of quality.”²

The queen and her daughter returned these visits, and then retired to Chaliot, there to await in seclusion the arrival of the Papal dispensation, which was to authorize the approaching nuptials. An omission on the part of the French diplomatists to specify the particular relationships of the two parties caused some delay,³ and letter after letter was sent to urge dispatch.⁴ On the 9th of March

¹ Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. pp. 421-3.

² Mercurius Publicus, Feb. 28; Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 25th; Gazette de France, Feb. 18th, 1661; Louis XIV. to Pope, 23rd Feb.; Brienne's Desp., Harl. MS. 4576 f. 133 b.

³ Harl. MS. 4492, fol. 27.

⁴ Brienne's Desp., Harl. MS. 4576, ff. 136, 213 b. 217, 227.

this important document at length arrived, and¹ Monsieur, intent on the completion of his hopes, furthered the marriage with the utmost impatience.

His royal brother rallied him unmercifully on his eagerness, and declared he could not imagine why he should be in such haste to marry the bones of the holy Innocents, alluding to the extreme slightness of Henrietta's figure.² His restlessness was increased by the absurd and injudicious conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, who did not hesitate to proclaim his passion for Henrietta, and to pursue her into all societies from which etiquette could not exclude him. Henrietta, who had been half amused, half annoyed, by the attentions of her brother's favourite, and had thought them too ridiculous to notice, perceiving that they displeased Monsieur, named the subject to her mother, who told the prince that the passion of Buckingham was regarded by everybody as too absurd to merit a serious thought.³ Still Monsieur was not satisfied; he spoke to his own mother, and Buckingham received an intimation that the sooner he left Paris the better. Monsieur, much relieved, now pressed his marriage more earnestly than ever. Several obstacles were impending; it was the Lent season, when it was not customary to celebrate festive rites, and, moreover, a messenger sent over to England had not yet returned, to bring the special letters of authorization, empowering Lord Jermyn, now Earl of St. Albans, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to sign the marriage articles, on behalf of Charles II. But as Passion Week was approaching, Monsieur's invincible impatience induced the queen-mother to waive formalities.⁴ On the 30th of March, the marriage contract was signed at the Louvre, with the usual form. The following morning was spent by Henrietta in confession and receiving the communion at the parish church of St. Eustache, her *fiancé* performing the same religious duties at that of St. Germain l'Auxerrois,

¹ Louis XIV. to King of Spain, MS. 3154, f. 12 b. in the collection of Sir T. Phillipps. See also Appendix, No. I.

² Montpensier, vol. viii. p. 61.

³ La Fayette, p. 393.

⁴ Jermyn to Charles II. March 30th, 1661, Lamb. MS. 646, art. 38.

and in the evening, a small and select party assembled in the great withdrawing-room of the Queen of England, at the Palais Cardinal, to witness the betrothal. The group consisted of the King and Queen of France, the Queen-Mothers of France and England, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, cousin of the bride and bridegroom, the Prince and Princess of Condé, Duke d'Enghien, Duke de Vendôme, Earl of St. Albans, as ambassador of England, and a few of the court of both the royal parties. The following evening the same party reassembled to witness the marriage; owing to the Lent season, it was performed privately at the Palais Royal, in the chapel of the Queen of England, by the Bishop of Valence, almoner of Monsieur. The Queen entertained the company at a *petit souper*, conducted without formality, and thus closed Henrietta's wedding-day.¹

¹ Gazette de France, p. 308. Theat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 478. The following description is given in the Gazette de Loret, p. 23 :—

“ Jeudy, Monsieur, frère du roy,
 En donnant son cœur et sa foy
 A la Princesse d'Angleterre,
 Une des belles de la terre,
 L'épousa solennellement,
 Et Dieu scait si le Sacrement
 Fut suivie de chères caresses,
 De félicités, de tendresse ;
 En bref de toutes les douceurs,
 Dont les amans sont possesseurs,
 Quand leur ardeur est couronnée,
 Des fraîches fleurs de l'hymenée,
 Qui produissent tant de dezirs,
 Et qui donnent tant de plaizirs.
 Ce lys dont la tige est si belle,
 Cette aimable rose nouvelle,
 Cette ressemblance de mœurs,
 Cette conformité d'humeurs,
 Cette union de belles âmes,
 Ce rapport d'innocentes flames,
 Cette parfaite égalité,
 De rang, d'esprit, et de beauté,
 Cette réciproque jeunesse,
 Et du prince et de la princesse,
 Vont rendre infiniment heureux,
 Ce couple royal d'amoureux ;

Louis XIV. announced the completion of the marriage to his brother of England, in the following terms:—

“My brother,

“Having always considered the marriage of my brother with your sister the princess of England,¹ as a new tie which would draw still closer the bonds of our friendship, I feel more joy than I can express, that it was yesterday happily accomplished; and as I doubt not that this news will inspire you with the same sentiments as myself, I was unwilling to delay a moment in sharing my joy with you, nor would I lose the opportunity of this mutual gratulation, to confirm to you by these lines that I am, my brother,

“Very sincerely your good brother,

“Paris, 2nd April, 1661.”

“LOUIS.”²

Madame de Motteville, one of the most accurate domestic chroniclers of the time of Louis XIV., draws the following picture of this bride of sixteen summers.

“The Princess of England was of moderate height; she was graceful, and her shape, which was not faultless, did not then appear as imperfect as it really was; her beauty was not of the most perfect order, but her whole person, although she was not well made, was still very engaging on account of her charming manners. She had a very delicate and white complexion, mixed with a natural carnation, like the blending of the rose and the jessamine. Her eyes were small, but soft and brilliant; her nose was not bad, her mouth was rosy, and her teeth as white and well-shaped as could be desired; but her face, which was too long, and her thinness, seemed to threaten a rapid decay of her beauty. She dressed her hair and herself in a manner which was very becoming, and as she possessed qualities calculated to win affection, one would believe that she would easily succeed, and that she would not dislike to give pleasure. She had not been able to become queen, and to make up for this disappointment, she wished to reign in the hearts of worthy people, and to find glory in the world by her charms, and by the beauty of her mind. Already much sense and dis-

Jamais, d'un amour mutuel,
L'apparence ne fut si belle,
Car rien n'est contre, et tout est pour,
Et c'est tout dire en cas d'amour!

¹ A contemporaneous transcript of the letters of Louis XIV., in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., Middlehill MS. 3154, contains the following marginal note upon this passage:—“This was the celebrated, the amiable, Henrietta, who died in 1670, not without suspicion of poison.”

² Lettres de Louis XIV. MS. 199, f. 17, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris. The reply of Charles to this letter is in the French Correspondence, April, 1661, State Paper Office.

cernment might be traced in her, and in spite of her youth, which had hitherto hidden her from the public, it was easy to judge, that when she appeared upon the great theatre of the court of France, she would play upon it one of the principal parts."¹

Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a severe judge of others, especially those of her own sex, acknowledges that her young cousin "was very amiable. There was so much grace in all she did, and she was so courteous, that all who came near her were charmed with her. She continued to be complimented on her fine shape, although she was hunchbacked, which even Monsieur knew nothing about till after he was married."² By the ungainly epithet of hunchback, is to be understood the slight droop which the figure of a slenderly-formed girl often assumes when her growth has been too rapid for her strength.

The most graphic description of Henrietta was from a masculine pen, that of the Abbé de Choisy:—"Never," he says, "did France see a princess more amiable than Henrietta of England, whom Monsieur married: her eyes were black, lively, and full of the contagious fire on which no man could fixedly gaze without feeling its effects. Her eyes themselves appeared affected with the desire of those who looked at her. Her whole person was adorned with charms: one was interested in her and loved her, without conceiving how it was possible to do otherwise: when any one was looking at her, and she perceived it, it was impossible not to believe that her sole object was to please the person who gazed upon her. She had all the wit necessary to be charming, and all that is needful for important affairs, if opportunities had occurred of employing it, or if anything but pleasure had gone on at the court."³

Vatout, in his "Residences Royales," gives the following extract from the marriage register of the parish of Saint Eustache at Paris:⁴—

¹ Mémoires, vol. v. p. 109; Théat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 478.

² Mémoires, vol. viii. p. 61.

³ Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisy, Recueil Petitot, 2me. Série, vol. ii.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 371, Palais Royal.

"On Wednesday, March 30th, 1661, in the chapel of the château of Palais Royal, situated in our parish, were performed before Monseigneur Daniel de Cosnac, Bishop and Comte of Valence and of Brie, by our consent and in our presence, the betrothal of the most high and puissant Prince Philip, son of France, Duke of Orleans, the king's only brother, of the parish of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, and of the most high and puissant Princess Henrietta Anne, of England, only sister of the King of Great Britain, our parishioner; and the following day, the 31st of the said month, the marriage of the said lord and lady was solemnized in the said chapel, by the said lord bishop, in our presence and with our consent, under the good pleasure of the king, of the queen, his majesty's mother, and of my said lord the Duke of Orleans, of the queen-regnant, of the queen-mother, of the King of Great Britain, of my said lady, the Princess Henrietta Anne of England; in presence also of Mademoiselle, of Mesdemoiselles d'Orleans, of the Prince, the Princess, the Duke d'Enghien, and many other princes and princesses and lords and ladies of the court; it was done under a dispensation for bans unproclaimed, and for the time being prohibited by the church, dated the 28th of the present month and year, signed by Contes, vicar-general, by my Lord Cardinal of Retz, archbishop of Paris, Beaudoin, and sealed with the seal of the said archbishop, the said dispensation making mention of the brief of our holy father the pope, which grants to the said parties a dispensation from the obstacle of the second degree of consanguinity and all others.

.... (Signed) "Louis; Anne; Marie Therèse; Philippe; Henriette Anne; DeBaufremont; Antoine de Beaudeau; and Daniel de Cosnac, Evêque et Comte de Valence et Brie."

HENRIETTA ANNE,

FIFTH DAUGHTER OF CHARLES I.

CHAPTER II.

Education of Philip of Orleans—His feelings towards Henrietta—Her altered position—Gamache's conversations with her—Arrival at court—Visit to St. Cloud—Gaiety at Fontainebleau—Intimacy between Louis XIV. and Henrietta—Consequent jealousies—Remonstrances—Excursions—Return to Paris—Henrietta delicate—Diversions—Birth of her Daughter—Comte de Guiche—His reputed amour with Madame—*Eclaircissement* with Monsieur—Reconciliation—Guiche leaves court—Departure of Henrietta Maria for England—Adieus—Madame's correspondence with Charles II.—Court ballets—Lord Hollis's embassy—His embarrassments—Henrietta assists him—Birth of her son—Jewels belonging to Charles I. discovered—Attempts for their restitution, which fail—Marquis de Vardes—His double-dealing—Guiche returns to court—Henrietta's displeasure against Vardes—She procures his exile—Her interviews with Guiche—His banishment from court—“*Amours de Madame*” printed, but suppressed—Henrietta's intercourse with Bussy Rabutin.—His character of her—Appearance of a comet—Ballet on the birth of Venus—Henrietta mixes up in politics—The Dutch war—She mediates between France and England—The reported victory of the Dutch—Henrietta's agitation—True account reaches her—Her letter of congratulation to Charles—Fresh troubles with Lord Hollis—He is dismissed—Madame gives birth to a dead daughter—Renewal of political negotiations—Illness and death of the queen-mother of France and of the Duke of Valois—Lord Chesterfield's description of Henrietta—Duke of Monmouth visits the French court—Henrietta's jealousy of the Chevalier de Lorraine—Monsieur solicits the government of Languedoc—Bishop of Valence loses favour—Is exiled—Birth of Henrietta's second daughter—Death of Henrietta Maria—Madame la Fayette's *Mémoires*—Triple alliance—Projected treaty between England and France—Henrietta employed as agent—Her proposed visit to England—Distrust of Buckingham—Valence returns secretly—Is detected and again exiled—Arrest of the Chevalier de Lorraine—Displeasure of Monsieur—He and Madame go to Villars Coterets—Letters and deputation from England to urge Madame's visit—She and Monsieur return to St. Germain—Louis's favour towards Henrietta—Monsieur consents

to her visiting England—Baptism of their infant—Court journey to Flanders—Monsieur's rudeness to his wife—Their parting at Lisle—She sails for Dover—Met by the English king, &c.—Political discussions—Treaty signed—Entertainments given to Henrietta—Her departure—Journey—Welcomed in Paris—Goes to St. Cloud—Portrait of little Mademoiselle—*Soirées* at St. Cloud—Intercourse with Bossuet—Henrietta's Illness—Extract from Madame la Fayette—Suspicion of poison—Visits of clergy and doctors—Of French king and Sir R. Montagu—Parting with her husband—Interview with Bossuet—Death—Inquiries into its cause—*Post Mortem*—Letters from England—Grief of Louis XIV.—Monsieur marries a daughter of the Elector Palatine—Burial of Henrietta at St. Denis—Funeral oration by Bossuet.

It is now time to introduce the reader to the husband with whom, for weal or for woe, our Henrietta had become inseparably associated. Philip of France was the only brother of Louis XIV., and his training, owing to the early death of his father, devolved upon his mother, Anne of Austria, and Cardinal Mazarin. The regency of Anne of Austria was so much disturbed with political squabbles, in which her late husband's brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, took a leading part, that she was resolved not to subject her son to annoyance from the interference of his brother. The education of the two boys was therefore conducted upon principles totally opposite. Louis was early initiated into those branches of education which were best fitted to form his mind for his future position, whilst Philip was encouraged in a love of frivolous and even feminine amusements. The etiquette of court, the duties of the toilette, dancing, music, and the lighter accomplishments of art and literature were alone permitted to engage his attention.¹ Above all, he was taught to pay the most profound deference to the king, his brother, and to regard his will as law. A

¹ Louis XIV. *Nouveau Siècle*, vol. i, p. 401; *Mém. du Maréchal de Plessy*, p. 502, *et seq.*; Choisy, *Mémoires de*, *Recueil Petitot*, 2nd Series, vol. lxxiii. pp. 126, 382. Daniel de Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, was proposed as the almoner of Monsieur when quite young, but he hesitated to accept the post, thinking the child of too feeble a character; but a quarrel arising between the royal brothers, in which Monsieur struck the king, Valence instantly declared himself willing to undertake the office. "I feared," said he, "that Monsieur was nothing but a pretty prince; but I see that he has in him stuff to make a man of, and I enter his service with all my heart."

Venetian ambassador, who visited the French court in the spring of 1660, observes that "Philip, Duke of Anjou, and only brother of the king, is a prince of placid spirit, given rather to pleasures than to arms: he has been brought up under the guidance of the queen, who, to keep him quiet, does not allow him to take a step, except under her own eye, so that, although he is twenty-one years old, he is still treated as a child. He complains of it sometimes, but they quiet him by entertaining him with hopes, now of appanage, now of marriage. However, they have begun by assigning him 50,000 francs of rent, and keeping near him a few persons of confidence, who induce him to exhale his youthful spirits in comedies and love."¹ Another contemporary describes him as gentle, agreeable, lively, polite to ladies, always gay and enterprising, understanding well the selection and arrangement of dress, furniture, and cabinets; a *connoisseur* in the fine arts, painting, music, perspective, and architecture, &c.² Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the Duke of Orleans, whose gossiping autobiography is so well known, speaking of Monsieur, who was at one time thought of as her future spouse, says, "the more I knew of him, the more I was of opinion, that he was of a character to think more about his own beauty and attire than to raise himself by great actions, and render himself considerable; so that I loved him very well as my cousin, but I could never have loved him as my husband."³ She relates a comical anecdote, developing his over-attention to dress. On the death of her father, the Duke of Orleans, in February, 1660, Louis XIV., paying the usual visit of condolence to his cousin, said to her, "Tomorrow you will see my brother with a mantle that trails. I believe he has been delighted with your father's death, which has given him the pleasure of wearing it. I am glad that he was older than I, or else my brother would have wished for my death to give him the chance of wearing one. "In truth," she adds, "the next day Monsieur did come with a mantle of a *furious* length, and bade me convey

¹ Addit. MS. 10174, British Museum.

² Cimber, Archives Curieuses, 2nd Series, vol. viii. p. 384.

³ Mémoires Monpensier, edit. Petitot, vol. vii. p. 11.

a thousand messages to my step-mother about her mourning, which I did not, as I knew she would not attend to them.”¹ Never taught the important lessons of self-reliance and self-respect, Philip had a restless craving for the approbation of others, and as it could not always be satisfied amongst those with whom he moved in daily life, he would sometimes condescend to associate with persons greatly his inferiors, for the sake of being the object of attention and admiration in the circle.² At times he would even put on a female disguise, and appear thus at private balls or assemblies, taking the utmost delight in the arrangements of his toilette, and in the sensation excited by his appearance.³ In fine, he had many good properties, but no great ones, the better aspirations of his nature being completely checked and quenched by the influence of a mistaken education.

Monsieur believed himself the devoted lover of the beautiful young creature to whom he was united. She had been the object of his wishes before the restoration of her brother rendered the match politically desirable, and, therefore, his regard was disinterested;⁴ but it is questionable whether his heart had the generous expansiveness capable of a deep and warm attachment. Madame la Fayette, the intimate confidante of his wife, declares, that while he paid her every possible attention, love was still lacking; for “the miracle of inflaming his heart was reserved to no woman in the world.”⁵ On the other hand, Henrietta’s intellectual grasp was so much more powerful than that of her handsome and elegant cousin, that it is more than probable she considered the marriage rather as an *affaire de convenance*, than one in which affection was deeply involved.

¹ Mémoires Monpensier, édit. Petitot, vol. vii. p. 191.

² His second wife, Charlotte of Bavaria, once caught him at St. Cloud, playing at cards with some persons whom she did not know: he told her they were good burgesses of Paris, who handled their cards well, and could afford large stakes: and when she reproached him for keeping such company, he laughed at her for her German haughtiness. —Pollnitz, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 100.

³ Choisy, Méms. Petitot, vol. 63, p. 126.

⁴ Mdme. de Motteville, vol. v. p. 27.

⁵ Mém. de Henriette, p. 392.

The change in her position was sudden: although she had mingled occasionally in courtly festivities, her home had hitherto been one of comparative seclusion, and she had known much of the galling penury which pressed so heavily upon the queen-mother. She was now to become the third lady in the brilliant court of France, surrounded with everything that wealth and luxury could devise to embellish life. A few days after their marriage, Monsieur urged, with natural impatience, that his wife should now leave the shelter of her mother's house, and share his apartments at the Louvre and Fontainebleau, or his residences at St. Cloud, Villars Coterets, or Montargis. Her confessor, Gamache, thus observes that the thing was "just and according to God, but nevertheless attended with difficulty and vexation."

"There is nothing," he adds, "so melancholy, so painful, so insupportable, as the separation of persons who have a perfect love for each other. Between the queen and Madame her daughter, the mother loved her daughter with excessive fondness, and the daughter loved the mother with a nobly humble and respectful affection. Ever since a spark of reason began to glimmer in the mind of Madame, she had never been parted from the queen her mother: she saw herself continually as if in her bosom; so she was her consolation in the calamities of England. After so many years passed in that manner, judge if the separation could take place without great violence. Hence it was that, when Monsieur came to fetch this princess and to take her to his apartments in the Tuileries, there was general mourning in the Palais Royal: sighs, tears, sobs, of the queen and of Madame, made some weep, melted the hearts of others, and pained all. It took some time to moderate the grief of these royal personages. Madame desired that the service which I rendered to the queen her mother might not prevent me from seeing her, and continuing the same offices which I had performed for her before her marriage. I received orders to that effect from her majesty also. I was, therefore, obliged to call upon her frequently during her stay at the Tuileries.

"In private, I conversed with her on the dangers of the court, and the necessity of grace to avoid them; of humility and fervent prayer, which must be frequently offered up to God to obtain that grace. I represented to her mildly that the illustrious quality of daughter of a king and wife of a very great prince, only brother of a very mighty monarch, ought never to make her forget that she was a Christian, whom it behoved to live like a Christian, to follow the precepts of Jesus Christ, and to imitate his life; that, being married, she owed great love, perfect fidelity, and entire submission to Monsieur her husband. Sometimes, speaking of the strange vicissitudes of England, I set before her, from fatal experience, the inconstancy of earthly greatness, the instability of all that the world prizes, the wretchedness and the brevity of this mor-

tal life ; the importance of attaching one's self to God and labouring for a happy eternity, which one never can arrive at but by purity of conscience and by the merit of good works, enemies of mortal sins, one alone of which is capable of depriving us for ever of that ineffable happiness, as many who are now groaning in hell experience to their great disaster, and as the devils themselves, who formerly were eminent angels, are forced to confess. Such were the subjects on which I talked to Madame, when obedience obliged me to go to see her at the Tuileries."

The royal family at the Tuileries hailed the arrival of Henrietta by costly presents and entertainments. On the 9th and 10th of April, there was a brilliant display at the betrothal and marriage of the Prince Colonna to Mademoiselle Mancini; on the 14th, *Madame*, as Henrietta was henceforth called, took the place of the queen, who was in delicate health, in washing the feet of a number of poor women, a ceremony annually performed on the day preceding Good Friday, by the royalties of France.¹ A few days afterwards, the court set out for Fontainebleau, there to spend the summer; but the Duke and Duchess of Orleans remained some time longer in Paris, to receive the compliments and congratulations of foreign potentates on their marriage. The nobility, who flocked to pay their respects to the young couple, were surprised to find that the graceful but silent girl whom they had been accustomed to see, and yet almost to overlook, in her mother's apartments at the Palais Royal, or to admire chiefly for her personal beauty at court spectacles, possessed graces of mind fully equal to those of her person.

"The Princess of England, the king's sister-in-law," writes Francheville, "brought to court the charms of sweet and animated conversation, sustained by the reading of good works, and by a sure and delicate taste. She perfected herself in the knowledge of the language, which at the time of her marriage, she still wrote badly. She inspired a fresh emulation of spirit, and introduced at court a politeness and grace of which the rest of Europe had hardly an idea. Madame had all the wit of her brother Charles II., embellished by the charms of her sex, by the gift and the desire of pleasing."²

The court of Madame soon became the resort of a

¹ Gaz. de France, pp. 354, 356.

² Siècle de Louis XIV. 12mo. Leipsic, 1754, vol. i. p. 25.

clique of ladies, sprightly and *spirituelle*, with whom she passed her afternoons; Monsieur and other gentlemen joined them at supper; and play, music, or the comedy, diverted their evenings.¹ Thus passed a few pleasant weeks; after which the duke and duchess paid a short visit to Monsieur's palace of St. Cloud. This lovely rural residence had recently been purchased by Louis XIV. for his brother, and in preparation for his marriage, the royal architects had partially reconstructed the house, and planned out the gardens, much as they are at the present day.² After another visit to the queen-mother of England, congratulatory on the coronation of Charles II., the duke and duchess joined the royal party at Fontainebleau.³ Louis XIV. hardly recognized his young sister-in-law in her new position. Freed from the chilling influences of the poverty and humiliation of her early life, unrestrained by the presence of mother or confessor, she gave way to an exuberance of gaiety and wit which enchanted him; and he could scarcely believe her to be the same being with the quiet fragile little girl who had been the object of his early aversion. Her manners contrasted pleasantly with the dignified reserve of his Spanish queen, and as the health of the latter was delicate and compelled retirement, Madame became the centre of attraction in the courtly circle. All parties of pleasure were formed or regulated by her suggestions, and the king seemed to know her wishes only in order to follow them out. She loved horse exercise, and rode well: the magnificent forest of Fontainebleau afforded ample scope for diversions. Henrietta frequently drove out in a morning to bathe; and when the afternoon became cool, she and all her ladies, attended by the gentlemen, would return on horseback, forming, in their graceful riding dresses and feathered hats, a charming spectacle in the darkly-shaded woods. Then in the bright calmness of evening, they would sometimes drive out in open carriages,

¹ La Fayette, p. 395.

² This abode is still associated with Henrietta of England, and though her former apartments are changed, several portraits and traditions of her are pointed out to the lovers of the historical picturesque. — Vatout, *Residences Royales*, vol. v. pp. 7, 120, 387, *et. seq.*

³ Gazette de Loret, 5th June, 1665.

along the banks of the water, and if the moonlight were tempting, would remain out till the night grew late. A beautiful avenue, terminating in a lawn, was made into a rural theatre, in which a ballet was danced, the king and Madame being the principal performers. Sometimes they took barges, and floated along the placid waters to the sound of a band of thrilling horns or clarions, and perhaps partook of a collation, spread on the grass in rustic style, or danced beneath the trees; sometimes they had rowing matches, or hunting parties, in which the whole circle joined, without any attention to the formalities of etiquette.¹ Then there were little *fêtes champêtres*, notes written, verses sent, and rural walks in which the king and Madame were frequently companions, and rambled till they almost lost themselves in the woods.

Such proceedings, innocent in themselves, were liable to misinterpretation; the queen-mother of France, whose influence over her son had always been great, was irritated that many of those hours which he had been wont to devote to her, were now given to Madame. She thought, however, that Henrietta's youth would render her pliant to advice; and employed the Abbé Montagu, almoner to Queen Henrietta Maria, and others whom she believed to have influence over her, to remonstrate with the princess. Amongst these sage advisers was Madame de Motteville, the friend of both the queens dowager.²

"This young princess," she writes, "should have confided in me, as well on account of the honour which the Queen of England did me in treating me kindly, and believing me attached to her interests, as of the assiduous services I rendered her in my intercourse with the queen her mother-in-law. I spoke to her about it; and, as she was gentle and complaisant, I thought that she was willing to follow my advice, as she received it with a good grace. I may also add, with truth, that it was such as would have enabled her, had she done me the honour to believe me, without offending the king, or failing in the strict courtesy due to him, to preserve his good graces, to establish herself firmly in his esteem and that of the whole court, and to satisfy what she owed to the queen her mother-in-law, which was an indispensable obligation in her. But she despised all these advantages, which would only have cost her a little self-control, and from which she would have derived the greatest

¹ Gaz. de France, pp. 428, 451, 476, 508, 531, 556, 727, 763.

² Motteville, vol. v. p. 124.

advantage ; for, had she only deprived herself of the walks which militated against propriety, and might injure her health, and seemed to the king to give them up voluntarily, the king would have commended her for it, since what is reasonable always inspires esteem in those who are guided by reason. She would thus have raised herself greatly in the esteem of the queen-mother, by giving her gently to understand that she adopted this conduct to please her ; but her natural sentiments were opposed to prudence ; Madame heard with the ear the counsels I gave her, but the impulses of her heart rejected them. They induced her eagerly to follow up anything which did not appear to her criminal, nor entirely opposed to her duty, and which contributed to her diversion. It may be seen, from a letter which I then received from the Queen of England, that she was uneasy about what was passing at Fontainebleau, and about the queen-mother's dissatisfaction with Madame."

Henrietta, rejoicing in her emancipation from the trammels, strict though salutary, of her own mother's jurisdiction, resolved that she would not throw herself into those of her mother-in-law, and laughed away all remonstrances. Pride had also a share in her refusal to comply. She exulted to see the king, who had so long treated her with indifference or aversion, become a willing captive to the fascinations of her society, and she was not disposed to repel him.¹ The queen-dowager endeavoured to break up the parties of pleasure by contriving plans which should absent Monsieur and Madame occasionally from Fontainebleau ; but no sooner did they return than the diversions were renewed.² A short time, however, served to convince Henrietta that this intercourse was not only a source of regret to her mother-in-law, but that it caused uneasiness and distress to the young queen, who was passionately attached to her husband, and yet timidly conscious of the superior charms of her sister-in-law. The jealousy of Monsieur, too, was excited by the representations of his mother, and he grew restless and disquieted. At length the better feelings of Louis and Henrietta were called into play ; they could not endure that the pleasure which they took in each other's society should interfere with the happiness of those nearest to them, and, after a frank explanation of their mutual sentiments, they agreed

¹ La Fayette, pp. 335-6 ; Motteville, vol. v. pp. 114-7, 123, 134 ; Beaumelle, *Mém. de Maintenon*, vol. i. p. 193.

² Motteville, vol. v. p. 133.

to maintain a greater distance for the future.¹ Madame had soon the mortification of finding the royal attentions diverted from herself to one of her maids of honour, the beautiful Louise de la Vallière.²

She still retained feeling reminiscences of the past; and, at her request, the two great poets of the day, Racine and Corneille, undertook to write tragedies on the adieus of Titus and Berenice. Henrietta wished to see represented on the stage the ennobling sentiment of a victory obtained by duty over affection tender and true. Each author undertook the task, ignorant that the other was at work upon it, but Racine's effort was the more successful, the subject being more suited to his genius.³ Henrietta's love of elegant literature led to personal intercourse with many of its distinguished votaries; she patronized Molière, as well as his brethren in the higher walks of art, and condescended to stand sponsor for his infant son, born in January, 1664.⁴

But we must return to the Court of Fontainebleau in the summer of 1662. Early in June, Monsieur and Madame paid a visit to St. Cloud, and also to the Queen of England at Colombes. The separation from her mother of the past few weeks, brief though it had been, was the longest Henrietta had known since she was brought a nursling to Paris, and they met with mutual delight. The young couple soon returned to the delights of Fontainebleau, and were warmly welcomed back. Monsieur gave a brilliant ball in the palace on June 11th, and a few days afterwards the Duke of Beaufort gave one still

¹ La Fayette, p. 399.

² Motteville, vol. v. pp. 134-5; Simiers, Hist. Louis XIV. vol. iii. p. 49. In MS. 198, f. 64, *et seq.* Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, is a *feuillet*, entitled, "*Histoire de l'Amour feint du Roy pour Madame*;" in which she is represented as confiding the whole affair to the Duchess de Crequy, and assuring her that, though perpetually rallied about the king's attachment to her, she never herself believed it to be warmer than was justified by their relationship, but confessed to her annoyance at the favours which he heaped upon La Vallière. The handwriting of the MS. is contemporaneous, and the persons are spoken of as still living. See also *Intrigues of the Court of France*, in the Bibliothèque des Romans for 1776, vol. ii. p. 187.

³ Voltaire's edit. of Corneille, vol. ix. Preface to Titus and Berenice.

⁴ Teschereau, Hist. de la vie et des ouvrages de Molière, p. 376.

more attractive in the park, where the dancing saloon was constructed of foliage, and lighted with innumerable lamps.

The queen-dowager of France accompanied the Duke and Duchess of Orleans to visit Madame de Chevreuse, long the friend and companion of Henrietta's mother, at her house at Dampierre. The king escorted them six miles on their journey, and they spent several days very pleasantly amongst the beautiful grounds, embellished with cascades and temples, and lakes and islands, which rendered the place one of the most charming *maisons de campagne* in France. A week after their return, the queen-mother of England arrived on a visit: the whole party went out to meet and conduct her to apartments prepared for her in the palace; she remained with them nearly a week, and when she departed, her daughter and son-in-law accompanied her as far as Vaux, the residence of M. Fouquet, superintendent of finance to Louis XIV., who gave them a magnificent supper.¹ The unfortunate financier, unconscious that his downfall was already preparing, gave a still more costly fête, a few weeks later, to the whole royal party, where all that wealth could lavish in elegance and luxury was provided. The king himself was present; for, though the victim was doomed, the preparations for his displacement were not yet completed; but the very profusion of the expenditure squandered in his honour, was viewed by the king as proof that the fortunes of his minister had been unfairly won.²

In these and similar pleasures, passed the first few months of Henrietta's wedded life, until their effect upon her constitution became prejudicial, especially as her situation required more than ordinary prudence. On the 26th of November she travelled in a litter to Paris; her husband accompanied her, and the queen her mother was already there awaiting her arrival.³ Those of the court who had not seen her for some time were struck with the change in her appearance; she was thinner than ever, and ex-

¹ Gaz. de France, pp. 579, 631, 655, 679.

² Gaz. de France, 1661, p. 798; La Fayette, p. 404; Choisy, Mémoires Petitot, vol. lxiii. p. 252.

³ Gaz. de France, p. 1278.

tremely pallid; her cough was so severe that the violence of the fits threatened suffocation, and she could obtain no sleep without the aid of opiates; her medical attendants insisted upon her keeping her bed, and urged the necessity of repose; but, though Henrietta obeyed the letter of their injunctions, she transgressed its spirit. Dressed in a graceful dishabille, she reclined, in an elegant bedroom, with her curtains open, receiving company from the morning till nine o'clock at night; her apartment was the resort of the *élite* of French society.¹

A fancy seized her one day of having a ballet performed in her apartment; and though it was a mere *jeu d'esprit*, got up in her own *coterie*, and acted the day after it was devised, it consisted of nine *entrées*, and was pronounced to be charming. A ballet royal on the subject of the dignity of the royal house of France was performed at court on February 7th, 1662; the king, queen, and Monsieur took part; and Madame heard so much of its attractiveness, which it was said a hundred mouths could not adequately describe, that, to compensate for her disappointment in being unable to attend, it was repeated in her apartments the following week.²

Henrietta's health improved rapidly, and at last she was permitted once again to leave her room, and even to go out occasionally in an easy carriage. On the 14th of March, the first day on which she left the Tuileries, she went to see her mother at the Palais Royal, attended divine service at the Louvre, and in the evening joined the royal circle, where her re-appearance was hailed with the liveliest pleasure.

Though just emerging from her invalid chamber, Henrietta was now perpetually in public. On March 21st, we find her attending a religious service at the Val de Grâce; on the next day, listening to an eloquent oration of Bossuet at the Louvre; on the 24th, attended by the queen, her sister-in-law, she received the visit of the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de Fuentes.

Three days later, on the 27th of March, 1662, at three o'clock in the morning, the duchess gave birth to an

¹ Monpensier, mém. vol. viii. p. 81.

² Gaz. de France, 1662, pp. 98, 148, 170, 195.

infant daughter. Before six o'clock, Louis XIV., with the two queens, was in her apartments to congratulate her; and, during that and the following days, the whole court paid their compliments to Monsieur.¹ Madame, however, was greatly disappointed in the sex of her child: a court gossip goes so far as to assert that, on being informed it was a daughter, she exclaimed, "Let it be thrown into the river, then!"² On the last Sunday in April, she was sufficiently recovered to make her appearance at her parish church of St. Eustache, whither her infant daughter was carried, and she made the customary offering of *pains bénits*.³

A few weeks later, the "Court Gazettes" announced that the king, in acknowledgment of the personal bravery and merits of the Count de Guiche, eldest son of the Maréchal de Grammont, had appointed him to the command of some troops which he was about to send into Lorraine.⁴ This appointment which, to the popular eye, had no bearing whatever upon the history of our Henrietta, was yet so intimately connected with her life behind the scenes, that we must pause to narrate the circumstances which have coupled her name with that of this nobleman, in a manner calculated to leave unfavourable impressions, though the veracious chroniclers of the period fully exculpate her from any charge more grave than that of imprudence and frivolity. Young, vivacious, and unsuspecting, Henrietta was the very character to become the victim of court intrigue; and never was court so beset with women's stratagems as was that of Louis XIV. One of her maids of honour, named Montalais, was a girl of intriguing spirit, whose object was to make herself of importance by obtaining the trust of persons of consequence.⁵ She had discernment

¹ Gaz. de Fr. pp. 259, 260, 284, 307.

² Mélanges de Philibert de la Marc, Bouhier MS. 34, f. 220, Bib. Nationale, Paris.

³ News Letter, 30 April, 1662, French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

⁴ Gaz. de France, p. 435.

⁵ She had been maid of honour to the Dowager Duchess of Orleans, and was recommended by Mdle. de Monpensier to Monsieur, who sub-

enough to perceive that the charms of her royal mistress had fascinated the heart of Arnaud, Comte de Guiche, a handsome young nobleman, twenty-three years of age, and already married to a daughter of Comte de Sully. He was a great favourite with Monsieur, who brought him into continual intercourse with the princess. During the residence at Fontainebleau, he was associated with Madame in one of the court ballets, and took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, to give utterance to ambiguous expressions which she received as mere commonplace gallantries. But his attentions to her exciting the notice of Monsieur, the prince remonstrated; his favourite answered him with a *hauteur* which offended him, and a quarrel ensued, in consequence of which De Guiche retired from court.¹ His sister, the Princess of Monaco, however, still remained at Fontainebleau, and was Henrietta's inseparable companion; they rode together, walked together, and shared all their occupations and pleasures. This intimacy causing incessant jealousies and disputes, the Princess of Monaco was banished from court, through the influence of the queen-mother, between whom and Madame a coldness arose in consequence. Several English noblemen, particularly Lord St. Albans, strove to reconcile them; he begged the queen not to oppose Madame's innocent wishes, intimating that her influence with Louis XIV. might be of use in maintaining cordiality between him and the queen-mother, and would be at her service if she would conciliate Madame. The queen replied with dignity that she needed no one to stand between herself and her son, and rejected the proffered overtures.²

She soon, however, became reconciled to Madame; and here, in all probability, the affair would have ended, but for the mischief-making propensities of Montalais. No

sequently blamed his cousin severely for introducing so dangerous a person into his establishment.—*Montpensier, Mémoires*, vol. viii. p. 83.

¹ The whole account of this intrigue is derived, where no other reference is given, from Henrietta's own version of the affair, as related by Madame La Fayette in her "Histoire de Madame Henriette," pp. 392-446.

² Motteville, vol. v. p. 137.

sooner did the Comte de Guiche return to court than she contrived to insinuate herself into his confidence; without much difficulty, she extracted from him a confession of his attachment to her mistress, and promised to aid, with all her skill, in procuring for him a reciprocation. Taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, she threw herself on her knees before Madame, and disclosed to her, in glowing terms, the passion and the wretchedness of the handsome young Count. One of the foibles of Henrietta's nature, which she shared with her elder brother, Charles II., was a shrinking reluctance to give pain, and a consequent want of firmness in refusing improper solicitations. Added to this was the feeling of gratified vanity with which a young girl, without genuine respect or affection for her husband, beheld herself the admired of the most admired cavalier at court. Instead, therefore, of repelling these overtures with an indignation which would have put a stop to them for ever, Henrietta answered so mildly that, on the following day, Montalais presented her with a letter which the count, flattered by the representations of the *confidante*, had ventured to write. Madame refused it; but Montalais opened and read it. A few days afterwards Henrietta returned from Fontainebleau to Paris travelling, in a litter, on account of her delicate state of health; Montalais threw into her carriage a whole packet of the effusions of the enamoured count, and the princess was foolish enough to beguile the tedium of the journey by perusing some of them, and confessed to Montalais that she had done so. She was now confined to her couch, and constantly surrounded by ladies of quality; yet Montalais had the audacity to introduce Guiche into her apartments in open day, in the disguise of a fortune-teller, so well assumed that no one but Madame was cognizant of his identity; and he told the fortune of ladies to whom he was perfectly known, without their suspecting him for a moment. His conversation with Madame consisted in light pleasantries on the court and courtiers, in which Monsieur was not spared; and thus the heedless Henrietta, led away by love of adventure, exposed her own reputation and his safety to needless and futile risks. An account of what was trans-

piring reached the king through the medium of his mistress, La Vallière. He questioned his sister-in-law on the subject, and exhorted her not to be guilty of such imprudences: he prevailed upon her, though with some difficulty, to receive back La Vallière, who, in a temporary quarrel with the king, had fled to a convent;¹ and, as a condition of this favour, promised not to banish the Count de Guiche provided she would pledge herself to break off all intercourse with him. This promise, though made with sincerity, was not faithfully kept. The Marquis de Vardes, a gentleman of the bedchamber to Louis XIV., who was in the confidence of De Guiche, waited upon his father, the Maréchal de Grammont, represented the danger the count was incurring, and urged the maréchal to obtain from the king some military appointment for Guiche, which should secure his absence from Court without involving any disgrace. The maréchal, therefore, solicited for his son the command of the troops in Lorraine, which was readily accorded.

It was at this period that Henrietta became a mother: out of society for a short time, it was only through the casual information of the ladies who visited her during her recovery, that she learned a fact the interest of which to her those who repeated it did not imagine, viz.; that Guiche was about to leave Paris for Lorraine. When the king came to see her, she asked him if the report were true: he acknowledged that it was, and assured her that it was not his own arrangement, but was solicited by the Maréchal de Grammont for his son. Henrietta was much surprised at this resolution on the part of her professed adorer, taken so suddenly and without acquainting her; and Montalais conveyed to him her expressions of amazement and displeasure. The count professed despair at the

¹ The mistress alleged the reproaches of Madame, on account of her intrigue with the king, as one reason of her leaving court; the king, on bringing her back, recommended her in the strongest terms to Henrietta's good graces, to which the princess replied by assuring him that she should henceforward regard La Vallière as *une fille à vous*, a retort which abashed and silenced the king.—*Beaumelle, Mémoires de Maintenon*, vol. i. p. 220; *Amours du Roi et de La Vallière*, MS. 2656, in the Collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and MS. 198, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris*.

idea of parting from her, wrote to assure her that the appointment was obtained without his knowledge or consent, and declared that he would see the king at once and decline it. Henrietta was in consternation: she wrote to the count to express her earnest wish that he should acquiesce in the proposed arrangement; and he reluctantly consented, on condition that the princess would grant him one parting interview. This Montalais promised to arrange; and one day at noon, when she knew Monsieur would be absent, she introduced the count through a private staircase into a gallery, where he remained until Madame, having dined, and expressed her intention to retire and take rest, joined him, and afforded him an opportunity of conversation. Before it was concluded, Monsieur unexpectedly made his appearance, and the *confidante* had only just time to hide the count behind a chimney-board, where he had to pay a long and anxious penance for his stolen privilege.¹

This interview was not so secretly managed as its contrivers had supposed. Two of Madame's ladies, jealous of the ascendancy which Montalais possessed over her, were on the watch, spied out the manœuvre, and related the whole affair to the queen-mother. She, with less than her wonted prudence, communicated it to Monsieur, and they arranged between them that Montalais and another maid of Madame, whose conduct was not approved, should be forthwith dismissed. Early the next morning, long before Madame was up, they were both informed that it was Monsieur's will they should instantly depart, and that a coach was in waiting to convey them whithersoever they might choose. No resource was left but obedience. Montalais was fortunate in being allowed to carry away her trunks and cabinets, which contained all the correspondence between the count and Madame, the discovery of which would have been of consequence to both,

¹ La Fayette, p. 418. Another account speaks of the Count being on the point of detection by Monsieur, because, whilst paring an orange for his wife, he was about to throw the skins behind the fire-place, when Montalais sprung forward and begged him to give them to her, as it was the part of the orange which she best liked.—*Lettres Historiques et Galantes*, par M^{de} de C. 12mo. Col. 1712, vol. v. p. 390.

as they had expressed very freely their opinions upon all the persons around them, not excepting those of the highest rank; the king himself was not spared by Guiche, with whom he was no favourite. As soon as Henrietta awoke that morning, her husband came into her room, and told her that he had sent away two of her ladies. Her conscience at once suggested that the transaction of the previous day was discovered; she dared not ask any reason for this conduct; Monsieur vouchsafed none, but immediately left his wife and went to the Palais Royal, to pour out his complaints to her mother, Queen Henrietta Maria. The queen sought an interview with her daughter, blamed her for her imprudence, and told her the extent to which Monsieur was made acquainted with it. The husband and wife came to a mutual explanation, in which Monsieur, who usually felt his inferiority to the brilliant and beautiful being to whom his destinies were linked, was so self-satisfied at being able to assume a superior tone, to reprimand her conduct and receive her confessions, that it softened the annoyance which he might otherwise have experienced, and led him to treat his wife with great indulgence. She assured him that the interview of the preceding day was the first private one she had ever had with Guiche, adding, though with less truth, that he had only written to her a few times. After receiving her promise to break off all correspondence with the count, Monsieur embraced his wife, and assured her of his forgiveness.¹ He was less indignant with the count than a husband of stronger and more manly passions would have been; and to avoid the *éclat* of the affair, he did not solicit his disgrace, but turned his whole attention to the prevention of any intercourse between his wife and Montalais, whom he justly regarded as the more culpable person in the transaction, and who was induced to shut herself up in a convent. He was satisfied to permit Guiche to depart the court and take the command of the Lorraine troops;² and he confirmed the selection made by Henrietta of the count's aunt, Madame de Chaumont, as governess of their infant daughter, in preference to Madame de

¹ La Fayette, p. 419, *et seq.*; Motteville, vol. v. p. 227.

² Montpensier, vol. viii. p. 110.

Motteville, whom the queen-mothers of France and England had alike honoured with their choice.¹

This child was baptized on the 21st of May, in the chapel of the Palais Royal, where the Queen of England usually worshipped. The almoner of the queen, Abbé Montagu, performed the ceremony, and she and the King and Queen of France stood sponsors to the princess, who was called Marie Louise. The whole court were present at the service: at its close, the clang of trumpets and cymbals heralded the running at the course, which was performed with great splendour in the square of the Tuileries. Courtly festivities were now resumed with spirit. This performance was only the prelude to another on a much more elaborate scale, which took place on the 1st of June, in which the runners at the ring were of the highest rank, and all dressed in characteristic costume: the king chose Roman attire; Monsieur wore that of Persia; the ladies were spectators, and in turns distributed the prizes.² In the middle of July Henrietta headed an Amazonian party of ladies, who, with grey plumed hats and cravatted necks, went on horseback to Versailles, and joined a stag hunt given by the king, who afterwards entertained the fair huntresses at a costly banquet.³ Monsieur and Madame then retired to St. Cloud, to enjoy in tranquillity a parting visit from Queen Henrietta Maria, who was about to return to England.⁴ On the 25th of July "she left Paris," writes Father Gamache, "accompanied by Monsieur the Duke of Orleans and his wife, who escorted her to Beauvais, where they could not separate without abundance of tears, particularly on the part of the mother and the daughter. Madame, who had always been brought up under the eye of the queen her mother, could not leave her, having never found in her any but a holy sweetness, amidst all the bitter trials

¹ Motteville, vol. v. p. 158.

² *Gaz. de France*, pp. 260, 507. Charles Pennault published, in a large folio volume, an elaborate Latin description of this running at the ring, illustrated with numerous engravings both of the processional group and of single figures.

³ *Gazette de Loret*, 22 July, 1662.

⁴ *Gaz. de France*, pp. 554, 557, 576, 612, 683.

attending the disturbances in England; and love, like a weight, which descends rather than ascends, kept the heart of the queen pressed to that of her daughter, who could not bear that kingdoms and seas should part their persons. But this separation, being judiciously and steadfastly resolved upon, obliged both to submit; so Monsieur and Madame took the road to Paris, and the queen that to Calais."¹

Royalty has but little leisure for the indulgence of its private sorrows, and within a few hours of this sorrowful parting, the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, with their suite, arrived at Chantilly, where the Prince of Condé was waiting to receive them with all honours; and for two days, picture galleries, hunting matches, comedies, concerts, collations out of doors, and sumptuous repasts within, diversified every hour. At the expiration of this period they returned to Paris, and spent the autumn principally at St. Germain, where the court was residing, with occasional visits to their own residence of St. Cloud.² They returned for the winter to Paris, whence Henrietta thus addressed her brother, in behalf of one of her friends, Madame de Chastillon, afterwards Duchess of Mecklenburgh,³ whom she designates by the *sobriquet* of Bablon:—

“From Paris, this 30th of November.

“I almost wish to rejoice with you because you find an opportunity of obliging Bablon; she has prayed me to recommend her affair to you, and I assure you that I do it very willingly, for I love her, and am assured that she is a person very much in my interests, and in yours, which is a good reason why you should attend to her affair, even though you should have forgotten past days. Bablon and I thank you beforehand for it, not being able to doubt but you will do it.

“If you desire to know news, Vivone will tell you them; truly, he is quite one of my friends, and I have told him that he must tell you all that you wish to know, and I am sure that he will do so, when you tell him that I sent word to you that he should. I have not written to you since I received the letter from you by M. Montagu; I will only say

¹ Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 428.

² Gazettes de France, 1662, pp. 731, 755, 837, 935, 1110.

³ She was a Montmorency, and widow of Gaspard de Coligny, Duke of Chatillon.

that I am very well satisfied with you, and, that if I have not told you so sooner, it has been from fear of fatiguing you with thanks, as I had done with the contrary. This is all that I will say to you, only that

“I am,

“Your very humble servant.

“To the King of Great Britain, my brother.”¹

A few weeks after she again writes to her brother, as follows:—

“From Paris, this 14th of December.

“I have given you rest, without writing to you, for a sufficiently long time; but when an ambassador sets off one cannot help doing it, and I would not make this an excuse, knowing well that it is my duty; but because I fear that you would not wish me to constrain you to answer me, and I fear much about my natural disposition to be importunate. I send also to the queen, my mother, news which I am sure she will tell you, which hinders me from doing so. I should have done myself the honour of writing to the queen, your wife, but, as she would not understand anything of what I might say to her, I prefer praying you to tell her the reason which prevents me from doing so; and also because I believe a compliment made by you will be better received than one from me, although there is not any one who honours her more. I will not say more to you, only that

“I am your very humble servant.

“To the King of Great Britain, my brother.”²

On the 30th of December, the court was thrown into consternation by the sudden death of Madame Anne Elizabeth of France, the infant daughter of Louis XIV. The royal family, however, had no time for mourning: the whirl of dissipation rolled on uninterrupted by death or sorrow, and hardly a week after the death of this infant, a grand court ballet was held, which was repeated the very day after the funeral, at which the chief performers of the ballet were present!³ It was entitled the “Ballet des Arts.” After a musical symphony, and dialogue in praise of peace, agriculture, one of the arts resulting from peace, was to be represented. The king, with several young nobles, appeared in shepherd’s guise;

¹ Endorsed “20 Nov. 1662; Madame to his majesty in favour of Madame de Chastillon.” French holograph, State Paper Office.

² Endorsed “14 December, 1662; Duchess of Orleans, by M. de Cominges.” Cominges’ Instructions are dated Dec. 13th. French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

³ Gaz. de France, 1663, pp. 23, 71.

Henrietta and four other ladies were attired as shepherdesses. Stepping forward on the stage, she was thus announced:—

Quelle bergère ! quels yeux,
A faire mourir les dieux
Aussi comme eux on l'adore.
Elle est de leur propre sang,
Mais sa personne est encore
Bien audessus de son rang,
De jeunes lis et des roses
Tout nouvellement écloses,
Forment son teint délicat.
Enfin les plus belles choses
Près d'elle n'ont point d'éclat.
C'est une douceur extrême :
Et pour en dire ici le mal comme le bien,
Il est vrai tout le monde l'aime ;
Mais après son devoir, ses moutons, et son chien,
Je pense qu'elle n'aime rien !

The five following *entrées* represented the arts of navigation, sculpture, painting, printing, and medicine ; after which was depicted that of war : personifications of Mars and Bellona, surrounded by tents and battalions, chanted a dialogue in verse. Henrietta then re-appeared in the guise of Pallas, with her companions attired as Amazons, and performed a dance, in which her characteristic elegance, set off by the classic beauty of her dress, was displayed to great advantage. The Amazons having retired, another company, symbolizing the virtues, appeared, and grouped in artistic style around Pallas ; when, amidst general bursts of admiration, the curtain dropped. This ballet was repeated five times.¹ The court was rendered increasingly gay by a visit from the Prince Royal of Denmark, and by the marriage of the king's niece, Mademoiselle de Valois, which took place in the spring of 1663.

This incessant dissipation proved injurious to the health of the princess, and induced a miscarriage.² In

¹ Gazettes de France, 1663, pp. 47, 71, 119, 144, '167 ; Ballet des Arts, 4to. Paris, 1663. To the courtesy of M. Paul de la Croix, better known as the Bibliophlie Jacob, the author is indebted for the facility of examining a curious, and probably unique, collection of the ballets, &c., performed at the court of Louis XIV.

² French Corresp. Spring, 1663, State Paper Office.

the autumn she retired, with her husband, to their country seat at Villars Coterets: on their return to the court, then at Vincennes, they were again handsomely entertained by the Prince of Condé at Chantilly, where they spent two days, and enjoyed the novelty of a stag-hunt by torch-light.¹

The Duchess of Orleans was an important link of connection between her brother Charles II. and Louis XIV.; and through her medium it frequently happened that trifling disputes were arranged, and points of etiquette and detail were settled, without the formality of diplomatic interference. In June, 1663, Denzil, Lord Hollis, was sent as ambassador to the French Court: he was a man of integrity and political skill, but too sensitive and punctilious for his position; and he gave a world of trouble to Henrietta, to whom he fled for aid in the *contretemps* to which his perversity subjected him. The first perplexity arose in reference to the form of his public *entrée* into Paris. He claimed precedence for his carriage before that of the princes of the blood royal: it was refused, and after several expedients had been suggested and rejected, it was arranged by Henrietta that he should be presented to Louis XIV. at St. Germain, whither the court resorted for a few days, and thus shirk the question touching the *entrée*. "I must do Madame right," says the punctilious ambassador, "who only hath by her dexterity and wisdom carried on and managed all this business, and brought it to that post where it now is."² New causes of dispute, however, were perpetually arising; Hollis complained that M. de Cominges, the French ambassador in England, received many more privileges than he did in France, the fact being that Charles II. was as yielding in all matters of etiquette as his brother of France was scrupulous; and that the English king indulged in a degree of familiarity with some of the foreign ambassadors that contrasted strongly with the reserve and exclusiveness of "*le grand monarque*."³ Henrietta, having in vain endea-

¹ Gazettes de France, pp. 946, 968.

² Hollis's Desp. $\frac{1}{2}$ March, 1664, State Paper Office.

³ French Corresp. 1663-4, *passim*. See also Life of Lord Hollis, in Guizot's "Monk's Contemporaries."

voured to soothe the irritation of the ambassador, addressed her brother on the subject. She communicated, at the same time, information relative to an East India Company just set up in France, in which money was invested on behalf of her little daughter, who, she assured the king, was growing up his very image. He thus replied to her:—

“This bearer, Mr. Walters, being one of my servants, and having asked me leave to go into France, to see the country, I would not let him kiss your hands without a letter. I see you are as hot upon setting up an East India Company at Paris as we are here upon our Guinea trade. We are now sending away eight ships thither, to the value of 50,000*l.*, and I have given them a convoy of a man-of-war, lest the Dutch in those parts might do them some harm, in revenge for our taking the fort of Cape Verde, which will be of great use to our trade.

“I hope my niece will have a better portion than what your share will come to in the East India trade. I believe you might have employed your money to better uses than to send it off so long a journey. I hope it is but in a compliment to me when you say my niece is so like me, for I never thought my face was even so much as intended for a beauty. I wish, with all my heart, I could see her, for at this distance I love her; you may guess, therefore, if I were upon the place what I should do.

I am very sorry that my Lord Hollis continues those kind of humours; I have renewed by every post my directions upon it, and have commanded him to proceed in his business, and not to insist upon trifles. I am newly returned from seeing some of my ships which lie in the Hope, ready to go to sea, and the wind has made my head ache so much as I can write no longer; therefore I can say no more but that I am yours.”¹

The letter was crossed *en route* by another from Henrietta, as follows:—

“From Fontainebleau, this 22nd of June.

“I have already written to you many times on the little affairs which have happened to my Lord Hollis, to whom I see that absolute orders are necessary to conclude them, in order that things may not remain, as they tell me here that they are; for from him I do not know the least thing since I told him that I could not believe that he had cause to be so angry for things of no importance; for it is the justest thing in the world that he should have privileges, but since it is not the custom of this country, and the king offers to you to take them away from Cominges, there is nothing, according to my opinion, to object to.

My Lord Hollis is discontent with Lionne, because he has not styled him ‘your excellence’; he had always done so, and the other

¹ From the original, in the collection of M. Donnadieu.

never styled him so in return, so that he grew weary. The same thing has happened between the chancellor and him : they had agreed together that they would do it, (*i.e.* adopt the style of your excellence,) and the chancellor having begun, the other in reply addressed him as *you*, at which he was enraged to the last degree. Nothing, however, advances, which throws me into despair, thinking it very vexatious that everything should be at a stand-still for affairs of this nature. They have sent to fetch me to go to the comedy, therefore I have only time to assure that I am,

“Your very humble servant.

“To the King of Great Britain my brother.”¹

Early in the spring of 1664, Henrietta met with an accident, the particulars of which are detailed by Lord Hollis, in a despatch dated March 2nd.² “The court,” he writes, “removes hence very suddenly to St. Germain, and after, to Fontainebleau for all summer, that the buildings at the Louvre may be followed. I think Madame’s keeping her bed puts it off for some days, which is to be yet for five days longer, by reason of a fall she had, Tuesday night, at the Louvre, by her foot catching in a ribbon which hung down at her masking gown, and that very heavy with jewels might have made the fall very dangerous against the silver grate upon which she was coming, if a gentleman (M. Clerambault, I think) had not stayed her; but God be thanked, she hath not the least hurt, only the trouble of always lying, and not putting her feet to the ground for nine days.” The reason for these cautionary measures was that Henrietta was again *enceinte*. As soon as a removal was deemed fitting, the court retired to rusticate at St. Cloud, partly in the hope of benefiting the long-failing health of the queen-mother of France. Henrietta treated her royal relative with every mark of consideration, lending to her, for the removal, a beautiful barge presented her by her brother of England, which was considered more easy in its movements than any yet in use at the French Court.³

In May the court removed to Fontainebleau; there Henrietta’s health was less delicate,⁴ and she mingled freely

¹ French Corresp. 1664, State Paper Office, Holograph, French.

² French Corresp. State Paper Office.

³ *Gaz. de France*, 1664, pp. 402, 456.

⁴ M. Petit, sur la saignée de Madame, MS. Residu St. Germain, Pacquet 4, No. 3 f. 797, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

in public circles until, on the 16th July, at 10 A.M., she gladdened her lord and the whole French Court, by giving birth to an infant son. The two queens were present with her at the time. The Queen-mother of France was especially delighted with this accession to the royal family, as her only other grandson, the young dauphin, was a child of extremely delicate health.¹ Bonfires and rejoicings were general. Monsieur immediately wrote to Charles II. to announce the happy event; and the Abbé Montagu, the almoner of Queen Henrietta Maria, who was in waiting to convey the news to her,² was charged with a letter from Louis XIV., in which he says:—"We have this morning received the accomplishment of our wishes in the birth of a son, whom it has pleased God to give to my brother; and, to render this blessing complete in all points, nothing can be more favourable than the state of health, both of mother and child. With all my heart I congratulate your majesty; to understand my joy, you need only be pleased to estimate it by the greatness of your own, for my tenderness towards my brother and sister is not less than even that of your majesty."³

Henrietta's recovery was attended with some slight fluctuations, and though in the course of a few days she was allowed to see the English ambassador and a few intimate friends, she was not permitted to converse with them; nor was she able to leave her bed till the expiration of nearly three weeks. In August Hollis writes that,—
 "The king, queens, and Madame, be at Vincennes: Monsieur is here at the Palais Royal, and the two children; and so I find they mean to continue till Madame and he go to Villars Coterets, which they do some ten days hence, where she saith she will stay a month, but I hardly believe it. She looks as well as ever I saw her look in my life, that is, as well as is possible; and is grown so fat that my compliment to her yesterday was, it was well she had good witnesses, else nobody would believe she had

¹ Gaz. de France, 1664, pp. 402, 456, 479, 554, 579, 627, 712.

² Hollis's Desp. 5 July, 1664, State Paper Office.

³ Lettres de Louis XIV. f. 71, MS. 3154, in the collection of Sir T. Phillipps.

brought forth such a lusty young duke, to see her in so good a plight so soon; and the young duke is as lusty and as fine a child as ever I saw."¹

Henrietta was now blessed with the possession of two lovely children; but her whole existence was too much one of excitement, too dependent on the glare of pomp and the homage of courtly adulation, for home to be to her the centre of attraction which it ever forms to the woman who delights to find her sphere of action in that domestic circle for which nature has so eminently fitted her. When therefore the queen-mother of France offered to take Henrietta's little girl entirely to herself, to care for her early education, and finally to constitute her heir to the chief of her property, the offer was willingly embraced, and the little *Mademoiselle* took up her abode with her grandmother; though the perpetual intercourse between the different members of the royal family prevented any prolonged separation between the mother and daughter.

From Paris the Duke and Duchess of Orleans went to their seat at Villars Coterets, for the sake of repose to Henrietta's constitution: asses' milk was prescribed for her, and she was placed under a course of medicine which necessitated retirement for a short period.² Towards the close of October we find her again at court, at Versailles, whence she addressed the following letter to her brother.

"Versailles, 24th October,

"I have always delayed to mention to you a discovery which I made six months ago, of certain jewels, which are pretended to have been stolen from the king our father, and I should not now have written to you about it, but the ambassador, who was lately informed of it, will doubtless have done so already; and this being the case, as I can no longer give you the surprise I hoped for, I will tell you that the persons concerned in it, whom I have had imprisoned, confess to having had the jewels, but as they are a little scattered abroad, there will be some trouble in getting them again; but even should it cost more than trouble, they shall not escape me, that I may have the pleasure of restoring them to you. It is said that there are a hat-band of diamonds, very handsome, a garter also, and many rings; a portrait of Prince Henry as a child, set in very large diamonds. You can ascertain from

¹ Hollis's Desp. $\frac{1}{8}$ Aug. French Corresp.

² Hollis's Despatches, July to Oct. 1664, *passim*. State Paper Office.

the queen whether she knew them, for the king had nothing that she was unacquainted with.

"I have nothing to say in reply to the letter which you have written me, having spoken to you so often of the same thing that it would be troubling you to do so again. To give you news in exchange for what you write me about the queen's building, I must tell you that the king is making a grand building here, which will adorn this place very much, and which joins to the fore-court, in the shape of a triangle; and the beauty of it is, that it will cost him nothing, for he gives the space to many persons of quality, who will do it at their own expense, and who are very glad to have houses for which the site is given them. This is all to be said to you by,

"Your very humble servant.¹

"To the king."

The subject of the restoration of these jewels occupied much of Lord Hollis's attention. When he set investigations on foot, he found Madame already engaged in efforts for their recovery; but, as he believed, was in danger of being over-reached. He therefore wrote to Abbé Montagu, who was with the princess, informing him that he was engaged in the search, and begging her continued favour and assistance; on which she thus addressed him:—

"M. de Montagu has shown me the letter you wrote to him touching certain jewels, which they pretend were stolen from the king my father: it is now some time since I had advice thereof, and I have taken all precautions necessary to have them again, in case there were any, in order to restore them to the king my brother; the king has promised me all the arrests which are needed for that purpose, and if I have said nothing of it, it is because I hoped to surprise the king my brother, which would have caused him to have received the thing more agreeably. I send you the letter he wrote me in answer to the paper which I sent him, of which M. de Montagu has informed you, for I am well content that you should know all that may pass through my hands, being in some sort an anticipation of your charge, but you are reasonable enough to know that we must obey our masters, and for the rest you ought to be satisfied with me, since I shall only do the least that I possibly can, and shall always apprise you of all I do; I end by assuring you that none has greater esteem for your person than I."

Hollis replied in the most respectful terms, assuring her that had he known of her agency in the affair, he should have communicated with her earlier. In his despatch to England, he writes:—

¹ Lambeth MS. 1645, art. 67, French Holograph.

"I only feared Madame would have taken it ill because I interposed, but she doth not, as you will see by her letter to me and my answer, of which I here send the copies, that you may see yourself in what state it stands between us : the truth is, she meant well, but had been cozened : and the business lost, if I had not put in the king my master's claim, for a lady about her, to whom it was first discovered, made use of her but to carry on the business as far as for herself to have a good composition, and then let out the birds and shuffle up the business."¹

But Hollis himself was not more successful: his timid policy, and the too great facility of his master, ultimately caused the loss of these and other valuables, as tapestries, pictures, &c., belonging to the English royal family, which were detected to have been pilfered during the time of the Commonwealth.²

We must now take a rapid glance at the *affaires du cœur*, in which our princess was involved, though in so doing we shall carefully avoid entering into details of the intrigues of the court of Louis XIV., beyond such as are absolutely associated with her personal history. The banishment of the Comte de Guiche, and the disgrace of Montalais in 1662, seemed to leave Henrietta with every prospect of freedom from the dangers to which they had exposed her. But no sooner had one intriguer retired than another, still more dangerous, took the vacant place. The Marquis de Vardes, by whose secret influence, as already noted, Guiche was banished, endeavoured to insinuate himself into Madame's confidence, and that from the basest of motives. He sought to know her secrets, in order to betray them, and to make his treason the stepping-stone to his political advancement. He was well aware that to possess the necessary hold upon her, he must destroy the mutual regard subsisting between her and the Comte de Guiche, whom he still feared, even though at a distance. He therefore persuaded Madame that the count had entirely forgotten her, in his devotion to another lady; whilst to the count, he wrote long stories of Madame's coquetries with the Prince de Marsillac, eldest son of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who had, in truth, excited the jealousy of Monsieur by his extrava-

¹ Hollis's Despatches, $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{2}$ Oct. 1664.

² Ibid. 18 Oct., 12 & 29 Nov. & December, *passim*, 1664, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

gant attentions to the princess, but possessed not the slightest hold upon her regard. Guiche, irritated by these representations, wrote of Madame in a strain of bitterness, which was just what his rival wished. Vardes showed her the letters, and the rupture with her former admirer was complete. He freely consented to surrender some letters which he had received from her, and Vardes took upon himself to gain possession not only of these but of a number written by Guiche to Madame, which were in the possession of Montalais.¹

The management of these affairs necessitated frequent interviews between Madame and Vardes, which took place in the parlour of the convent at Chaillot, by permission of the superior, the Mère de la Fayette. He availed himself of these opportunities to profess the utmost devotion to her interests, and to inspire her with sentiments of distrust towards all whose influence over her he had reason to fear. He pretended that Louis XIV. hated her at heart, and advised her strongly to fortify herself against him by cultivating the friendship of the king her brother. Henrietta followed his advice, and fell so far into the snare as sometimes to lend him for perusal the letters she received from Charles II., which, of course, received a tinge of dissatisfaction from her own communications. These letters Vardes privately showed to the French king, who placed considerable confidence in him; and he spoke to Louis of Madame as a person who was dangerous from her love of intrigue, but boasted of his own influence over her, and of his willingness to exert it in inducing her to mould her conduct according to the king's wishes. He succeeded, in short, in persuading her to gratify Louis, in several minor matters connected with court intrigues.

Whilst Vardes was thus playing the traitor to Henrietta, he was equally perfidious in his dealings towards one of her most intimate friends, the Comtesse de Soissons, who was warmly attached to him, and to whom he professed an equal devotion. His attentions to Madame greatly distressed the Comtesse: she was ill; and sending for Henrietta to visit her, requested from her a true explanation

¹ La Fayette, p. 427 ; Motteville, vol. v. p. 229.

of the state of affairs between her and Vardes. Henrietta assured her that she might lay aside all jealousy as to any reciprocal attachment between herself and Vardes; though she acknowledged that Vardes had offered, if she wished it, to discard the comtesse, and never to see her again but in general society. Provoked by the perfidy of her lover, the comtesse, in her turn, revealed to Henrietta the treacherous use he had made of her correspondence with her brother. A free explanation ensued, in which the wicked policy of Vardes was made fully apparent, and his hold on the confidence of Henrietta for ever destroyed. She complained to the king of his baseness; but Vardes, whose position as a gentleman of the bedchamber gave him the advantage of the king's private ear, had so prepossessed Louis in his favour, and inspired him with such distrust of his sister-in-law, that the representations of Henrietta were coldly received, and Vardes was retained in the same position as before.

At this juncture, the Comte de Guiche returned from Poland, whither he had been sent from Lorraine, covered with the glory won by his bravery during a successful campaign.¹ During his absence from Paris, he had an interview with Louis XIV., when on a journey into one of the provinces, and a frank and free confession of his correspondence with Madame had been followed by a full pardon. He was therefore well received at court, and even Monsieur condescended to permit his mingling in the general circle at his palace, provided he would absent himself from the more friendly reunions. Meanwhile the count was extremely anxious to know Henrietta's real sentiments towards him: he heard that at a supper table, when she casually learned of his having received a dangerous wound in the Polish wars, she had turned pale, and her ill-concealed emotion had not escaped the notice of the bystanders. This and other circumstances led him to suspect treachery on the part of his professed friend, the Marquis de Vardes, and he adopted every mode which ingenuity could suggest, to obtain an *éclaircissement* with Henrietta: she steadily refused his overtures, and he at length ventured to

¹ La Fayette, pp. 435, *et. seq.*

intrust a letter to Vardes, who pledged himself to deliver it to her. Henrietta was then an invalid, and received no company; but Vardes solicited an audience with so much importunity, that at last it was granted. Fearful of the effect which the knowledge of his perfidy might have upon the Comte de Guiche, should it be discovered, Vardes implored the princess to conceal the past, promising to fulfil her wishes in anything she might command; but she answered, coldly and firmly, that she would admit of no further intrigue or concealment, and that she wished the Comte de Guiche to know the simple truth. Vardes then begged her to name some party to mediate between himself and the count, with whom a duel must otherwise become inevitable; but she absolutely refused, nor could all the extravagancies of despair, which he felt or feigned, induce her to change her resolution. She also declined receiving a letter from Guiche, which he had brought to her, in the hope of conciliating the count by procuring its acceptance. It was well that she did so, as Vardes had previously shown the letter to the king, and prophesied to him that Madame would receive it, and was only deceiving him when she professed to have broken with the count. Scarcely had Vardes left the apartment, when Louis XIV. entered: he and Madame had a long and confidential conversation, in which the rogueries of Vardes became so evident to both that though Louis declined for the present to interfere judicially, the grievances being of too delicate a nature for disclosure, he promised to punish his next offence against Madame.

It was not long before an opportunity offered. The Chevalier de Lorraine, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and a favourite with Monsieur, was enamoured of one of the ladies of Madame's suite. Vardes sarcastically told him that he was foolish to confine his ambition to the maid, and had better aspire to the mistress.¹ This impertinent speech, springing from the bitterness of disappointed malice, was reported to the princess, and excited her vehement indignation. She at once complained to

¹ Conrard, *Mem. Petitot Recueil*, 2nd Series, vol. xlviii. p. 278; La Fayette, p. 443; Marquis de la Fare, *Reflections sur le Règne de Louis XIV.* Bouhier, MS. 104, f. 25, *et. seq.* Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

the king, and as he did not manifest all the displeasure she had hoped, she addressed her brother on the subject, as follows:—

“[1664.] Paris, 17th December.

“I have begged the ambassador to send you this courier, that he may inform you truly of the affair which has happened about Vardes, but having written it to the queen my mother, you will permit me to refer to her letter for the history, and merely to tell you that it is a thing of such importance to me, that perhaps all the rest of my life will depend upon it, since, if it do not succeed as I expect, it will be a shame for me that a private man has been able to make head against me, and that the king has supported him; or else it will be an example for all the world in future, not to dare to attack me. I know that at the first attempt you showed resentment, because nothing happened to him for it, which induces me to beg you to write a letter to the king, in which you should tell him, that although you do not doubt that he will render me all possible satisfaction in this affair, and will finish as he has begun, (for we must take good care not to show him that we are not satisfied with him), yet, nevertheless, you are so much interested in it, on account of the affection you have for me, that you cannot prevent yourself from begging him to do so, and, (if you do not think that it would be saying too much,) that had it been any other than one of his servants, you would not have demanded justice from him, but would have done it yourself. But you can judge much better than I can what you should write, for as I have already told you, it is an affair which will have terrible consequences, if they are not avoided by the exile of that man; since all France interest themselves in it, and I feel myself obliged to support them, since it is on my behalf, judge what will happen from it: and I hope that your consideration will get me out of this, which will not be the first obligation that I shall have to you, nor that for which I shall owe you the least gratitude, since from it I shall obtain just dealings for the future. I conclude by assuring you that I am,

“Your most humble servant.

“To the king.”¹

The sentence of perpetual exile which Madame demanded for Vardes, seemed to Louis XIV. too severe, and he sent the marquis to the Bastile instead. But there he was visited by his friends, who boasted that all Madame's influence could not procure his banishment, and spoke with such presumption that at length the king saw the necessity of vindicating the honour of his sister-in-law, and dismissed Vardes to his government at Aigues Mortes, with a prohibition against his return to court.²

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 71, French Holograph.

² Hollis's Desp. 24 Dec. “Some days ago the king commanded the Marquis of Vardes to surrender himself at the Castle of the Bastile,

A few words more will complete the episode of the Comte de Guiche. He strove long and vainly to induce Henrietta either to receive a letter from him, or to grant him an interview, when accident most unexpectedly threw an opportunity into his way. Henrietta and her husband attended a masked ball, to which, the more effectually to disguise themselves, they went in a hired coach, habited in simple dominos, whilst several of their suite went in their state carriages, magnificently dressed. At the foot of the staircase they fell in with another group of masks: Monsieur, ignorant who they were, but enjoying the frolic of his *incognito*, proposed to join their party, and took one of their ladies by the hand; Madame took the hand of a gentleman, which, to her indescribable amazement, she discovered to be that of the Comte de Guiche, which had been maimed by a wound, and was therefore not easily mistakeable. At the same instant he recognised her by the perfume of her head-dress, and both had difficulty in refraining from an exclamation of surprise. The count silently led his astonished captive up the stairs, and when he saw Monsieur at a safe distance, entered into a full explanation of the past, and exonerated himself from the charges which Vardes had heaped upon him: Madame, on the other hand, consented to explain much in her conduct that had been misrepresented to him, and they exchanged assurances of mutual forgiveness. The count first left the room from fear of being detected by Monsieur, who had several times glanced uneasily towards his wife, seeing her engrossed in conversation with a stranger. She was so agitated by the embarrassment she anticipated in answering the inquiries of her husband, that her foot slipped, and she fell down several steps, and might have been seriously hurt, had not the Comte de Guiche, who was lingering on the staircase, rushed forward and caught her in his arms.

This romantic adventure renewed a degree of friendly intercourse between Henrietta and her former lover; but it was carried on with guarded propriety, through the

which he did immediately, to expiate some unbecoming words of which it is said that Madame had complained to his majesty."—News Letter, $\frac{1}{2}$ Dec. 1664, State Paper Office.

medium of the Marechal de Grammont, the count's father. The Comtesse de Soissons, however, who was extremely indignant against Madame, as being the cause of the exile of Vardes, determined to revenge herself on the Comte de Guiche. She accused him to the king of offences, some real though exaggerated, others pure inventions; but Louis consulted Henrietta, who told him the simple truth, and wrote to beg Guiche to do the same, assuring him that she had found plain dealing the best security against court machinations. His father, alarmed at the dangers which he believed impending, resolved to send the count into Holland. Guiche became ill and feverish: the Marechal urged his departure; he insisted on a last interview with Henrietta, and could obtain it only by assuming the liveries of a footman of Mdlle. de la Vallière, and thus presenting himself at the door of her litter, on the pretext of a message. His agitation at parting, added to his delicacy of health, so unnerved him, that he fell down on the pavement in a fainting fit. The *cortège* of the princess rolled on, regardless of the indisposition of a seeming footman, and thus they parted, never to meet again.¹ Ultimately, however, Madame had her revenge upon those who had contributed to his exile. By revealing to the king a court intrigue, in which Vardes and the Comtesse de Soissons, as well as Guiche, had played a perilous game by forging a Spanish letter, intended to reveal to the queen of Louis XIV. the infidelities of her husband, she so excited his indignation, that the countess was exiled to the government of Champagne, held by her husband, and Vardes immured in a dungeon at Montpellier.²

It may well be surmised that a husband of the jealous temperament of Philip of Orleans had not been an unconcerned observer of these *galantries*. "Of all the love that he had borne her," writes a contemporary, "there

¹ Conrard *ut sup.* p. 281; La Fayette, pp. 445-6. Guiche joined the army of Marechal Turenne, and, after some brilliant exploits, was taken ill and died at Creuznach in 1673, a few years after the decease of the princess. *Diarium Europæum*, vol. xxx. p. 614; Grammont Mémoires, vol. ii. p. 280.

² Marquis de la Fare, *Réflexions*, Bouhier MS. 104, f. 25, Motteville, vol. v. p. 230; La Fayette, pp. 444 *et seq.*; Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 113.

soon remained nothing but jealousy. He had cause enough to exercise it towards a young princess, adored by everybody, a little coquettish, and (although virtuous as I believe) yet fond of being loved.¹

The Queen-mother of England was his *confidante* as long as she remained in France, and after her departure, his sorrows and anxieties were unbosomed to his own mother, who was more than once heard to regret, with some feeling, the absence, in one charming but vivacious daughter-in-law, of the decorous stateliness and reserve of the other; in manner, as in mind, the Spanish queen of France was a perfect contrast to the gay and fascinating Henrietta.²

The permanent absence from court of the parties who had so long been the disturbers of Henrietta's domestic peace brought with it the prospect of restored tranquillity. An eye witness of the details of court life³ informs us that,—"The author of all these intrigues being removed, and without hope of return, Madame seemed to wish to change her conduct: she lived on better terms with the queen her mother-in-law, and seemed only to think of diversion that she might share with the king those fitting pleasures of a court which are deemed necessary, and that she might please all in general. As she had much genius and penetration, and talked sensibly on all subjects, those who had the honour of approaching her then, believed that there were moments in which, from her own experience, she had almost discovered that the charms of the life which she sought with so much eagerness, are not capable of satisfying the human heart; but she was not yet in a state fully to know that truth; she now saw it from afar, and athwart so many clouds, that it was impossible for her to be entirely influenced by it."

Whilst luxuriating in her freedom from domestic dissensions, Henrietta was thunderstruck by learning from

¹ De la Fare, *Réflexions*, *ut sup.* p. 41.

² According to Mdlle. de Monpensier, the queen expressed to her, great regret that *she* had not been her daughter-in-law, instead of Henrietta; "but," adds the independent damsel, "not all that queen-mother could say, made me regret not marrying Monsieur!"—*Mémoires*, vol. viii, p. 88.

³ Motteville, vol. v. p. 232.

Louis XIV. that he had received through Louvois a parcel from Holland, which contained a printed volume, purporting to be a full and true history of her amours with himself, with the Comte de Guiche, and with other nobles of the court. In the greatest excitement, she sent for the Bishop of Valence, Monsieur's almoner, who having been his tutor from boyhood, possessed great influence over him.

"My poor Valence, what will become of me," she exclaimed, "I am ruined; read, read all these false horrible tales, which Monsieur will only be too ready to believe." So saying, she put the little book into his hands. "And," added she, "if I could even be justified in the eyes of Monsieur, should I be so in those of the public, from whom it is impossible to conceal all that this fable contains?" The bishop consoled her as well as he could, and reassured her on the ground of the utter falsehood of the book. The next day, devoured with anxiety, and not having opened her mind on the subject to any one but the bishop, she sent for him; but word was brought that he was gone to Paris; on which she wrote him a few lines, requesting him to come to her immediately. She sent the note to Paris by one of her pages, who returned with tidings that the bishop had not slept at home, and that his servants said he was gone into the country for a week to pay a visit to one of his friends. "How very ill your friend does choose his time," said Henrietta to Madame de St. Chaumont; "I have confided to him a thing of the utmost importance. I cannot speak of it to any one but him, and yet he is so discreet as to absent himself." Madame de St. Chaumont, who knew nothing what was become of him, sent all over to obtain tidings; but for ten days all the trouble she took was to no purpose. At last, on the eleventh day, M. de Valence made his appearance before Madame, at the earliest hour in the morning at which entrance was granted into her room. As soon as she was dressed, she stepped into her cabinet, and sent for him. "Oh, Monsieur," she exclaimed, "why have you left me just at the moment when, more than at any other in my life, I

needed your counsels, and when my heart was the most overburdened?" "Here, Madame," said M. de Valence, bringing out of his pocket and from under his cassock nearly 300 copies of the obnoxious work, in loose sheets; "here, Madame, you will hear no more of this affair; burn them yourself."

He then related to the astonished princess, that when he had left her presence, at the close of the conversation in which she confided to him her misfortunes, he at once determined to post off to Holland, that he had carried off even the very last copy of the publication which had given her so much pain, and that by means of a bribe of 2000 pistoles, which he had given to the publisher, he had obtained his solemn promise that nothing more should ever be seen or heard of the work; two copies only had left the publisher's premises, that of M. de Louvois, and one which had been sent to the King of England. The joy of Henrietta at this unexpected and happy termination of her anxieties, which, from the jealous character of her husband, were but too well founded, was extreme; and the sagacity and zeal which M. de Valence had displayed on the occasion, laid the foundation of the permanent confidence which she reposed in the bishop, who was thenceforth made her confidant. She conveyed to the king the information of his noble conduct, which procured for him a strong and flattering eulogy from Louis.

It was no difficult matter for Henrietta to obtain from her brother the King of England his copy of the hated book, which, with that given her by the French king, she consigned to the flames, in the full persuasion that no other now remained. She was mistaken: her faithful bishop considered it no breach of confidence to preserve a single copy as a curiosity; which, however, he kept in careful secrecy till long after the death of Henrietta. He then ventured to show it to the Abbé de Choisy, his intimate friend, from whose memoirs are derived these particulars:—the abbé read more than half of it, and asserts that it bore no resemblance to the work afterwards published under the same title. Before his death, the Bishop of Valence burned this last remaining copy, thus

rendering it impossible to gratify the curiosity of survivors in reference to the work.¹

Thus the blow that threatened to overwhelm Henrietta's returning peace was happily warded off, and though several works, equally exaggerated and romanticizing, have since been circulated, both in print and in MS., it was not, with one exception, till the death of their subject had rendered such slanders innocuous.²

It is a painful coincidence to note that this exception occurred in the person of the Comte de Bussy Rabutin, a man who was indebted to Henrietta for preservation from disgrace. On suspicion of having uttered certain *plaisanteries* against persons connected with the king, he had incurred the royal displeasure, and the forfeiture of his military pension. As the best means of extricating himself from the scrape, Bussy sought the interest of Madame. "Finding her alone," he says, "I told her what M. le Tellier, who had told me what the king had against me, had said: as I perceived she smiled whilst I spoke, 'Do you treat it as a trifle, Madame,' said I, 'that you laugh at it?' 'No, Bussy, on the contrary, I am very sorry for your embarrassment; but that reminds me of another droll thing. As to your affair, the king has told me about it, but has forbidden me to mention it; only I am surprised that he is vexed with you alone, since there are other persons mixed up in the affair.' 'It is then a conspiracy, Madame.' 'No, it is a joke, in which they say that others have joined with you.'" Henrietta promised to solicit for him an audience with the king, and found the opportunity to do so at the next day's mass. "What would he say to me?" asked the king: "that he is innocent? and shall I believe him for that?" "You will see what he will say to you: what would you have

¹ Choisy, Abbé de, Mémoires, recueil Petitot, vol. lxiii. p. 391; Anquetil, Louis XIV. et sa cour, 12mo. Paris, 1789, vol. i. p. 151.

² Histoire des Amours de Madame, Fontanieu Portefeuille, MS. 200, Bibl. Nationale, partially printed in Bussy Rabutin's "Amours des Gaules;" Histoire des Amours du Palais Royal, MS. 198; Amours de Madame et du Comte de Guiche, &c. MS. 902, vols. ix. and xvii. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris. These form part of the collection of Conrard, who died in 1675, and must consequently have been written very soon after Henrietta's decease.

him to do? To justify himself he must speak to you." "It is money that he wants to ask for." "No, sir, Bussy will not ask for money again; he wants nothing from you but that you will not refuse to acknowledge his innocence; after you are persuaded of that, you can pay him his pension, if you please." "I know well that his pension is due to his office, and that the other *maîtres-de-camp généraux* have enjoyed it, but these did not make jests of everybody as he does." "I do not know what the others did: I know Bussy very well; he often comes to see me; I have never heard him speak ill of any one, and I have heard besides that he was a worthy man." "I have nothing to say against that; it is only against his maliciousness, and you will be fortunate yourself if you escape him." Mass here finished, and with it the conversation! "Madame told it me," adds Bussy, "word for word, after dinner, and said she would try again next day, bidding me not be in trouble, as she was sure my affairs would come round." The issue of the affair was that the king admitted Bussy's innocence of the charges laid against him, and only demanded the promise of his good conduct in future. "I know not," adds the count, "if what Madame said to the king in my favour was of service to me, but I was as much obliged to her as if she had saved my life; and, although I was fully convinced that she had a natural disposition to do good to everybody, yet the honour she did me, and the manner in which she treated me when I paid my court to her, made me think that she employed herself with more zeal for me than she ordinarily did for others. I must tell the truth, too; she saw I was much attached to her, and greatly admired her good qualities, for she was, both in mind and person, the most amiable princess that ever lived. I would say a great deal more about her if I were not afraid that the obligations I owe her would make me suspected of flattery, and, therefore, proud as I justly am of her friendship, I would wish it not to be known that I was honoured with it, in order to have the pleasure of abandoning myself to her praises, and being more readily believed in the good I would say of her.¹"

¹ Mémoires du Comte Bussy Rabutin, vol. ii.

Yet the man who, in after life, gave this frank testimony to Henrietta's excellencies was the most serious, because the most talented, traducer of her character.¹ His shafts fell harmlessly against her, because others, even the king himself, being included in his mischievous romance, its falsity was at once known and acknowledged. The count received the punishment due to his rash trifling in a year's imprisonment in the Bastile, followed by a long exile.

Towards the close of the year 1664, the philosophers of Europe were thrown afloat on a sea of speculation in reference to a comet, which was visible both in France and England, and which is thus described by a French news-writer:—

“During the last four or five days a comet has been seen over this city, about three or four o'clock in the morning, the head of which was as large as a plate, bristled over with a quantity of points like nails, and the tail a point as long as three arms, so that people assign to it the form of a straight poignard. Once its tail was seen turned towards the east, and another time it has been seen on the side of the west, whence people fail not to draw such ill auguries as are wont to be taken from similar signs.”²

Henrietta thus alludes to the subject in a letter to her brother:—

“Paris, 11th January, 1665.

“I have read the paper you have sent me very regularly, and am very glad to be informed how things go on, that I may know how to reply. I am writing to my Lord Fitzharding the reason why I cannot send you word of much at present, but I do not think it will last, and you will find it out first.

¹ Rabutin's work was originally written merely for his own amusement in the country; but he left the MS. in the hands of a mistress, with whom he afterwards quarrelled, and she avenged herself by making it public, after having first overcharged the portraits given by him of those persons of importance whose anger she wished to draw down on his head. He himself acknowledges the work to be mainly his own invention, only assuming the names of known characters to render it more piquant; he pleads guilty to imprudence rather than to malice; “but,” he adds, “the innocence of my intentions does not console the people whom I victimize, since they are victimized as well as though I had done it designedly;” “the public should pity as well as condemn me, but those who are offended may hate me with reason.”—Lamb. Hist. Littér. Louis XIV., vol. i. p. 540.

² News Letter, $\frac{1}{2}$ th Dec., French Corresp. State Paper Office.

“The last time I wrote you, I begged you to send me word what they thought of the comet in England; and two hours after, I received yours, in which you ask me the same thing. I must tell you then, that there have been assemblies at the observatory, where all the learned, and those who are not so, have been; the first have disputed according to their belief, which has been almost always different; some saying that it is the same returned, and others that it is a new one; and so, to know the truth, it would be necessary to go and pay it a visit. I am afraid the point will remain undecided, as well as the substance of which it is composed, which has been disputed also. This is all my ignorance permits me to tell you about it, which is enough, I believe, to satisfy your curiosity, since these learned gentlemen are, without contradiction, all fools, or nearly so. Which is all that will be told you by

“Your very humble servant.

“To the king.”¹

In January, 1665, Henrietta's inventive talents were called into exercise by a commission which she received from the king to superintend the arrangement of a ballet royal to be danced at her own Parisian palace. The subject selected was the birth of Venus, and she herself was to personate the goddess of beauty. The opening scene introduced a vast sea, in which Tritons, disporting themselves, announced the approaching birth of Venus, who then appeared rising majestically, on a glittering throne of mother-of-pearl, surrounded by twelve Nereids, represented by the noblest ladies of the court.² Monsieur,

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. xlix. French, holograph.

² The following recitative stanzas, chanted on her appearance, contain a delicate refutation of the court calumnies which had been circulated respecting her conduct:—

“Voilà ce que le monde a de plus précieux,
Une divinité visible et manifeste !
L'ornement de la terre, et la gloire des cieux :
C'est Venus, en un mot, mais pure, mais céleste.
L'histoire en parle ainsi, *la fable* dit le reste.
De ses divins regards nous voyons, tous les jours,
Comme éclairs, naître en foule, mourir, les amours.
C'est leur fatalité que chacun d'eux perisse :
L'espérance est un lait trop nécessaire à tous,
Et ces pauvres enfans, si tendres, et si doux
Meurent, faute de nourrice.
Elle imprime dans l'ame une douce langueur,
Et sans avoir fléchi sous le joug qu'elle impose,
Inspire à tous les cœurs, ce qui manque à son cœur.
Ainsi l'astre du jour embrase toute chose,
Et ne se ressent point de la chaleur qu'il cause.

under the guise of the Day-star, and four of the Hours, then warned the goddess that she must ascend, and take her place amongst the celestial divinities, and she was wafted upwards amidst a concert of delicious music from the surrounding Tritons. The second *entrée* represented the homage offered to Venus by the marine gods, the winds, philosophers, poets, and divers allegorical personages, including those heroes of classical antiquity who had been led captive by her charms. In the closing scene, Louis XIV. and Henrietta appeared under the characters of Alexander and Roxana, and danced together, whilst chanted verses told their praise.

This ballet elicited general applause, and was performed several times; but Henrietta was so fatigued with her histrionic exertions that, on the last occasion, she was glad to plead indisposition, and depute her part to one of her maids of honour, Mdlle. de Fiennes.¹

We must refer those of our readers who revel in courtly splendours to the French *Gazettes* of the period for descriptions of the balls and masquerades, comedies, ballets, and rural rambles, and diversions of all sorts, into which our princess entered with a grace and spirit which rendered her the charm of the brilliant circle.²

The following account of one of their water excur-

Ses traits pour vaincre tout n'ont qu'à se laisser voir,
Tout reconnaît ses lois, tout cède à son pouvoir,
Comme la plus aimable, elle emporte la pomme
Mais par qui lui seroit cette honneur disputé.
Lorsqu'il est question du prix de la beauté,
Et que le juge est un homme?"

¹ Gaz. de France, 1665, pp. 111, 134, 160; Gaz. de Loret, 31st Jan. and 7th Feb. 1665; Ballet Royal sur la Naissance de Venus, 4to, Paris, 1665.

² Gazette de France, Gazette de Loret, 1665, *passim*. This latter rhyming court journal was now constantly dedicated to Madame, though with expressions of the profoundest diffidence, on account of her high birth and still more illustrious talents. The following are a few specimens of the adulatory verses addressed to her:—

A vous, dont la muse est charmée,
Rare merveille de nos jours,
Princesse dont la renommée
Egale du soleil le vaste et pompeux cours;
A vous, dis-je, Héroïne illustre,
Dont l'éclat efface le lustre

sions, is taken from a French writer, and is no less complimentary than poetical in its expressions.¹

“ The perfect cure of the greatest of kings and of the queen his mother, disposed every one to joy, when Prince Orondate and the Princess Statira decided to make an excursion to the most agreeable of solitudes, to which nature has given more beauties than are described in these lands of romance. On the day fixed, all things contributed to render the party infinitely agreeable; in this manner they were arranged. On a calm and mild day, the prince and princess went from the palace of our king to the bank of the river, which surrounds the most superb city in the world; and there, seen and admired by all the multitude, they mounted a small vessel so magnificent and gallant, that it was easy to recognise it as a present from the king of the sea, intended for the use of his charming sister; gold, azure, and embroidery were there in abundance, and the pretty style in which it was made, which had not yet been seen in a country rich in all things, rendered this gift most welcome. The princess having entered, ordered the rowers to set forth, and they, proud to convey their princess, cleft the waves with a diligence and a skill peculiar to those of that nation. The sun, who from the height of his throne, had heard that

Des heroines d'autrefois,
Je viens derechef rendre hommage,
Puisque vous aimez mon ramage
Et que vous vous plaisez aux accens de ma voix.

N'ai-je dit ? l'oserois-je croire ?
Ah ! pardonnez moy ce transport,
Beau recueil d'appas et de gloire !
C'est qu'on croit aisément ce qu'on désire fort.
Or ma passion dominante,
La plus forte et la plus charmante,
Est de vous faire aimer mes simples vermisseaux ;
Et ce désir qui me transporte
M'enchanté, me trouble en sorte
Que je songe en veillant que vous les trouvez beaux.

Souffrez-moy cette erreur aimable
Qui fait ma gloire et mon plaisir,
O princesse toute adorable,
Permettez-moy ce fruit d'un si noble désir.
Ce désir, bien loin d'être un crime
Est vertu, mais vertu sublime ;
Et l'erreur qu'il produit m'anime puissamment.
Ah ! je sens déjà que ma veine
Est pour vous de vers toute pleine.
Ils sortent, daignez donc les ouïr un moment.

¹ Recueil des Pièces Galantes de Mme. la Comtesse de la Suze, 1725, pp. 118-124.

the princess was thought more beautiful than himself, 'grew pale with anger, and wished to darken the sky, and leave it to her to enlighten the world, as she pleased it more than he ; but, considering that by withdrawing himself, he could no longer see her, he retraced his steps, and postponing to another day the settlement of their differences, he found her so beautiful, that he could not refrain from sending a thousand of his rays to tell her so ; but seeing they were ill received, he concluded that it was not needful to play the gallant to a woman whose husband was more amiable than any lover could be, and that the beautiful couple should be left in repose.

“ Meanwhile the voyagers were at a loss what to choose, between the wish to arrive and the pain of quitting their present position, when the diligence of the sailors brought them to the foot of the gardens, whose marvellous beauty made them forget every other thought in the one of walking there. Statira left her boat, followed by a troop of ladies, so beautiful that it was no small thing for the princess to excel them, and to appear among them like Diana in the midst of her nymphs. Some of the principal subjects of the king her brother, seeing the beauty of this house, and that of their princess, took her for a divinity, and having approached her with corresponding respect, Prince Orondate and she, wishing to treat them well, conversed with them a long time, and ordered that they should see the house, whose rich ornaments bespeak the high birth of its occasional tenants. After seeing all the apartments they descended into the gardens, which, though very dissimilar, were all of equal beauty. A thousand springs of living water formed canals and fountains as of crystal ; and that marvellous jet d'eau, rising as you know with impetuosity and noise, seems to lose itself in the clouds, and to send down thence a sweet fresh rain, to preserve the greenness and beauty of the neighbouring trees. Passing on to one of the most beautiful parts of the garden, they had a suitable and magnificent collation, of which the demigod, the goddess, and the nymphs partook as mortals. After that, conversation was resumed, and also the passage of the river, with much joy in re-entering the magnificent bark, though they bid adieu to the lovely *maison de campagne*, in the manner in which we are accustomed to leave a thing which we are impatient to see again. Already the fear of separation grieved every one, when, in order to put off what must be unpleasant, the princess gave orders to row slowly, and to let the vessel go almost at the bidding of the waves. Never was the night so beautiful, her dark robe studded with the most brilliant stars, and the moon, on her part, gave so much brightness as to make us doubt whether the day still continued. The party was increased by the addition of persons of the first quality ; the good company augmented, conversation became so agreeable, that no sorrow could be feared but that of parting. The water suddenly becoming more rapid, it was easy to judge that they were about to pass the first bridge of the city, and that the most agreeable of excursions was about to end. After that came the leave-taking of the prince and princess, and many were the wishes to have very soon a day of a similar kind, and each one carried home much respect and affection for Prince Orondate and the Princess Statira.”

Employments of this kind did not afford sufficient scope for energy such as was possessed by Henrietta, and now her mind began to diverge into a political channel. It had long been obvious to the counsellors of Charles II. that Lord Hollis was ill-adapted for his position, and messages between the sovereigns began to be conveyed through the medium of the princess. There is a vigour and independence of tone in the proceedings of Henrietta which amply vindicate the propriety of employing her as a means of communication.

At this juncture, disturbances of a serious nature arose between England and Holland, in reference to the long-contested point of naval supremacy, and other commercial matters irrelevant here. Charles II. opposed war, because he neither liked the trouble nor the expense; but his subjects clamoured so loudly against Dutch insolence, that he was carried along with the stream, and compelled to declare war. France and Holland being at this period in alliance, offensive and defensive, it became necessary for Louis XIV. to take a decided part. His strong monarchical predilections rendered him averse to break with England for the sake of the Dutch, and he was jealous lest Charles II. should throw himself into the arms of Spain, in case of a rupture with France: yet the terms of his treaty with Holland were definite, and not easily to be evaded. Private negotiations between the two sovereigns, neither of whom really wished a breach, were therefore carried on by means of Henrietta.

It was not the first time that she had undertaken the office of political peace-maker: in 1662, a quarrel was impending between her brother and brother-in-law, relative to the supremacy of the English flag at sea. Louis XIV. was disposed to question the privilege hitherto claimed by England, and Henrietta privately wrote to her brother, to prepare him for this fresh demand. Warm discussion ensued between Charles and his ministers, and M. d'Estrades, the French ambassador, then in England, which ended in an amicable arrangement.¹

On that occasion the interference of Henrietta was

¹ Estrade's Negot. vol. i. pp. 200, 208, 227.

private and unsolicited, but not so on the present one. Writing to his sister on September 19th, 1664, Charles assures her that he will act towards France in such a manner as shall satisfy her, but will expect reciprocal good feeling on their part. He adds that, if they desire his friendship, "there is nobody so proper to make it as yourself, and I am sure I will put all my interest into your hands, and then you shall be the judge who most desires the good alliance." He goes on to inform her of a projected expedition of the Dutch against the coast of Guinea, to oppose which he was preparing a fleet under Prince Rupert. He adds, that the feeling in England against Holland is extremely strong, and that he himself is almost the only man in his dominions who does not desire war. He adds:—

"I do expect with impatience to hear something from you upon the subject of my long letter, that I may know what I may depend upon. I am confident the conjuncture will be such, before it be long, wherein I may be useful to France, and I tell you freely I had much rather make my friendship where you are, and with those I know, than with others; but it will be impossible for this nation to be idle when they see their neighbours busy; and I cannot deny to you that it agrees with my humour likewise. I write thus freely to you that you may know the truth, for I assure you I consider your interest in it; and so, my dearest sister, good night, for 'tis late. Pray make my compliments to Monsieur, and, though I do not trouble him often with letters, yet there is nobody more truly his than I am."

In answer, not to this, but to a letter written shortly afterwards, Henrietta writes:—

"Paris, this 4th of November, 1664.

"I have shewn your last letter to the king, who has ordered me to tell you, in answer to what you write me touching the Hollanders, that if you choose that his subjects should be treated in England as the English, he consents that the English should be treated in France as the French, excepting the fifty sous. I am not skilful enough to understand well what this means, but these are the very words which the king told me to send you, of which I acquit myself, and, if that is what you desire, answer me as soon as you can; for, if you do not terminate all this, you will not gain time as you both appear to wish to do, and the affair would go to infinite lengths. It is so late, and I am so sleepy, that I will add nothing more to this, except to assure you that

"I am your very humble servant.

"To the king."

The article of the fifty sous was a tonnage exacted by the treaty between France and Holland, on all foreign vessels leaving the French ports, which was also to be extended to English ships.¹ In spite of political alliances, the sympathies of Henrietta, and of her husband also, were warmly in favour of the English king. In October, Philip wrote to congratulate him on some success over the Dutch in Guinea, and a little later, a report of similar success elicited the following letter from Henrietta.

“Paris, 10th December.

“It was said here that your naval armament had taken forty Dutch vessels; but, since you write me nothing about it, I am afraid the tidings are not true. I have given your letter to the king, who has shewn it to me. I have further given him the compliments you ordered. He receives all that comes from you so well, that I have no doubt the result will respond to it. The queen is much better;² but Madame has had such severe convulsions for two days past that her death is expected every hour, so that the compliment you wish to make upon her birth is useless, and I am afraid that it will be needed for her death. This is all I have to tell you at present.

“Your very humble servant.

“To the king.”³

The child here alluded to was the little Princess Marie-Anne of France, a god-daughter of Henrietta, who died a few days afterwards; the queen had suffered from severe attacks of convulsion, but gradually re-

¹ Treaty between France and Holland, $\frac{1}{2}$ April, 1662, French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

² Henrietta's preceding letter had given alarming details of the queen's illness, as follows:—

“Paris, 12th November.

“I sent you word, by the last post, of the queen's illness, which has much increased since, on account of the frightful pains in her legs, which make her fever last, so that now it is continual, and the attacks of fever are always marked. The king is in Paris, much afflicted, although we are assured that, up to the present, there is no danger for her, nor for her child. I think you would do very well to send some one to ask after her, for it is not an illness that will be over to-day or to-morrow. I have no leisure to tell you more of it, but will do so at greater length by Mr. Sidney, who sets out to-morrow, and will only say that

“I am your most humble servant.

“To the king.”

³ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 70, French Holograph.

covered.¹ Henrietta's next letter expresses frankly her opinion upon the articles of a mutual agreement, which was proposed by Charles to Louis, through the medium of Lord Hollis.

[1664] "Paris, 19th December.

"I am sending Bonnefond, who is my gentleman of the horse, to buy me some horses. I beg you to give him the passport necessary for that.

"I will tell you, however, that my Lord Hollis has named to me the articles which you wish to maintain; as to the one, I think it reasonable; as for that in which you wish them to abolish past treaties, the king cannot for honour's sake do it, in a thing so public; and, if you wish to gain some pledge about it, it must be underhand, and between you and him, for it would be unjust to exact it in any other way. I think you know that the Dutch are sending a man here. As I think you are the most interested in these goings and comings, I warn you of them; I will do so, if I should know anything more particular.

"I send all the news from hence to the queen, who will doubtless share them with you, and, therefore, I will only ask your pardon for not having earlier thanked you for the honour that you are pleased to do my son in being his godfather, and to assure you that I am

"To the king."²

"Your very humble servant.

Owing to the dilatory movements of Hollis, Lord Fitzharding was sent over to Paris to manage the minor details of the treaty, the essentials of which were still intrusted to Madame. She was confined to bed for several days with a strain which she received in dancing; but meanwhile, M. de Cominges, the French ambassador in England, returned home to accelerate the treaty; and Louis XIV. also prepared to dispatch an important embassy, at the head of which was the Duke de Verneuil, to mediate between King Charles and the Dutch. On February 14th, 1665, Monsieur wrote to Charles, expressing his good wishes for the completion of the treaty, and a few days later, Henrietta thus addressed her brother:—

"M. de Cominges has come back so pleased and so fat that, were there only this reason to make me wish to go to England, I should wish it with my inmost heart. There is not one, down to Miribeu, who

¹ Gaz. de France, 1664, p. 1157, 1665, p. 23. Mdle. de Monpensier records the annoyance of the queen that, during her confinement, Henrietta visited her, dressed up in yellow ribands, seemingly more fit for a ball-room than a sick chamber.—*Mémoires*, vol. viii. p. 174.

² Lambeth MS. 645, art. 72, French Holograph.

[does not long for it ; she] says that she should hang herself if she did not think she should return there. She has tried to acquit herself of the commission you had given her, which coincided so well with the style of a letter you had written me that I spared you the pain of finishing.

"The ambassadors are very busy preparing to set out. Do not fail to give me a reply to what the queen and my Lord Fitzharding asked you, for they wait only as it were for that. To-morrow there is a ball here, although we shall be in Lent ; but it is to bid them good-bye. I have nothing more to say to you at present, except to assure you that

"I am your very humble servant."¹

"To the king."

The just and generous sentiments breathed in the following letter need neither introduction nor comment.

"Paris, 22 March.

"I have been informed of the cruelty of the Dutch in Guinea, which is frightful, if it be true. It is also said that some of your people have taken some Frenchmen, on whom they have inflicted terrible tortures to make them confess that they were going to Holland ; but I argue strongly that that cannot be, or that at least you will not approve it, and with a soul so generous as yours you would not endure such a thing to be done to one of your enemies, much more to the French, who are your friends. Write me word, I beg, how it really stands, and, if that be true, whether you have not given orders that such a thing should never happen again, for there is nothing more praiseworthy than to have power, and only to use it to make ourselves beloved by our friends, and feared by others, and so prevent all the cruelties which war generally brings on. I conclude by assuring you that I am the humblest of your servants.

"To the king."²

The two following letters show the judgment, combined with the caution, rendered necessary by diplomatic jealousy, which guided Henrietta in the prosecution of her delicate mission ; and we trace the development, though gradually and imperfectly, of the principles which afterwards formed the basis of the celebrated treaty which shattered the triple alliance.

"Paris, 8 April.

"Madame de Fiennes having told me that you would be very glad to see a pattern of such a waistcoat as is worn here, I take the liberty to send you one, and am sure that, with your fine shape, it will suit you very well. M. de Verneuil will arrive soon after this letter, and, as I

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 50, French Holograph.

² Ibid. art. 53, French Holograph.

am not too certain that he will succeed in his embassy for the Dutch peace, and think it desirable that the king should not take their part, I beg you to consider whether some underhand treaty could not be contrived to make sure of him, by promising to aid the affairs which he will have in Flanders probably very soon. The King of Spain not being in good health, the Dutch will wish to take advantage of that for their own interest, which is not contrary to yours. In fine, think it over well, I beg you, but never say that I mentioned it to you the first; only rely upon it that no one in the world can serve you so heartily as I, nor wishes your good so much as I do. My enemies here render me so suspected about your cause, that I scarcely dare begin to speak upon your affairs. Therefore, when you wish me to say something, write me word; and when I do it from you, that will give me a right to resume the subject. This is all to be said to you by

“Your very humble servant.

“To the King of Great Britain, my brother.”

Endorsed 8 April, 1655, Madame to the king by the French ambassador.¹

“St. Germain, 21st May, 1665.

“I did not like to send by post my reply to the last letter you wrote me by M. de St. Ou, because they are too liable to be opened. I should perhaps have spoken to the king, as of myself, about all that, but I have been prevented by the present conjunction, and the decision of a combat which will be doubtless severe, and will assuredly completely change the aspect of all your affairs. On this account, had he answered me anything positively, it will be no longer the same before you receive this letter, for by the last tidings from Holland we know that their fleet has gone out, and that the fight is consequently certain, which is a thing that makes me tremble, I confess, whatever advantage it seems as though you would gain, as fortune has a spite against everything in this world. I am impatient at the idea that a little handful of wretches should choose to make head against you. It is pushing glory a little far; but I should not know what to do, and every one according to his humour. Mine is to be very sensitive to all your interests, and I hope you will not be vexed with me for it, and that that will shew you so much the better that there is no one who loves you so much as I do, nor who is so much

“To the king.”

“Your most humble servant.”²

The sensitiveness to the interests of her own family, of which Henrietta speaks, amounted in her almost to a passion. She was keenly alive to the dangers of the impending naval fight, and the suspense was most painful: the thunders of the engagement were heard as far as Calais; and, knowing the daring courage of her brother, the Duke of York, who commanded the English fleet, she

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 54, French Holograph.

² Ibid. art. 55, French Holograph.

feared for his safety, as well as for that of the cause.¹ Her dismay may, therefore, be imagined, when news, seemingly authentic, reached Paris, that the Dutch had gained a glorious victory; that the Duke of York's ship was blown up, and he either drowned or only saved by swimming. A few more posts brought other tidings, just the reverse of the former; but to the shock which Henrietta had received was attributed, both by herself and others, the death of an infant daughter, still-born a few weeks later.² Before her *accouchement*, Lord Hollis writes, that "if things had gone ill at sea, he really believes Madame would have died."³ Oblivious of self, however, Henrietta strove to improve the moment of victory by founding on it a basis for peace. The following noble-spirited letter is worthy a grand-daughter of *Henri Quatre*.

"St. Germain, 22 June.

"Monsieur and I could not longer delay sending this gentleman to you, expressly to rejoice with you on the victory which you have just carried off; and, although you will not doubt of the joy that I have felt, I cannot refrain from telling you that it has been even greater than could be imagined, on account of the frights which we received from the tidings of the merchants, who are all quite inclined to wish well to the Dutch; but, on the other hand, all the court and the nobility think of nothing but how to show that they are not more anxious for the interests of their own king than for yours, and never has such a crowd been seen as that which has flocked to call upon Monsieur and me to testify it to us; and in fact you should hold Monsieur in favour for the sentiments he has uttered on this occasion, and for the manner in which he expresses himself in reference to everything that concerns you.

"The courier of Count Grammont was the first to bring us these good tidings yesterday. We were at mass, and it made quite a sensation. The king even called out to his minister, who was in the tribune, that there must be rejoicings, which surprised me; for, though at the bottom of his heart he wishes you every possible advantage, yet I thought that he would not have chosen to show it so publicly, on account of the engagements he has with these Dutch; but I hope the consequence of your victory will be to give you a second, putting an end to a war which has issued with so much honour to yourself, that thirty such could not add anything to it. I assure you that this is the

¹ Monsieur to Charles II. 10 and 17 June, French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

² Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 177; Motteville Mémoires, Recueil Petitot, vol. xl. p. 245: Gaz. de Loret, 12 July, 1665.

³ Hollis's Desp. 27 June, 1665.

opinion of all your friends here (who are in no small number), and that of good sense ; since—having shown not only what your power is, and that it is an evil thing to have you for an enemy, and convinced your subjects how well you know how to maintain their interests and their greatness,—you are in condition further to show that you wish for peace, and that you know how to triumph by clemency as well as by force. This is what gains hearts, and is not less honourable in its way than the other ; besides that, it is a thing certain, which the issue of a war is not ; and, even if it were, you could not gain more advantage from it than you can now ; and you might also win over to yourself people who, I assure you, sincerely wish your friendship, and who are in despair at finding themselves engaged as they are. I have spoken of it several times, and have always found the king entertaining the most reasonable sentiments in the world ; and, as I do not think that you have changed, I entertain hopes of such a result herein as your servants could desire. Do not believe, however, by my speaking to you so warmly for peace, that it is from a sentiment of timidity, like that of most women. I can assure you that it is for the sake of your own interest only, and that because I see that as to glory, you have nothing more to gain, so that you must seek it in some other way, and that of obtaining friends, of whom the king is assuredly one of the most important, and which the result of a war of chicanery might prevent, is what makes me desire it so passionately.

“I cannot finish without mentioning to you the sorrow I have felt for the death of the poor Earl of Falmouth, as well on account of the friendship which I knew you entertained for him, and which he so justly deserved, as because I thought him greatly my friend. In fact, on the very day on which I was so joyous about your success, I could not refrain from a hearty fit of weeping. I am certain that he would have been of my opinion about the peace, from the sentiments I have noticed in him, and also because, as your glory is no further implicated, it is the right part to choose.

“If I might presume I would, at this juncture, recommend to you the interests of the elder Hamilton ; you could not give the privy purse to any who deserves it better, and I beg you to tell him that I have spoken to you for him. His sister, who is one of the best women I ever saw in my life, requested me to do so.

“As to Count Grammont, he is more an Englishman than anybody else, and he shows it me daily, I know not how, in a thousand ways. He was therefore like a madman for joy when the news arrived.

“This letter is too long by half ; I beg your pardon, but, in fact, I am so delighted that I hardly know what I am doing, and also I could not refrain from letting you know not only all I could hear, but all I think on the consequences of the times. This is all to be said by

“To the king.”

“Your very humble servant.

Endorsed, Duchess of Orleans on the victory over the Dutch at sea, when Lord Falmouth was killed.¹

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 57, French Holograph. A congratulatory letter from Monsieur, dated 19th June, is in French Corresp. State Paper Office.

Truly one of the noblest exercises of power and influence is to soothe jealousies, and pour the oil of gentleness over the troubled waters of strife; and this was one of the most constant and steady aims of our princess. A few months previously, the spirit of Lord Hollis had received a fresh cause of disquietude. An English merchant, named Thompson, informed him that a Dutchman in Bourdeaux had called the Duke of York "captain of the robbers," and Charles II. "a pirate;" and as the transgressor was on French territory, Hollis appealed to France for his punishment. Louis XIV. mentioned the subject to Henrietta, who wrote to her brother about it:—

"Paris, 3rd March.

"The king has ordered me to give you an account of a thing which has happened at Bourdeaux, and for which my Lord Hollis has demanded justice. You must know then that three or four persons, walking on the port, began to speak of their opinions upon the Dutch war. An Englishman, who was of the number, said that you would never make peace unless you were recompensed for all the expenses of the war. They asked the opinion of a Dutchman, who said that the country was not rich enough for that, and that it would be necessary to deprive you of some things which are not good. He said also something of the same import about the Duke of York, and my Lord Hollis has made a point of honour about it for you, although, ordinarily, no notice is taken of what people say in the streets. But, nevertheless, the king has commanded me to tell you that, if you wish it, he will have them sought out and punished as you desire. M. de Verneuil has been a little unwell, but I do not think that will retard his journey. I will tell him the honour you do him, and will conclude this letter by assuring you that I am

"To the king."¹

"Your very humble servant.

As a consequence of Henrietta's representations, the ambassador received letters from England bidding him take no further notice: he dropped the prosecution, though not without bitter remarks against those who were willing to swallow and pass by affronts, for the sake of winning French favour. His indignation was still further kindled a short time after, by an insult offered to his wife by a servant of the Princess of Carignan, in pushing her coach before that of my lady ambassadress. He complained to the French Court, and appealed loudly to Henrietta for redress, refusing, as insufficient, an

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 52, French Holograph.

apology tendered to him, and declaring that nothing less than positive orders from home would induce him to submit to such an indignity. He took this affront so deeply to heart, that it was impossible longer to make use of him as the medium for transacting business: he was recalled, and after some delays, owing to his state of health, he finally returned to England, to the great relief of the princess whom he had so often involved in troublous contentions. She parted from him in displeasure because, on the ground of non-redress of his previous wrongs, he haughtily refused the present tendered to him, according to custom, by Louis XIV.

It has been already intimated that Henrietta's hopes were blighted by the birth of a dead child. Her illness was so sudden that there was no time to send to Paris for the usual assistance, and therefore one of her experienced female servants was called into requisition. The child was pronounced to have been dead some time; yet, though it was night, the king was aroused, and the *curé* of Versailles sent for, to know whether it might not lawfully be baptized; but it was thought indecorous to administer the ordinance. The queen blamed Henrietta for having induced this misfortune by persisting in horse-exercise, but she attributed it solely to her late anxiety for the Duke of York.¹ Just at this time Queen Henrietta Maria of England returned to France, to recruit her health at the baths of Bourbon. Hearing of the delicate condition of her daughter, she hastened to Versailles, where she had the satisfaction of seeing her in a fair way of recovery; and Monsieur presented to her with pride his little son, the young Duke of Valois, born during her absence in England. The dead infant was taken by Mademoiselle d'Orleans and Madame de Chaumont, the governess, to St. Denis, where the Bishop of Valois presented it to the monks for interment.

Madame remained three weeks at Versailles to recover her strength, entertained, during the absence of the court, by the royal servants, who were commissioned to show her every attention, and companionated occasionally by Monsieur, but still more frequently by the queen her

¹ Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 177.

mother, whose return to France was a source of unfeigned joy, both to Henrietta and her husband. They returned her visit at her residence at Colombes, and enjoyed constant intercourse till the middle of August, when the queen set out for the baths of Bourbon.¹ Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, who was in attendance upon Henrietta Maria wrote home that "Madame is perfectly recovered, and is a most excellent person; very beautiful, full of wit, and infinitely considered in this court."²

To this period we assign the following letters to her mother, the King of England.

"Paris, 4th January.

"I was unwilling to lose this opportunity of writing you by Mrs. Stuart, who is taking her daughter to be one of the maids of the queen your wife. Had it not been for such an object, I assure you that it would have troubled me much to let her go from here, for she is the prettiest girl in the world, and the most suited to adorn a court. I received yesterday a letter, in reply to that which I sent you by Craff, and no one can be more delighted than I with the mere thought of being able once again to see your Majesty; in truth, it is the thing which I desire most in the world, and that you believe me

"To the king."⁴

"Your humble servant."³

The beautiful Stuart alluded to in this letter was probably the Frances Stuart who wiled away the affections of the sovereign from Lady Castlemaine, and seems to be the person named in the next letter, as having excited the queen's jealousy.

"Paris, 22nd July.

"The courier whom I sent you is returned two days ago, and has brought me the most disagreeable news that I could ever receive, after the hope which I have had of seeing you, by telling me the contrary. Everybody here has not felt the same; the highest persons have been as much pleased as I have been grieved, and I should have been inconsolable if you had not given me to hope that it was only a delay; and I trust your word so fully that I will not doubt of it after what you write me about it; and also through the hope which I have that you have a little affection for your poor Minette, who has assuredly more for you than she can describe.

¹ Gazette de France, pp. 676, 699, 723, 771, 831; Gaz. de Loret, 26 July, 1665; Gamache's Diary, p. 455; Hollis Desp. 11 August, 1665.

² St. Alban's Desp. $\frac{1}{2}$ July, 1665, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

³ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 48, French Holograph.

⁴ The direction is in English.

"You tell me that bad offices have been done to you by a person about the queen your wife. Alas ! how is it possible that such things can be said ? I, who know your innocence, marvel at them ! But, raillery apart, I beg you will let me know how the queen takes it ; it is said here that she is in unparalleled distress, and, to speak frankly, I think she has cause for it. As to that sort of affair, there are many ravages going on here, not as with you on the part of the queen, but on that of the mistress. I write them to Craſ, and, if you have any curiosity to know them, he will tell you them. Adieu. I am more your servant than anybody in the world.¹

"To the king."

Henrietta's energies, as well as those of the queen her mother, were directed mainly to one point,—the prevention of a breach between France and England, in consequence of the Dutch war. Henrietta was in constant correspondence, not only with her brother, but with the chief members of his council, Bennet, and afterwards Arlington; and at her residence, or at Colombes in her presence, several interviews took place, the object of which was to devise plans of mediation which should ward off the threatened rupture.² The same earnest desire for peace characterizes the following letters.

"From Paris this 28th of November.

"I could not allow Ruvigni to set off without accompanying him with this letter, in order to show you—what you will see by what he tells you—how much your friendship is desired, and even how necessary it is here ; profit thereby, in God's name, and lose no time in eliciting a promise under the king's hand that he will not assist the Hollanders, for you understand well that he cannot promise it to you openly on account of the engagements that he has with them, although they know well, as people say, that they only avail as they are made to avail. But as in this world one has to pay for good appearances, and since this affair requires them, you ought, as I have already told you, to be content to do the thing underhand, which by this means will be much more solid ; and I promise you to pay close attention that they keep good faith in it, for in a thing in which I intermeddle I should fear, the contrary which I should quit first. I beg you to let Ruvigni know that I have spoken well of him to you, for I have done so : he is a very honest man, I believe ; I need not tell you this to make you believe it, nor to be assured that I am

"To the king."⁴

"Your very humble servant.

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 61, French Holograph.

² French Corresp. August, 1665, *et seq.* State Paper Office.

³ Torn in the original.

⁴ French Correspondence, 1665. State Paper Office.

“Paris, 5th December.

“This gentleman has begged me to write you by him, to recommend him to you, and indeed he is a very worthy man. He is going on the same business as Ruvigni, and to try to get a matter concluded, in which, I think, you will do what is desired, for it is always well to oblige people in things so easy as this is to you, in order that they may return the like another time. I am very sorry to have nothing particular to write you at present, since this conveyance is sure, for there are a hundred occasions in which I want to do so, but the insecurity prevents me. It is said that the Dutch will not go out this winter; and that they want to gain time, in order that, all the provisions of your vessels being eaten up, and it being a great expense to restore them to the same condition, that may oblige you to make peace with them. I see by the letter you wrote me that Fitzharding has been very diligent, and that you have not yet had leisure to converse with him. I hope that when you do so, you will act as I sent you word in the letter I wrote you by him, which is assuredly the safest means to have a true intelligence with the king; for as to grand treaties, you see how they are kept, but the other ought to be inviolable, being as between two friends.

“I will not trouble you by prolonging my letter further than to assure you that I am

“To the king.¹

“Your most humble servant.”

“From Paris this 16th of January.

“Monsieur wrote you a long letter to speak to you of an accommodation; for my own part I avow that I do not like the thing, since I believe it useless, so I content myself with praying God to inspire you on all sides with what will be the best. After that I will tell you that the queen my mother-in-law is very ill, that the fever has been continuous, with redoubled violence, for eight days past, and that all the physicians fear much.

“An adventure has happened, extraordinary enough for the time in which we live: La Feuillade and the Chevalier de Clairmont having fought upon the Pont Neuf, because the latter said that the other had spoken evil of him to the king and to Monsieur, and said that he had deceived the Marshall de Grammont at play; on the contrary, La Feuillade² had defended him against those who had said it, which gives ground for believing that there is something more than what is seen, and the Chevalier de Clairmont, having attacked him, is brought in guilty of duelling and consequently banished, and the other has taken flight, because the witnesses say that he has only defended himself; the truth is, that one has been very stupid and has ruined himself for his own pleasure, and the other was fortunate. My Lord St. Albans will be grieved at this adventure, for the sake of our friend the Abbé of Clairmont, who is in despair about it, and with good cause: this is all your very humble servant will say to you.

“To the king.”³

¹ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 69, French Holograph.

² The Duke de la Feuillade.

³ French Correspondence, 1666. State Paper Office.

These efforts proved unavailing, and war with England was ultimately declared, though the utter want of vigour in its prosecution proved it to be a mere matter of form adopted to satisfy Holland.

The autumn of 1665 was fraught with much suffering to one member of the royal family of France. The queen-dowager had long been the victim of an internal malady, which at length assumed the form of decided and virulent cancer; under the pressure of which her strength gradually gave way. Her two sons, Louis XIV. and Monsieur, were assiduous in their attentions during the early part of her illness; the latter especially spent much of his time in his mother's sick room. Henrietta's affections had never been warmly drawn towards her mother-in-law, but she conducted herself with due decorum, spent a portion of each day with her, and treated her with sympathizing kindness.

As her illness was long protracted, the sufferer was herself the first to urge those dearest to her to seek relaxation. They absented themselves at first with reluctance, but were soon too happy in their temporary return to the gay life to which they were habituated, readily to resume their former devoted offices. The avidity with which they resumed their pleasures created painful remark, when these bright scenes were contrasted with the gloom of the chamber in which their anguish-stricken mother was wearing out the remnant of a painful existence.¹ At length the disorder approached its climax, and it became evident to all that the end could not long be delayed. The royal family hastened to St. Germain, and were summoned to hear, what all believed to be, her parting words. The king and queen, Monsieur and Madame, kneeled at her bedside, bathed in tears the feeble hands which she extended towards them, and received her blessing for themselves and for their children. A sensible improvement, however, took place, and in a few days she was able to be placed by her children in an easy litter chair, and carried by gradual stages to Paris.

Weeks passed on, whilst she lingered in the same

¹ Motteville, *ut sup.* p. 246.

condition; the fêtes of the new year approached, and none of the royal party had self-denial enough to abstain entirely from sharing them, excepting the young queen, who was in deep mourning for the loss of her father, the King of Spain. On the 5th of January, 1666, Monsieur and Madame gave a superb ball¹ to the king and court, at the Palais royal, which had become their Parisian home, from the time that the Queen of England had relinquished her apartments there, in favour of her residence at Colombes. The royal pair, magnificently attired, received their guests in the great gallery, which was lighted by numberless lustres, reflected on every hand by a profusion of mirrors. The entertainment commenced with a concert of music, and a comedy performed by the king's players: a sumptuous collation followed, and then the company were ushered into the ball-room, superbly decorated, where dancing was kept up until a late hour. Four days later, Henrietta gave another splendid entertainment, on the marriage of one of her favourite maids, Mademoiselle d'Artigny, with the Marquis du Roule.²

The very day subsequently, the queen-mother was seized with shivering fits, the precursors of the final struggle. The attentions of Monsieur to his dying parent were more assiduous, and he evinced a feeling more deep and tender than were shown by any other member of the family. He was the only person who had resolution to witness the closing scene. Her adieus both to him and to Madame, were tender and touching: she conversed with each, first separately and then together, giving them her maternal counsels and blessing; and after receiving the last sacraments of the church, she terminated a suffering life on January 18th, 1666. The duke and duchess immediately retired to St. Cloud, where Monsieur gave himself up for several days to the indulgence of his sorrow, excusing himself even from being present at the reading of his mother's will. She left valuable legacies of jewels, both to him and Madame,

¹ Motteville, pp. 252, 256, 272.

² Gaz. de France, 1666, pp. 48, 71.

and the bulk of her personal property to their young daughter, the little Mademoiselle.¹

The court was occupied for some time in receiving condolences, and attending funeral services; at those performed at St. Denis and also at Notre Dame, Henrietta appeared as chief mourner, led by her husband, her train, which was seven ells in length, borne by the Comte d'Albon, her chief gentleman. A few weeks, however, were all that the gay court of Louis XIV. could afford to dedicate to mourning for her who had so long been its moving spring and leader; and the spring and summer were occupied as constantly as ever in diversions: stag hunting, military reviews, and galas, at Paris, St. Germain, Versailles, Villers Coterets, St. Cloud, or Fontainebleau, diversified their time. Madame paid occasional visits to the queen her mother, whose delicate health ordinarily kept her in profound retirement, and was the source of frequent uneasiness to Henrietta. She was further disquieted by a coldness which arose between herself and Louis XIV.² The queen, informed that Mademoiselle de la Vallière was likely again to become a mother, insisted on her dismissal from court. Louis blamed Madame for enlightening, or at least not blinding the queen; and the result was a partial, though temporary diminution of the warm cordiality that had subsisted between them. Henrietta, on her part, banished from her own court the Chevalier de Lorraine and Marquis de la Vallière, for their professions of devotion to her first lady of honour, Madame de Fiennes.³

To this period belongs one of the few friendly notes of Henrietta which remain extant. It is addressed to her friend and future biographer, Madame de la Fayette, and refers to one of those private literary coteries with which Henrietta's intellectual tastes led her to associate herself, and in which the *princess* was merged in the pleasant companion.

¹ Motteville, pp. 237, 285, *et seq.*; Gaz. de France, Jan. and Feb. 1666; Monpensier, vol. viii. pp. 186, 188.

² Gaz. de France, 1666, *passim*.

³ French Corresp. 4th Sept. and 12th Oct. 1666, State Paper Office.

"Tuesday morning.

"My cold has become so much worse since yesterday, that I dare not go to the Marquise de Sablé's, for, even if she were not afraid of it, it would certainly give her the heart-ache, and I think that, to avoid either of these two inconveniences, it is better to postpone the visit till Thursday. Do not think, however, that I fail at the rendezvous through idleness; it is only through the fear I have of that which she may have of me. Ascertain this from her, and you can give me the reply at the Abbey du Bois, where I am going to see Mdle. Delvait.

"To Madame de La Fayette."

Endorsed Madame d'Orleans, 1666, sister of the King of England.¹

Towards the close of 1666, Henrietta's fears were aroused in behalf of her only son, the young Duke of Valois. The child was taken ill at St. Cloud, and his indisposition was attributed solely to dentition. But when he rejected his food, and became much emaciated, and his legs and feet began to swell, his mother was seriously alarmed, and suggested whether it would be well to change his wet nurse. M. Esprit, first physician to Monsieur, decided to the contrary, as the woman was in good health, though Henrietta was disposed to blame him for mismanagement. At length the teeth, which had been the primary cause of uneasiness, made their appearance, and the child rapidly regained strength. She had him brought to Paris to be under her own eye;² but being fully relieved from apprehension, she returned to court gaieties, and on December 2nd, acted her part as one of the Muses in a court ballet performed at St. Germain.³

The child, however, took a severe cold, and symptoms of violent fever suddenly appeared, attended with delirium and convulsions. Henrietta had hitherto neglected his baptism, and therefore all the royalties within reach were summoned at once to take part in the ceremony. The Bishop of Valence officiated, and gave him the names of Philip Charles, after his father, and his uncle of England.

¹ MS. Résidu St. Germain's, paquet iii. No. 7, Bibl. Nationale.

² Letter of M. Esprit to a lady at court, MS. Résidu St. Germain's, Paquet 4, No. 3, fol. 97, Bibl. Nationale, Paris.

³ Ballet of the Muses, 4to. Paris, 1666; Gaz. de France, p. 1239; Lettres de Bussy Rabutin, vol. iii. p. 4.

Two days afterwards, on December 8th, the little sufferer expired, at the age of two years and four months.¹

The royal infant was laid out in state, and visited by throngs of nobles and people. The king himself came to sprinkle holy water on the corpse, and then paid a visit of condolence to his brother and sister-in-law, and inquired their wishes in reference to the interment of their son. They concurred in their preference for a private funeral; the child's governess, with a long train of coaches and servants, attended the body to St. Denis, where it was reverentially received by the monks from the hands of the Bishop of Valence, and interred with all due respect. The heart was deposited at Val de Grâce, and the bowels at the Celestins, as was usual with members of the French royal family. The duke and duchess received the formal condolences of foreign ambassadors and of the court, and then left Paris, not to indulge their grief in solitude, but to seek, at the court of St. Germain, diversion from the recollections of the past.²

In this they succeeded only too well. It is painful to note how soon Henrietta's maternal sorrows were absorbed or forgotten in the whirl of her gay career. Scarcely a month after the death of her child, she gave a brilliant masked ball at the Palais Royal, and for weeks afterwards was perpetually engaged in the brilliant diversions of the carnival. This ceaseless dissipation told upon her health: she had a serious miscarriage, which threatened to terminate her life; indeed Monsieur, in a letter to Charles II., informs him that her exhaustion was so great that for a quarter of an hour she was thought to be dying or dead. He professed great concern, and attributed a slight feverish attack, from which he himself suffered, to his anxiety about his wife.³

During several of the summer months Henrietta was confined to St. Cloud, where the queen her mother remained with her, her husband paying her occasional visits. The king and court made a military progress into Flan-

¹ Letter of M. Esprit, *ut supra*; Gaz. de France, p. 1263.

² Ceremony of interment Duke Valois, MS. 279, St. Germ. Harlay; Gaz. de France, 1666, p. 1295; Felibien, St. Denis, p. 507.

³ French Corresp. 12 and 13 Aug. State Paper Office.

ders, and Monsieur accompanied them; being permitted, to his great delight, to have the command of some of the forces.¹ On his return, he and Henrietta spent a few days at Villers Coterets, whence his indisposition induced their hasty departure to Paris. There Henrietta's health again failed. Writing to Charles II., on the 28th of October, Monsieur says:—

“Madame begs me to excuse her to you that she does not write; but for six days she has had head-aches so violent that she has her shutters always closed; she has been bled in the foot, and has tried many other remedies, but they have not relieved her at all.”

Both, however, were speedily restored to their wonted health, and they took advantage of it to join a six days' stag hunt at Versailles, in celebration of the feast of St. Hubert, the queen and Henrietta appearing in the costume of Amazons, at the head of the beauties of their courts.²

Henrietta, now in her twenty-fourth year, was in the pride of womanly grace. The following description, under an allegorical name, is from the pen of one who knew her well, and was himself no mean judge of female beauty, Philip, Earl of Chesterfield:—

“Armida, whom all the world so much admires, is a princess, who, at the first blush, appears to be of the greatest quality, and has something in the looks (besides her beauty) so new and unusual that it surprises the beholders. Her stature is rather tall than otherwise; her shape is delicate, her motions graceful; her eyes are sparkling, and yet compassionate, and do not only penetrate the thoughts of others, but often also express her own, teaching, as it were, a language yet unknown to any but the blest above. Her lips do always blush for kissing of the finest teeth that ever yet were seen, and her complexion is unparalleled. Her wit is mostly extolled by all that hear her, for she has not only a peculiar talent in finding apt similitudes, and in the quickness of her repartee, but in the plainest subject of discourse she finds out something new and unexpected which pleases all her auditors. But now as to her mind; though always generous, it is so changeable as to other things that it seems incapable of any lasting friendship; for she is never long satisfied with herself, or with those who endeavour most to please her.”

The changeableness referred to above must be understood to relate only to passing acquaintance. In those

¹ Monsieur to Charles II. 20th October, 1667, State Paper Office.

² *Gaz. de France*, 1667, *passim*; *Monpensier*, vol. viii. p. 214.

friendships which were based upon esteem, Henrietta was singularly constant, and apart from the influence of court intrigues, none of her household were dismissed, excepting as the result of their own misconduct.

In the spring of 1668, James, Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II., visited Paris; and as he was acknowledged by his father, and had even pretensions to legitimacy, he was well received by all, more especially by Henrietta, to whom he was warmly recommended by Charles II.¹ She treated the boy with affectionate familiarity, and allowed him free access to her private circles, arranged his wardrobe, ordering for him dresses vying in magnificence with the first nobles in France, and introduced him at the court, which was more than usually gay. A fête was got up at Versailles in July, to which the young duke was specially invited, and which, for splendour and the magical effects of fire-works and water-works, far surpassed all its predecessors.² Strange to say, the kindness shown by Henrietta to her young relative again roused the demon of jealousy in her husband's breast, and now he had no mother to soothe and advise and reason with him. Henrietta, on her part, had abundant cause for jealousy, not of female influence, but of the increasing power possessed over her husband by the Chevalier de Lorraine, a handsome young nobleman of the ducal house of Lorraine, who devoted himself to the service of Monsieur, and was becoming more absolute in his establishment than its mistress. He assumed an authority against which Henrietta's proud spirit sorely revolted. She spoke of it to Madame de St. Chaumont, the governess of her daughter, who mentioned it to the king. He remonstrated with Monsieur in terms so strong that the prince was offended, and, to punish Henrietta for complaining, took her away to Villers Coterets, where she was doomed

¹ "I give you a thousand thanks," he writes to her, "for the care you take before hand of James; I will answer for him that he will be very obedient in all your commands, and your kindness to him obliges me as much as 'tis possible, for I do confess I love him very well; he was, I believe, with you before your last letter came to my hands."—*Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 5.

² Ballard Relation de la fête de Versailles, 4to. Paris, 1668, Gaz. de France, 1668, p. 695; French Corresp. 14th July, State Paper Office.

to pass some weeks in the society of her sulky husband and his angry favourite.

At this juncture died the Prince of Conti, who was governor of Languedoc, and Monsieur, in his moody displeasure, thought fit to solicit from the king the government of that province for himself. He wrote to Louis on the subject, and dispatched his almoner, the Bishop of Valence, with the letter. The bishop, on his arrival at St. Germain, requested an audience, which was at once granted.

“What is the matter now, Monsieur,” said the king to him; “is my brother still offended without knowing why, or has he left me to be less in restraint?” “I am ordered, sire,” answered M. de Valence, “to remit to your majesty a letter which Monsieur has delivered to me, and to take the liberty at the same time of representing to you that, since he has the honour of being your only brother, he has ground for hope that you will not refuse him the government of Languedoc.” “The government of Languedoc!” cried the king, “I thought that all mere governments of provinces were beneath my brother.” Taking Monsieur’s letter, the king read it through, after which, looking at the Bishop of Valence, he said to him, “Is this all, Monsieur?” “Might I venture, sire,” replied M. de Valence, “to take the liberty of respectfully representing to your majesty the just sorrow that Monsieur will feel if your majesty refuses him. And, since your majesty has done me the honour of asking me if Monsieur is still offended, it would thereby seem that your majesty thinks he has some cause for it, well or ill founded. There is no one, sire, who can or ought to enter into the sacred detail of what has passed between you two; but Monsieur is your brother; he earnestly begs for the government of Languedoc, and your Majesty sees that he is displeased.” “Sir,” said the king, “I will send you in half an hour the reply that I shall make my brother; tell him that in France, princes of the blood are never happy but at court, and that in reference to the government of Languedoc, I beg him to remember that he and I agreed together that he should never have any government.” Finishing these words, the king himself

opened the door of his cabinet, and took leave of M. de Valence.

Within half an hour he sent him a letter to Monsieur, refusing his request, but worded with so much friendliness and affection, and pointing out so clearly the reasonableness of the refusal, that Philip, who at heart sincerely loved his brother, soon forgave the affront, returned to court, and was received with a kindness that effaced all shadow of displeasure.

The part taken by the Bishop of Valence in this affair had displeased Louis XIV. The ambitious spirit of Valence sometimes led him to counsel the duke to proceedings which were not prudent: feeling that, as his patron became more influential, his own importance would increase, he induced him to request admission to the royal councils. This was refused as usual, and Monsieur vented his disappointment upon his counsellor; the bishop advised him so to conduct himself, as to acquire a reputation of which the king himself might be jealous, and then his requests would be better attended to. Such a course of policy was totally opposed to that in which Anne of Austria had educated both her sons; the one was brought up to rule, the other—trained implicitly to obey,—was unfit to act the manly part assigned to him, and failed in it. The consequence was, that Monsieur treated Valence with a surliness that rendered his duties unpleasant to him, and he repeatedly expressed to Henrietta his wish to resign his place. She opposed it to the utmost, for she had long been accustomed to lean on the bishop for counsel and support; but as Monsieur took every opportunity of affronting Valence, he at last said to her, “In God’s name, Madame, let me go out honestly by the door, to save Monsieur the trouble of throwing me out of the windows!” Under these circumstances Henrietta reluctantly consented to his wishes, and he tendered his resignation to his master. It was accepted, with the rough remark, that he had done well to go out of his own free will, as he thus saved himself from dismissal. Monsieur sent him repeated intimations of his wish that he would leave the court, and retire to his diocese; and, on the bishop refusing, he threatened to

procure a sentence of exile from the king. The retort, more keen than prudent, was, that Monsieur would find that much easier to gain than a government. This remark reached the king's ears, and roused his indignation, as he considered it involving a breach of confidence in repeating what was a private matter, and he at once exiled the bishop from Paris, greatly to the regret of Henrietta, who was thus deprived of one of the few friends on whose counsels and attachment she could rely.¹

A few months later, Henrietta lost a still dearer and truer friend in her mother. For a year or two past, the intercourse between the queen and princess had become more than ordinarily frequent and familiar. The troubles which so often overclouded her domestic happiness, drove the daughter to pour into her mother's ear those sorrows which were too sacred to be intrusted to others, and Henrietta Maria could at least sympathize with her child, when she could not aid her. During the early summer of 1669, Madame was in a very delicate state of health; her situation requiring peculiar care, she was occasionally confined to bed for days together, and was obliged to use unwonted caution. Under these circumstances, although the health of her mother became impaired, Henrietta was unable to follow the dictates of her affection, and hasten to her side. On the 23rd of August she received a visit from the queen, who was again convalescent. On the 31st she gave birth at St. Cloud to a second daughter,² and her recovery was progressing favourably, when tidings were sent to Monsieur at St. Germain, that Queen Henrietta had unexpectedly become worse and died, in consequence, it was supposed, of an over dose of narcotics. The duke instantly went to Colombes to ascertain the facts, and after ordering all the queen's

¹ Choisy Mémoires, Petitot Recueil, vol. lxiii. p. 380 *et seq.*

² Monsieur was greatly disappointed with the sex of the child. Writing to the Marquise de Sablé, he says, "Were it possible, Madam, that you should have so ill an opinion of me as to believe that I had forgotten you, I should only need this sorrow more to increase greatly my other griefs; and without flattery, I should be more sorry to lose your acquaintance and friendship than I have been at having only a girl, when I had hoped to have sons, and have none."—*MS. Résidu, St. Germain, Paquet 3, No. 2, fol. 271.* There are several other holograph letters of Monsieur to Madame de Sablé in this volume.

property to be sealed up by commissioners of the French king, he hastened on to St. Cloud, to communicate the tidings to his wife. Her sorrow was sincere and deep; not only was she taken by surprise at the suddenness of the blow, but her weak condition rendered her the less capable of struggling against depression. The king and queen instantly came to see her and offer their sympathies, but in four days more she was left alone to brood over her griefs, whilst her husband accompanied the court in a progress to Chambord, which occupied more than a month.

A letter of condolence which she received from the Cardinal de Retz, was thus acknowledged.

“ St. Cloud, 2nd October.

“ Cousin,

“ If even you had not all the reasons which you name to me for being concerned in my recent loss, I am too happy to be indebted to you not to believe that consideration for me alone would have been sufficient. These are my sentiments, although I hardly know you; judge what they would be if so much merit, about which Madame de la Fayette talks to me every day, were known to me. It will not be my fault if this be not the case, and beforehand I value it, as fully as I ought, and desire much that you will be persuaded of my esteem, and that I am, cousin,

“ Your very affectionate Cousin,

“ HENRIETTE ANNE.

“ To my cousin, the Cardinal de Retz.”¹

Madame la Fayette, to whom reference is made above, was Marie Magdeleine de la Vergne, the Comtesse de la Fayette, well known by her literary productions. Through the medium of her sister-in-law, the superior of the convent of Chaliot, she had early been brought into association with Henrietta during the frequent visits of the princess to that convent, and their acquaintanceship ripened into confidential friendship. Madame la Fayette was one of the few ladies who remained at St. Cloud to compassionate the melancholy hours of the princess. Anxious to divert her mind, she proposed to her the resumption of a scheme which they had undertaken together a few years previously,—that of writing the details of

¹ From the original in the possession of M. Monmerqué. This letter, written to a comparative stranger, affords the only known specimen of Henrietta's signature. Her notes to her intimate friends and relatives are all unsigned.

Henrietta's romantic history. It was commenced in 1665, just after the banishment of the Comte de Guiche. Henrietta, repeating to her friend one day some of her adventures, said, "Do not you think that if all the things that have happened to me, with those that bear upon them, were written down, they would form a famous story? You know how to use the pen well, write, I will furnish you with good materials." Madame la Fayette obeyed, and at first the pastime amused the princess exceedingly, but the fancy soon passed away and the work was dropped. Now, however, in her solitude and sorrow, Madame la Fayette found it easy to draw her out in long conversations on the past of her life, which she then committed to paper, and read to the princess the following morning. Henrietta not only corrected the MS. where needful, but would occasionally add a passage with her own hand.¹ In the middle of October the work was broken off by Henrietta's removal to Paris, where her husband joined her on the return of the court. They received the usual visits of complimentary condolence from the nobility and the representatives of foreign princes, and Henrietta attended, as chief mourner, the splendid funeral ceremonies of her deceased mother, which were performed with all the pageant due to her rank as queen of England and daughter of France, at St. Denis and at Nôtre Dame, as also at Chaliot, where Bossuet pronounced his celebrated funeral oration. This sorrow touched Henrietta's heart more profoundly than any previous one, and for several subsequent months she absented herself from courtly gaieties, and was found much more frequently than ordinarily at religious services.²

Monsieur, meanwhile, was creating considerable disturbance by his disposition to meddle with the settlement of the late queen's affairs. He presented a memorial, on behalf of his wife, that, by the French law, the property of the late queen should be divided amongst such of her children as were resident in France, and as Madame was the only one who fell within this category, he considered

¹ Notice sur Madame de la Fayette, Petitot, vol. lxiv. p. 350, *et seq.*

² Gazette de France and French Corresp. State Paper Office, 1668 and 1669.

her to have a claim on the whole. Henrietta declared her willingness to abide the decision of her brother, which she hoped would be liberal, rather because his own credit was involved in it than from any other motive. Charles II. met the case by giving his sister all, and more than all, bequeathed her by her mother, viz., her house at Colombes, with all its furniture, and a set of valuable pearl pendants, belonging to the late queen, which Henrietta had long been accustomed to wear.¹

Her desolate heart now sought to entwine itself more closely around those with whom she was daily associated. She sought and secured the friendship of the reserved but kind-hearted French queen, Maria Theresa of Spain. Dissimilarity of character, and petty jealousies had long kept these royal ladies apart, but they now recognized each other's worth. Henrietta also made overtures of intimacy to Mademoiselle de Monpensier, the "grande Mademoiselle" whose memoirs we have so often quoted. "She said to me," writes Mademoiselle, "'hitherto we have not loved each other, because we do not know each other; you have a good heart; mine is not bad,—we must be good friends.'" Mademoiselle reciprocated her feelings, and they associated more freely than they had previously done.²

We must now briefly glance at the political transactions in which Henrietta gradually became more and more involved, and which were not without their bearing upon her ultimate and untimely fate. In January, 1668, Charles II., who had previously made peace with the Dutch, contracted a fresh alliance, well known in history as the "triple alliance" between England, Holland, and Sweden. This was the result of a well-founded jealousy of the claims of Louis XIV. upon the Spanish Netherlands, in right of his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain, and Charles was well aware that it would excite displeasure in France, by presenting a formidable barrier against French aggression in the Low Countries. The very day on which the treaty was signed, he thus addressed his sister:—³

¹ French Corresp. Oct. to Dec. 1669.

² Monpensier Mémoires, vol. viii. pp. 256, vol. ix. p. 6.

³ Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. vi.

"I believe you will be a little surprised at the treaty I have concluded with the States; the effect of it is to bring Spain to consent to the peace upon the terms the King of France hath avowed he will be content with, so as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide myself against any mischiefs this war may produce; and, finding my proposition to France receive so cold an answer, which in effect was as good as a refusal, I thought I had no other way but this to secure myself. If I find, by the letters, that my Lord St. Albans is come away, I do intend to send somebody else into France, to incline the king to accept of this peace."

This letter refers simply to obtaining the acquiescence of France in the triple alliance; but a few months later, we have the first hint of the projection of a treaty with France, the grand object of which, on the part of that power, was to obtain, if not the co-operation, at least the neutrality of England, in Louis's proposed design against the Low Countries. The benefit offered to England was an ample supply of money to the ever-wasted exchequer, a share in the spoils of Holland, should that country, as was hoped, fall a prey to the conqueror, and assistance for Charles II. against his subjects, in the event of his declaring himself a Catholic, to which he was much inclined.

It may easily be imagined that such a scheme would require an agency of the utmost caution and delicacy, not only in France, but still more so in England, because it was in opposition to the true Protestant interests of the country. Both monarchs agreed in their selection of Henrietta as the principal instrument of negotiation, but she objected to be associated with her brother's favourite minister, the Duke of Buckingham. His former professions of personal devotion to herself stood in the way, and besides, her influence, so far as it extended to the English cabinet, was thrown into the party of the Earl of Clarendon, who was in direct opposition to Buckingham. She wished to make the affair known to M. de Cominges, the French ambassador in England, and also to communicate it, under due precautions, to her husband, knowing too well the jealous feeling that would be excited in his mind, should he discover that she was admitted to state secrets in which he had no part. Charles, however, decidedly refused all share in the transaction, both to the

Duke of Orleans and to Cominges; M. Colbert de Croissy, brother of the great minister of Louis XIV., was therefore sent over to England, as a secret agent on the part of France; and for some time the correspondence was mainly carried on between the English king and his sister. Charles represented to her the extreme jealousy his people felt of the growing maritime power of Louis, and their reluctance, on commercial grounds, to break with Holland: he also spoke of the difficulty of breaking through his solemn engagements, so recently taken, with Sweden and the States.

In November, 1668, Sir Ellis Leighton, a friend of Buckingham, went over to Paris, on pretext of a visit to the Earl of St. Albans, but in reality to endeavour to procure Henrietta's admission of Buckingham into the correspondence. He represented that Lord Arlington, Charles's other influential minister, was so opposed to French policy that his adherence was out of the question, whilst Buckingham sincerely desired the union. It was at length agreed that the Duke should be trusted to a certain length, but that the most critical point of the negotiation, in an English point of view, viz., that of the projected change of the king's religion, should not be revealed to him till he was so far involved in the treaty as to be unable to retract.¹ To this arrangement Henrietta yielded a reluctant assent, but matters still proceeded very slowly: Buckingham was unwilling to confide in the French agent, Colbert, lest he should reveal the matter to Arlington; and this reserve made Colbert jealous and uneasy, whilst Leighton warned Henrietta that, should the adverse faction gain scent of what was going on, they would attack the king open-mouthed, with a cry about the league, religion, the overgrown power of France, &c. At the same time he assured her, in strong terms, of Buckingham's zeal in the cause. Henrietta's reply was as follows:—

“I have caused your letter to be read to the king, who assures me that, even before seeing it, he was persuaded of the greater part of all that it contains, as, among other things, of the good intention and even passion of the duke, by his industry and apprehension, to make the

¹ Mignet, *Négociations touchant la succession de l'Espagne*, vol. iii. pp. 18-58; Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 6.

affair succeed in the way which he thinks best ; that all the advances Crofts can make for Arlington are only in order to try to penetrate what passes, or that he may hold himself ready to enter into the affair, when there are no further means of hindering him from participating, as though he had always been a party to it ; that there is nothing good or certain to be expected on that side, and, on the contrary, all kinds of cross ways and underhand dealings to hinder its good success,—the attachment of that man to the Dutch being too evident, and his inclination and partiality for Spain being too well known,—whence the duke ought to conclude that the king wishes only to have obligation for the thing to himself alone. He has also told me that if the duke changed his opinion, or only relented, he would not think of it again a moment, seeing clearly as the day that nothing more could be done. He will send an order to the ambassador, on Wednesday next, to act on these principles, not to let himself be drawn into conversation on the secret of what may pass between the duke and him by this means, whatever confidence they may show towards him on the other side, or whatever promises they give in order to move him ; and especially to let the affair be conducted by the duke, so that he shall understand it, abandoning himself entirely to his judgment, without ever showing distrust of his good will, if even he should be whole weeks without letting a word be said to him of what he does for the good of the affair.

“I forgot to tell you that you need not fear the ambassador’s having any imaginable jealousy of Ruvigni, nor of any one else, and that he himself wishes all the glory to the duke, without caring to have part in it, and has very well known that the steps which Arlington may take will always be snares, and the king has assured me that he has never written to him but in that sense. The sooner you lead the king my brother confidentially to open his thoughts to the ambassador, the better, for the design which you send word the duke has, to engage him so beforehand that he could not draw back, if even they wished to turn him from it ; or else, if he prefer, he may send you back here, or any other person he chooses, the king having told me that whoever was sent from him on this business should always be welcome.”¹

It was proposed, as the most feasible plan for facilitating the negotiation, that Henrietta should, on some plausible pretext, undertake a journey to England ; but her pregnancy proved an insuperable obstacle.² In a letter to his sister, dated Jan. 20th, 1669, Charles expresses great regret at this *contre-temps*, but assures her that, although she cannot come over in person, she has his fullest confidence, and that if the transaction fail, Louis may depend upon its never being divulged.

“I had written thus far,” he adds, “when I received yours by the

¹ Mignet, *Négociations*, vol. iii. pp. 66-7.

² Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 29.

Italian, whose name and capacity you do not know, and he delivered your letter to me in a passage where it was so dark as I do not know his face again if I see him, so as the man is likely to succeed when his recommendation and reception are so suitable to one another! We must have a care how we write by the post, lest it fall into hands which may hinder our design; for I must again conjure you that the whole matter be an absolute secret, otherwise we shall never compass the end we aim at. I have not yet absolutely contrived how to proceed in this business, because there must be all possible precautions used, that it may not *éclat* before all things be agreed upon, and pray do you think of all the ways you can to the same end, and communicate them to me. I send you here a cypher which is very easy and secure; the first side is the single cypher, and, within, such names I could think of necessary to our purpose."

Buckingham, writing to Henrietta a few weeks later, says:—

"You must excuse this bearer if he has stayed here too long, for it was not his fault; I had hoped to send you with him a man capable of treating upon our affair, but I have been unable, and I confess that I foresee many difficulties in finding a person who knows the language, who is versed in business, and in whom I can confide; nevertheless, I will do my best to accomplish it, and shall be very sorry if—not daring to send Leighton to you, and unable to find any other—I be reduced to the necessity of entering upon the business here with the ambassador, for that assuredly would protract the affair. I have been with him as you ordered me, and told him that you had commanded me to communicate everything to him, but that I did not dare to do it without the king my master's leave, and for this reason I desired him to ask your pardon on my part. I have also burnt your note; I beg you will believe that the strongest desire I have in this world is to obey you. For the love of God do not be impatient, and consider that in a place where measures must be taken to gain the good-will of the people one cannot act with so much despatch as might be wished."¹

Neither Louis, nor Henrietta, nor Charles himself, felt at heart all the confidence which they professed towards the Duke of Buckingham. Writing to his sister, on June 6th, 1669, Charles says:—

"For the great secret, if it be not kept so till all things be ready to begin, we shall never go through with it, and destroy the whole business. I have seen your letter to Buckingham, and what you write to him is as it ought to be; he shall be brought into all the business before he can suspect anything, except that which concerns religion, which he must not be trusted with. You will do well to write but seldom to him, for fear something may slip from your pen which may make him jealous that there is something more than what he knows of."

¹ Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 8, under the mistaken date 1669.

To facilitate a more private negotiation, Louis XIV., at the request of King Charles, sent over to England the Abbé Pregnani, a famous astrologer, who had excited much attention in Paris. The object of his mission was two-fold: first, to impress upon the credulous public of England, by means of his professed astrological predictions, the idea that their national prosperity and glory were bound up by the fates in a union with France: secondly, he was to serve as a convenient and unsuspected vehicle of correspondence between Charles and his sister, that they might carry on their negotiations as they pleased, without Buckingham. It so happened, however, that the chief attendant upon the queen-mother of England, then at Colombes, was Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond, Buckingham's sister. This lady, finding means to discover much of what passed in the long conferences held between Henrietta and her mother, communicated it to Buckingham, and thus made him aware that, whilst he thought himself a principal in the transaction, he was really but a tool in the hands of the Duchess of Orleans. Buckingham was at first extremely angry to find himself duped, and declared that he wished he had never admitted Henrietta into the negotiation at all, protesting that he could have carried it on without her, if he had chosen. However, as it began to assume a more tangible and definite form, others were, cautiously and by degrees, let into the secret, amongst whom were Lady Castlemaine, Charles's favourite mistress, who was propitiated by handsome presents from France, and the Earl of Arlington, who, seeing his master committed to the affair and intent upon it, was too prudent now to oppose it.¹ The Earls of St. Albans and Arundel, with Lord

¹ Mignet, vol. iii. pp. 74-91; Dalrymple, vol. ii. pp. 23-30. Henrietta was at first very distrustful of Arlington, and her feeling was betrayed in a letter to him, which elicited the following reply, characterized by the proud humility of a man who feels that his motives are pure, and that he has really at heart the welfare of the king and kingdom. It is dated June 20th, 1669:—

"If," says he, "your royal highness complains of the general terms in which my letter is written, I have (with submission) much more reason to complain of the particular terms of yours; and assuredly your correspondents in this court must have given a false

Clifford, were ultimately admitted into the cabal, and trusted with more or less of the secret, the entire developments of which were still only known to Louis XIV., Charles II., and Henrietta.¹

Louis XIV., on his part, had to encounter some of the difficulties which embarrassed Charles in reference to the choice of counsellors, though to a less extent, as the interests of France were not compromised by the proposed arrangements. Colbert was of course intrusted by his master, and Lionne also; the king wished Louvois to be admitted into the clique, but Henrietta strongly objected, because she disliked the rough harsh manners of this statesman. Louis feigned compliance with her wishes, yet he privately discussed with Louvois what was transpiring. It was thought prudent that a military adviser should be consulted, and, at Henrietta's suggestion, the venerable Marshal Turenne was admitted into the conclave, under the pledge, of course, of the strictest secrecy.

The obstacle to Henrietta's journey to England being in due time removed, by the birth of her child, it was proposed that she should go over to complete the negotiation

description of me to your royal highness, otherwise you would never have thought of treating me in this way. I have been all my life a good servant of the king my master, and such I will die, by the grace of God, and I would not, for all the wealth of the world, act any other part than that of a good Englishman. Moreover, the king will bear me witness that in two or three remarkable conjunctures I have pleaded the part of France more earnestly than any of his ministers; but it was when I thought its friendship would be the most useful to him. I have done the same in other cases for Spain and Holland, when the same reason seemed to necessitate it, but always (thank God) without expecting or receiving any benefit for myself. You now see, Madame, my temper, and if such a man can be agreeable to your royal highness, I entreat you most humbly to accept me as your most humble and most obedient servant, who honours you with profound veneration as being the beloved sister of my master, and also, as I firmly believe, the most accomplished princess in the world. I might add to this my interest in serving your royal highness well, knowing how much the king loves you, and how he prizes your affection. I conclude by reminding your royal highness that his majesty has been so good as to answer for me, and that thus all other cautions would be not only superfluous, but derogatory to the royal warrant which you have already received for me.

“ARLINGTON.”

¹ Mignet, vol. iii. p. 90.

in the following spring, when Louis intended to make a progress into Flanders, and the proximity of these parts to the English coast would afford a feasible pretext for the journey. This part of the negotiation, however, was carefully concealed from every one but Louvois and Turenne.¹

At no period of her life had Henrietta felt so deeply as at present the need of a candid and disinterested counsellor. Impelled by this feeling, she exclaimed to Madame de St. Chaumont, that she would give a great deal for one hour's conversation with her good Bishop of Valence, whom she had some hopes of persuading to accompany her to England, either by permission or *incognito*. The governess wrote to the bishop to ask how an interview could be accomplished, but he, in reply, represented the impossibility of quitting his exile without permission. Henrietta continued her entreaties that he would not refuse his aid in her difficulties, and on his still demurring, wrote, in one of her notes,—“Then you no longer love me, my poor bishop, since you refuse me a consolation which I cannot do without!” Thus urged by a princess with whom so many of his happier hours were associated, Valence consented to yield, and obtained Louis's permission to journey, on family business, to Limousin. Arriving there, he put off his episcopal insignia, and, in disguise and trepidation, set out for Paris.

It was agreed between him and Henrietta that their interview should take place on the day of the funeral service for Queen Henrietta Maria at St. Denis. This service would necessarily be very long; Henrietta, feigning illness, was to leave the church, and be conveyed to the abode of one of her household officers, who lived near; there the bishop was to be in waiting for her, and they were to enjoy a long conversation without danger of interruption. But the haste in which the bishop travelled, with the excitement of the danger he was incurring, threw him into a fever that retarded his journey; and when at last he arrived in Paris, and took up his lodgings in a miserable house in the Rue St. Denis, he was more dead than alive. He dispatched his nephew and travelling companion at once to Madame

¹ Choisy Mémoires, p. 404.

St. Chaumont, to inform her, and through her, Henrietta, of his position.

Meanwhile, his disguise and the secrecy of his movements attracted suspicion, and he was one morning startled by the *entrée* of the police agents, who arrested him as a forger. In vain he tried to prove his innocence by the fact that he had 6,000 good pistoles in his trunk: the warrant was positive, and they were proceeding to take him, when he requested a private interview with their head, M. De Grais. Drawing out his crozier from under his pillow, he then revealed his name and rank, and begged De Grais to spare his honour by not betraying him, and his life by not removing him in so delicate a state of health. M. de Grais hesitated, but consented at length to wait till he could send for and receive orders from court. Valence employed this precious interval in destroying all the papers in his portfolio which could in any way implicate Henrietta, and sent her word that he had done so, and that, therefore, whatever might be his fate, she was safe. When Louis XIV. was informed that this supposed coiner was the Bishop of Valence in disguise, he felt or feigned the greatest surprise, said that it was impossible, that the bishop was at Limousin, and that the pretended bishop was no other than a coiner, and was, without fail, to be sent to prison.

This intelligence soon reached Monsieur: an English official, resident in Paris, writes, under the date of Nov. 27th 1669:—

“They say that Monsieur, in dressing himself before he went to St. Germain, broke the business to Madame, and said, ‘*Madame, ne savez-vous pas que M. l’Evêque de Valence est à Paris ?*’ She answered she thought he would not be so indiscreet to come contrary to the king’s order. So he combed his head, and a little while after he said, ‘*Oui, Madame, il est vrai, il est à Paris, il est encore en prison.*’ Whereupon she expressed a passion, and said she hoped they would consider his character and use him with respect.”¹

Henrietta’s distress was great at the consciousness, not only that the sacrifice made by her friend for her sake had been useless, but that it had plunged him into difficulties so serious. She sent Madame de St. Chaumont

¹ Vernon’s Despatch, French Correspondence. State Paper Office.

to the king, to plead for him, but in vain. Louis XIV. was not of a temper to submit to a direct act of disobedience to his authority; and as amongst the bishop's undestroyed papers was discovered a note from Madame de St. Chaumont, proving some knowledge on her part of Valence's proposed visit to Paris, the king significantly advised her to resign her post in Madame's household, if she wished to avoid a dismissal. She hesitated, but Marshal Turenne was soon sent to Henrietta with a formal mandate, requiring her to send away this lady. Henrietta was compelled to obey, though not without emotions of passionate sorrow, for Madame de St. Chaumont had been the governess of her children and her intimate companion for nearly eight years. She wished to substitute Madame de la Fayette in her room; but the king imposed upon her the Maréchale Clarendon, a learned lady, though one, in many respects, very unfit for her position. As to the unfortunate bishop, after a temporary removal to a more honourable place of imprisonment, he was sentenced to fourteen years' exile.¹

Scarcely had the agitation caused by this trouble subsided, than another, fraught with still greater annoyance, occurred. It was discovered that, by some mysterious means, Monsieur had become acquainted with his wife's projected visit to England; he spoke of it to the king in the tone of a person who was acquainted with the whole secret. Louis hastily sent for Henrietta, and reproached her for having divulged it. This she denied in the strongest terms, and convinced the king that for the sake of her own peace, she never could have betrayed to her husband a matter on which it had not been thought fitting to allow him to be consulted. Louis found that Monsieur's information came from the Chevalier de Lorraine. He sent for Marshal Turenne, and questioned him whether he had revealed to any one the projected expedition against Holland, and Madame's journey. The great man hesitated between shame and the love of truth, but the latter prevailed. "How, Sire," replied he, stammering, "does some one know your majesty's secret?"

¹ Vernon's Desp. 22nd Jan. 1670; Choisy Mém. p. 406; Monpensier, vol. viii. pp. 245, 249.

"That is not the point," said the king, steadily; "have you mentioned it?" "I certainly have not spoken of your designs about Holland," replied Turenne; "but I will confess all to your majesty. I was afraid that Madame Coatquen, who wished to travel with the court, should not be of the party; and in order that she might take her measures early, I did hint it to her, and that Madame would go to England to see the king her brother. But I have only said that; and I ask your majesty's pardon." The king began to laugh, and said: "Then you love Madame de Coatquen, Monsieur?" "Not exactly," replied Turenne; "but I have a great friendship for her." "Well, well," said the king, "what is done is done; but tell her no more secrets; for if you love her, I am sorry to inform you that she loves the Chevalier de Lorraine, to whom she repeats everything, and Lorraine tells all to my brother."¹

The Earl of Arundel was now dispatched to Paris, to terminate, if possible, the negotiation; but Charles II., ever needy, and but scantily supplied with funds by a parliament now grown distrustful of him, was so exorbitant in his pecuniary demands, that even his sister was compelled to allow that they were unreasonable. By a little manœuvring, however, she persuaded both parties to approximate nearer to each other's views, until they met on this point. But there were still some difficulties to surmount, and it was agreed on both parts that no one was so suitable to surmount them, and put the finishing stroke to the treaty, as the Duchess of Orleans.²

The destiny of Henrietta had now reached its climax; of honour on one side,—for she was loved and trusted, and placed in a most confidential and important position by two of the greatest monarchs of Christendom,—but of unhappiness on the other. The temper of her husband was roused to exasperation by the consciousness that his wife was consulted on matters from which he, the only brother of the king, was rigorously excluded; and the Chevalier de Lorraine, Henrietta's evil genius, was ever

¹ Choisy Mémoires, *ut supra*; Marquis de la Fare, Réflexions, Bouhier MS. 104, p. 41.

² Mignet, vol. iii. p. 93.

at his side, to aggravate his supposed wrongs, and to suggest the many modes of petty revenge by which, without an open rupture, he had it in his power to mortify and annoy his wife. Many a tear did Henrietta shed in secret, over the bitterness of her domestic lot; once only she allowed herself, gently and touchingly, to reproach Madame Coatquen with the sorrows which her indiscreet development of this important secret had induced. The penitent lady flung herself at Henrietta's feet, and bathing her out-stretched hand with tears, sobbed out the only apology she could offer—that her judgment had been carried away by the impetuosity of her affections.¹ The king sympathized with his sister-in-law, but was unable to relieve her: royal authority fails in commanding peace to a turbulent spirit; and Louis had long been accustomed to disregard the angry speeches in which his brother, when displeased, occasionally indulged towards himself. It was agreed, however, between the king and Henrietta, that the Chevalier de Lorraine, the fomentor of this discord, should be banished at the earliest opportunity.

Such an opportunity was not long in presenting itself. On the decease of the Bishop of Langres, a diocese in Monsieur's appanage, he requested the king to confirm his grant of two of the richest of the vacated abbeys to the Chevalier de Lorraine. Louis sternly and peremptorily refused the ill-timed petition, assigning no reason but that he did not choose the chevalier to have it; and Monsieur, in a fit of anger, gave way to language and conduct most offensive to the king. It so happened that, a short time previously, Louis had had an interview with the chevalier, in which he remonstrated with him on those points of Monsieur's behaviour which were objectionable. Lorraine answered, warmly but incautiously, that he was confident of Monsieur's good dispositions,—that, if kindly treated, he would never do anything to incur the king's displeasure, and that he himself would be answerable that Monsieur would never so act as to give the king just cause of complaint. “*You will be answerable to me for my brother's conduct, my lord?*” answered Louis, haughtily;

¹ Francheville, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 61.

"do you think that I choose to have such guarantees? but it is well; I shall hold you to your word."¹ Accordingly, no sooner did Monsieur give just cause of offence, than Louis ordered his guard to arrest the Chevalier de Lorraine, and to send him prisoner to Pierre Encise at Lyons, though allowing that he should be honourably treated, and have free correspondence with his friends.² He was seized whilst closeted with Monsieur in one of his apartments at St. Germain.

This affair produced great *éclat* at court: Monsieur, in a passion of tears, flung himself at the feet of the king, to obtain a revocation of the sentence; but finding his entreaties vain, fell into a paroxysm of rage and despair, declared that such a disgrace was unendurable, and that he would leave the court, and never return till his favourite was recalled. Louis sent to Henrietta to know what course she wished to adopt; but she had neither time to reflect nor leave to follow her own option. An imperious conjugal mandate compelled her to prepare for instant departure, and in a few hours Monsieur and his whole household were on their way, without license or leave-taking, to Paris, *en route* for his country residence of Villers Coterets.³ Mademoiselle de Monpensier, who happened to reach Paris the previous night, hastened to visit the royal pair on their arrival, to learn particulars of this disturbance.

"I went to the Palais Royal," she writes, "where I found Monsieur very angry. He complained of his misfortune, said that he had always lived with the king in such a manner as not to deserve the treatment he had just received; that he should go away to Villers Coterets; that he could not stay at court. Madame showed sympathy with Monsieur's sorrow, and said to me, 'I have no reason to love the Chevalier Lorraine, because we did not agree well together, yet I pity him, and I am heartily sorry for Monsieur's vexation.' She made this speech with the air of a person interested in everything that could grieve him, and yet, in her secret heart, she was very glad of it; she was in complete union with the king, and no one doubts that she had a share in this disgrace."⁴

¹ Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 250.

² Louis XIV. to Pomponne, 7th Feb. 1670, original, Bibl. Arsenal, MS. 598.

³ St. Simon Mémoires, edit. Laurent, vol. i. p. 25.

⁴ Mémoires, vol. viii. p. 250.

That same day the Duke and Duchess of Orleans hurried on to Villers Coterets, whence, on the following morning, the duke thus poured out his anger and grief, in a letter,—the best, because the most natural, that is in existence from his pen,—to his brother's faithful minister, Colbert;¹—

“From Villers Coterets, 2nd Feb. 1670.”

“Monsieur Colbert,

“Since for some time past I have thought you one of my friends, and you are the only person amongst those who have the honour of approaching his majesty who have given me marks of friendship in the fearful calamity which has just befallen me, I trust you will not be displeased at my requesting you to say to the king that I am come here in an extremity of grief, at finding myself obliged to leave him, or to live at court with shame; that I entreat him to consider what the world would say if I were seen cheerful and tranquil amidst the pleasures of St. Germain and the carnival, whilst an innocent prince, the best friend I had in the world, and attached to me, lingers for my sake in a miserable prison, banished to a distance from me. Moreover, the manner in which he was taken was the most marked affront I could receive, having been a long time uncertain whether it was against my own person that evil was designed, my chamber having been long environed on all sides by guards, as well the door as the windows, so that all my servants in alarm came and told me that they knew not whether it was against me that they were come. Besides, the king sent to ask my wife what part she would take; this showed that he wanted to authorize her to fail in her duty towards me—that of going with me. In spite of all these reasons, if I had thought myself useful to the king's service, I should never have left him; but the manner in which he has treated me all his life thoroughly convinces me of the contrary. I know that, in the mood in which I am now, I could only be disagreeable to him, and that it would even give him pain to have constantly before his eyes a brother whom he has driven to the extremity of despair, which would be annoying to him, and most shameful for me; that I have no wish to hide from him my lively grief till the time when he may please to restore me to joy; that if I durst I would entreat the king to place himself in my position, and to think what he would do under similar circumstances; to give me himself such advice as he thinks becoming for me, and to let everybody see that he has given it to a brother who has never all his life studied anything but how to please and be agreeable to him, as all my conduct might have given him to understand. Notwithstanding, I had rather open my breast to you than to any one else, because I know you are sincere and trustworthy, and that you have no other interests than those of the king, and that you know better than any one that my misfortune has happened me at a time when I certainly deserved different treatment on account of all the things which I

¹ Champollion, Documents inédits, 4to. Paris, 1843, vol. ii. p. 513.

was sacrificing every day to the king ; that if the Chevalier de Lorraine were culpable, I should have been the first to banish him from me ; but that he has never thought of anything but how to win his esteem and good graces ; that I could answer for this, knowing better than any one his inmost heart ; that, in fine, I would show, to the confusion of my enemies, that I loved the king more than myself, if he would but give me the means of reconciling my friendship with my honour ; and that in this I would entreat him to remember that I am his brother. I have nothing beyond this to say to you than to assure you that I shall be most constantly all my life, Monsieur Colbert,

“ Your very good friend,

“ PHILIPPE.”

In response to this letter, Colbert went off to Villers Coterets, in full expectation that after the first explosion of anger, Monsieur would have recovered his customary feelings of respect and obedience towards his royal brother, and that he would be willing to return to court, and make up the breach. This was not the case: the duke absolutely refused to go back unless Lorraine were also recalled. Louis was surprised at his unwonted firmness, and attributed it justly to the influence of his exasperated favourite, with whom he was in constant correspondence. He therefore ordered the chevalier to be removed to the château d'If, and not permitted to receive or send any letters whatever. This step was followed by a fresh burst of anger from Monsieur, and the quarrel became so serious that Louis thought it necessary to state its cause to his residents in foreign courts, that they might correct the exaggerated rumours which were sure to arise on such an event. He expressed, however, in strong terms, his confidence that his brother, when left unbiassed, would speedily return to a sense of his duty.¹ In Paris, of course, all eyes were eager, and all tongues set in motion, to know the issue of this royal quarrel. A correspondent, writing on February 11th, says:—

“ The Duke of Orleans's business hangs in suspense, although some say overtures have been made to an accommodation, and that it was proposed that the Chevalier de Lorraine should make a campaign into Malta, and have 30,000 livres per annum pension from the king, as like-

¹ Louis to Pomponne, 7 and 21 Feb. 1670; MS. 598, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris; Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 250.

wise that Monsieur de Turenne and the Maréchal Bellefonds were to wait upon Monsieur at Villers Coterets with propositions of agreement from the king ; yet all this being but rumour and discourse, it is better to believe that all things hang in an indifferency, and that the king hath not made any advancements to a reconciliation."¹

It may easily be imagined how dreary was the existence which our princess led with her offended husband, thus removed from all the gaieties of the circle in which she was accustomed to shine. It is true that Villers Coterets was a princely abode, situated amidst noble woods, surrounded by a stately park and lovely gardens, and affording ample scope for the exercises of the chase, in which Henrietta usually so much delighted ; but the charms of external nature were insufficient to calm down a spirit ill at rest, and receiving almost daily some fresh cause of annoyance and discontent. She was not left without practical proofs of the generous sympathy of her royal brother-in-law. A court correspondent writes :—

“The king sent a present to Madame a little before she came from Villers Coterets, which is valued at 20,000 crowns, consisting of jewels, laces, perfumes, essences, diamond garters such as are now in fashion, gloves, and twenty purses, with a hundred louis d’or in each purse ; with a very neat compliment, which was, that Madame having not been at court this carnival, and so, not being able to draw at the king’s lottery, the king had put in some chances for her, and that it was her fortune which won them purses.”²

Henrietta had at least the satisfaction of feeling herself missed. A court lady, writing to one of her attendants at Villers Coterets, says :—

“Expect nothing diverting from me ; we are too melancholy here to think of being agreeable, and since Madame went away, St. Germain is not the place to seek for joy ; the pleasures, loves, and enchantments, which march in the steps of your princess have quitted the court since she left, resolved, however they may be pressed, not to abide there till her return. I even think she will bring us back the spring. In plain prose, we are extremely *ennuyés* here because Madame is not with us.”³

¹ French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

² Vernon’s Desp. 1st March, 1660 ; French Corresp. State Paper Office.

³ Madame de la Suze, *Pièces Galantes*, vol. i. p. 115.

Henrietta was now at a critical juncture; the time had arrived when it became necessary that her journey to England should be publicly discussed and decided. The accomplishment of this journey was the object which, of all others, she had most at heart, not only from her natural wish to see her long-parted relatives, but from her ambition to put the finishing stroke to the important diplomatic mission on which she had been so long and successfully engaged, by obtaining her brother's signature to a treaty from which, when divulged, she expected to reap a rich harvest of honours, and secure the homage of united France. An indispensable preliminary was the obtaining her husband's consent to the proposed visit. It was arranged that letters should be written to him by Charles II., the Duke of York, and the Earl of St. Albans, earnestly soliciting that, as the French court was soon about to travel into Flanders, and would pass near Dunkirk or Calais, Madame might avail herself of the opportunity of this close proximity to pass over to Dover or London, and pay a short visit to her English friends. In these letters a profound secrecy was, of course, observed as to the ultimate object of Henrietta's projected visit. They were written and dispatched in January, and soon after, Lord Falconbridge, with Dodington as secretary, was sent over to wait upon Monsieur, and press his consent. They arrived, unfortunately, just at the crisis of the affair of the Chevalier de Lorraine; but Dodington was sent on to Villers Coterets to visit Henrietta, and consult with her what was to be done. He thus describes his interview:¹—

“Madame received me with all imaginable kindness, much beyond what a man of my figure could pretend to, and did me the honour to give me a full hour's private discourse with her, and, perceiving that I was not unacquainted with her affairs, and flattering herself that I had address enough, or at least inclination, to serve her, she was pleased to tell me she had designed to see the king her brother at Dover, as this court passeth by Calais to Flanders; that this king had received the motion with all kindness, and conceived the ways of inducing Monsieur

¹ French Corresp. Feb. 21st, 1670, State Paper Office. These circumstances are detailed substantially the same in Falconbridge's despatch of the same date.

to accomplish it, which was that both her brothers and my Lord St. Albans should write to Monsieur to that effect, which they had done ; but the letters, coming hither a day or two after the Chevalier de Lorraine's disgrace, Monsieur fell into so ill a humour with Madame, even to parting of beds, that the King of France had commanded the letters should not be delivered to Monsieur until he was better prepared to receive such a motion. That, since his coming to Villers Coterets, he began to come to himself, and that she thought, if the King of France approved of it, that the letters might now be delivered, in order to which her highness gave one of these three letters into my hand, and desired that my Lord Ambassador Montague would, presently on my return, dispatch away one to St. Germain's to get the king's permission that my Lord Falconbridge might bring them with him to Villers Coterets, and deliver them to Monsieur.

"The King of France is extraordinary kind to Madame, and hath signified it sufficiently in all this affair of the Chevalier de Lorraine, whom he disgraced on her account, and on hers also it is that Monsieur is now invited to court, although he seems not to take notice of it. She is even adored by all here, and, questionless, hath more spirit and conduct than even her mother had, and certainly is capable of the greatest matters."

It was not thought advisable for the letters to pass through any other hands than those of the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Montague. He therefore went over to Villers Coterets, and was courteously received. One of Monsieur's particular *penchants* was to keep up the appearance of the most friendly cordiality with his royal relatives in England. He was in regular correspondence with Charles II., and numerous holograph letters from him to the king are still in existence in the French correspondence of the State Paper Office. They are generally little more than notes of compliment, but Monsieur never misses an opportunity of alluding to the special interest which his marriage gives him in everything relating to England. Occasionally, when his subject leads him beyond the bounds of pompous trivialities, he writes shrewdly, and with good sense. It was part of his tactics to cultivate unusual friendliness towards the ambassador of his royal brother-in-law of England. When Sir Ralph Montague first arrived in Paris, in March, 1668, after his private audience with Henrietta, she requested him to visit her husband, telling him that on account of the relationship with England, Monsieur did not wish to observe the same formalities with the English as with

other ambassadors. The duke chatted with him for an hour, and had ever since been on very friendly terms with him.¹ This circumstance was in Henrietta's favour, as it rendered more difficult a refusal on the part of Monsieur to the wishes of his brother-in-law.

As Montague had been well received, Lord Falconbridge next went over to Villers Coterets, on February 22nd, and had an audience equally favourable.

"Madame's reception," he writes, "was obliging beyond expression. She has something of particular in all she says or does, that is very surprising. I found by her that, although Monsieur were at that time in better humour than he had of late been, yet he still lies apart from her; that she wanted not hopes of inducing his consent to her seeing of the king my master, at Dover or Canterbury, this spring, as this court passes into Flanders, nor is this king unwilling to second her desires in that particular; and, to say the truth, I find she has a very great influence in this court, where they all adore her as she deserves, being a princess of extraordinary address and conduct. The next day after my arrival at Villers Coterets, M. Colbert came thither from this king, on the account of her highness, to invite Monsieur to court, who, though he would not see by whose hand it was wrought, did yet accept of the invitation, and declared he would return this day to St. Germain, as accordingly he did."²

It was essential to Louis that, at this juncture of affairs, he should be able to have unrestricted intercourse with Henrietta, and he therefore consented to compromise his dignity by requesting his brother's return. Monsieur, on the other hand, weary of a month's seclusion, was only too glad to avail himself of the overture. On the 24th of February he and Madame reached Paris, travelling in company with Colbert, Montague, the English ambassador, and Lord Falconbridge. Monsieur went on the same night to St. Germain, and Madame followed him thither the next day.³ Their return to court was the signal for general rejoicing; the king himself gave them handsome presents, and put on a cheerfulness of aspect which he had not worn during their absence.

¹ "After I had seen Madame," he writes, "she desired me to go to Monsieur, for she said, by reason of the alliance, he would not have an English ambassador live with that strangeness and ceremony towards him as other ambassadors do. I therefore went to wait on him, and was almost an hour with him, but all passed in indifferent discourse."

² Falconbridge's Desp. 25 Feb. French Corresp.

³ Berwick's Desp. 20 Feb. 1670, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

The royal pair were domiciled, as before, at the Château-neuf at St. Germain, but Henrietta had also a suite of apartments in the old castle, contiguous to those of the king, where she passed the whole day, and they were thus able to converse freely and frequently.¹ Each day increased Louis's estimate of her talents; he often asked and acted upon her opinion, independently of his ministers, in reference to points of domestic administration.² As to his brother, the king had obtained the point at which he principally aimed, that of his *unconditional* return to court. He therefore expressed his gratification at the respect and tenderness which Philip had shown towards him in coming back as soon as he found that his absence was a source of uneasiness,³ and his willingness to gratify him by a compromise, which was, as a correspondent informs us,—

“That the Chevalier de Lorraine shall come back from Provence to court, and that then Monsieur shall take his leave of him, and so he shall be sent to travel with a pension of 30,000 livres per annum, and all this to make the salvo of an oath made by Monsieur, at his going from court, that he would never return thither again, unless the Chevalier de Lorraine did return also.

“It was observed,” he adds, “that Madame, at her return from Villers Coterets, looked much paler and thinner than she was accustomed, all which made the world suppose that solitude and retirement from the divertisements of the court were not at all suitable to her humour, but that solitariness and want of recreation did produce melancholy and change of complexion in her.”⁴

The return of the duke and duchess to court was followed by their seeming reconciliation to each other; but it was not thoroughly sincere and cordial.⁵ Quarrels were still frequent between them, and Monsieur would sometimes pass many days without speaking to his wife.⁶ When in his fits of passion, he reproached her with the circumstances connected with the affair of the Comte de

¹ Monpensier, vol. viii. p. 256.

² St. Simon, *ut. sup.* p. 455.

³ Louis to Pomponne, 28th Feb. 1670, MS. 598, Bibl. Arsenal, Paris.

⁴ Vernon's Desp. 1 March, 1670, French Corresp.

⁵ De la Fare, *Réflexions*, Bouhier MS. 104, f. 41.

⁶ Berwick's Desp. 26 March, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

Guiche, which had long ago been forgiven and, as she hoped, forgotten. He complained of her to the queen, who did her best to conciliate matters: he then made a *confidante* of Mademoiselle de Monpensier, to whom he declared that he had never loved his wife more than a fortnight, and carried his invectives so far that she was led to remind him that Madame, as the mother of his children, ought to claim more respect at his hands. Henrietta, on her side, complained sorrowfully, sometimes bitterly. "If I committed faults," she said, "why did he not quarrel with me at the time when he pretends that I wronged him? I can never endure to allow him to torment me in this way, and all about nothing." She generally spoke of him cautiously and civilly, but at times expressions of contempt would drop from her lips, as she felt her own superiority to the being whose present pleasure seemed to be to tyrannize over and insult her.¹

During this interval, Louis was trying to reconcile his brother to Henrietta's projected visit to England; with what success the following letter will show. It is from Lionne to Colbert, dated St. Germain, 22nd March, 1670:—

"I write you in haste, the post being ready to start, to comply with the king's order, to let you know that you may tell it to the King of Great Britain, that when he proposed to Monsieur a journey into England for Madame, whom his Britannic Majesty has a great desire to see, Monsieur replied in as contrary a manner as possible, and with violent fits of rage, saying that he would not even let Madame take the journey into Flanders. Your brother, in whom Monsieur has confidence, having spoken to him again about it yesterday by the king's order, remarked that he was a little softened, and allowed himself to be influenced by the reasons which he represented to him. The king will continue to try for it delicately, and hopes in a little time to prevail in the affair."

A week later, Louis thus wrote to Colbert's brother in England:—

"I will not tell you what I have done to inspire into my brother's mind the proper dispositions, and to conquer at last the great repugnance which he felt for this voyage; it would be too long and to no purpose, so I come at once to what I have obtained from him. As my sister has at different times spoken to my brother on the substance of

¹ Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 6.

our negotiation, excepting the most secret point (which I will not name, as this letter is going by post), of which my brother knows nothing at all, he has made it a point of honour, that if the affair be concluded, his wife should not carry off all the honour alone, and he has fancied that by crossing over also himself into England, when the thing should be made known in the world, the principal part of the glory would be attributed to him. And on this ground, from which he declares he will not swerve, he has proposed to me that the Duke of York should cross the sea to pay me a visit, and that he would go with my sister to Dover to see the King of England, adding that he shall not go as far as London, nor suffer my sister to go there for any consideration whatever. When I objected to him that the King of England would wish, reasonably enough, to converse with his sister, as much and as freely as he liked, he replied by assuring me that he would not interfere with him as to that; that when they were together, after a few compliments, he would retire of himself, and leave them all the time and opportunity they themselves could desire for their intercourse. All this, therefore, depends, as I have already said, on the passage of the Duke of York to visit me at the same time, either at Dunkirk or Calais, as may be most convenient for him and as we shall agree, without which my brother would not go to Dover, nor would I indeed allow him."¹

Henrietta remonstrated forcibly, though privately, against this arrangement. She agreed that, were Monsieur in the best of all possible tempers, his presence would be a serious obstacle to the transaction of affairs so important, of which he was yet in ignorance; and that in his present mood, it would render the object of her visit entirely nugatory. Louis felt the force of these objections, and Charles II. still more so. The latter urged that he had the strongest reasons for not sparing the Duke of York at present, and therefore could not coincide in the proposed arrangement; but he sent Lord Godolphin to Paris, to entreat Monsieur not to refuse him so small a favour as the society of his sister for a few days; for as every one knew how anxiously he had requested it, his honour would be involved should it not be granted. Knowing that Monsieur was a vehement stickler for etiquette, he promised that his wife should have precedence over every lady in England, the queen excepted. In spite of all these assaults, Monsieur still held back, until his brother informed him, in a tone which he well understood was not to be trifled with, that as the proposed

¹ Mignet *Négociations*, vol. iii. pp. 177, 178.

journey was advisable for the interests of the kingdom, he should expect no further opposition. At length Monsieur was induced to yield a reluctant consent that Henrietta should go across to Dover, but she was by no means to proceed to London, and to be absent only three days; nor would he consent, although repeatedly urged, to a longer visit.¹

The king himself took interest in arranging the household and equipage of his sister-in-law, and, to make it proportioned to her rank, he presented her with 200,000 crowns towards her expenses.

The court was now busily preparing for the proposed journey into Flanders; but Henrietta was anxious previously to have her infant daughter, Mademoiselle de Valois, baptized. The ceremony was performed at the Palais Royal, on April 8th, by Monsieur's first almoner, the sponsors being the dauphin and Mademoiselle de Monpensier. The king and queen, Prince of Condé, Duke and Duchess d'Enghien, and others of the chief nobility were present, and the royal party all dined together, magnificently entertained by Monsieur.²

Their journey commenced on the 28th of April: the party consisted of the king and queen, the young dauphin, Monsieur and Madame, Mademoiselle de Monpensier, a splendid train of courtiers, lords and ladies, the principal officers of state and of the royal households, and a powerful escort of cavalry. They travelled by Senlis, Compiègne and St. Quentin, received in all places with the homage which the French people unfailingly paid to "*le grand monarque*." But the elements were not equally cognizant of or respectful to royalty. The rain fell in ceaseless torrents: the roads became heavy, and on approaching Landrecies, where they had arranged to spend a night, they were met by the son of the governor, who rode in haste to give them the information that the Sambre had overflowed its banks, that the bridge was broken down, and their further progress dangerous, if not impracticable. Part of the royal suite, which had passed on earlier in order to make

¹ Mignet, vol. iii. pp. 179, 180. French Corresp. April 1670, State Paper Office.

² Gaz. de France, p. 359. Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 23.

preparation, had arrived in safety; but this fact by no means diminished the discomfort of those who were thus left, as they were destitute not only of fitting shelter, but of attendants and equipage. The only place of accommodation to be had was a sort of large double barn, on a rural farm, in which king and queen, lords and ladies, officers and servants, were promiscuously crowded together. The only supplies to be obtained from the peasants were some soup and a few chickens: of the former there was not enough for all; as for the latter, since neither knives nor forks were to be had, the hungry company were glad to pull them in pieces, one tearing off a wing, and another a leg, as they best could, to satisfy the cravings of appetite. Then came the arrangements for the night; a number of the officers removed into a small inner room, but there still remained the royal group, with only one apartment and a few straw mattresses for their accommodation. Madame and Mademoiselle were disposed to laugh at the whole affair, but the rigid etiquette of the queen was terribly startled to find that they were actually compelled to spend the night in one apartment. There was no remedy, however; so they all lay down, in their clothes, upon the mattresses, and slept soundly too; for when, at four o'clock in the morning, Louvois came to announce that the bridge was repaired and the road safe, Mademoiselle was the only person awake. She soon aroused the king and the rest of the sleeping group; they took their coaches and proceeded to their quarters in the town, not cutting the best possible figures. Mademoiselle remarks that those ladies who rouged looked miserably faded, but she adds, with amusing *naïveté*,—"I was the one who appeared the least disfigured amongst them."¹ She goes on to relate:—

"We went to Douay, where Madame and I remained seated during an harangue which was made to the queen, and although we were a good distance behind her she noticed it, and complained about it to the king, who was displeased. Monsieur spoke to me about it, and said that I was more to blame than Madame, because I knew better than she

¹ Mémoires, vol. ix. pp. 31, 53; Pelisson, Lettres Historiques, 12mo. Paris, 1729, vol. i. pp. 6, 8.

what was proper to be done. I told the king what Monsieur had said to me : he answered that he had thought me to blame in remaining seated. I replied to him that when I did so, I was conscious of committing an impropriety, but that I had seen Madame seated and dared not tell her that she ought to rise. I had thought that the queen would never suspect Madame of any failure in the respect which she owed her—that I had staid down by her a moment in order that the queen might complain, and that thus Madame might be given to understand that she had no more right to sit down than I.”¹

To Henrietta this journey was fraught with much suffering: she cared little for its occasional physical discomforts, but her husband sought every opportunity of gratifying his spite against her by indulging in petty species of revenge. Not only did he allow himself to speak of her in language so coarse and violent that it seemed as though a future reconciliation were beyond hopes, but the conversation in which he indulged in the coach was often disagreeable, sometimes almost brutal. Speaking one day of astrology, he said it had been predicted to him that he should have several wives, and that the condition Madame was then in rendered the prophecy very likely of accomplishment. This remark had reference to the delicacy of her health: her digestion was considerably impaired; she was obliged to adopt a diet almost entirely of milk, and as soon as the day's journey was accomplished, she generally went at once to her own lodgings, and most usually to bed. The king did his best, by affectionate and respectful attentions, to compensate for his brother's rudeness. In the latter part of the journey, Monsieur troubled them very little with his society; the whim seized him of riding, sword in hand, at the head of his regiment of cavalry, and acting the part of a colonel with the same punctilio as the other officers.

On their arrival at Courtray messengers from England were awaiting them, to urge the request for the visit of the duchess. The duke was extremely displeased; he had already repented his hard-wrung consent, and now protested that she should not go at all. At this critical moment Louis interposed, and, in a tone of unmistakeable authority, declared it to be his absolute wish that Madame

¹ Mémoires vol. ix. pp. 49, 50.

should go, sternly adding that "he would have no more obstacles thrown in the way."

The travellers at length reached Lisle on the 23rd of May. The particulars of their reception in the different towns—the tapestry-lined streets, the fireworks, the illuminations, the triumphal arches, the fountains flowing with wine, the fêtes, the giving of presents, the religious services, the clerical and magisterial orations, we pass over unnoticed, and that the more willingly, because Henrietta's delicacy of health prevented her joining in them further than was absolutely necessary.¹

This arrangement gave her the double advantage of securing a few hours, when needed, for diplomatic purposes. At Courtray, and again at Lisle, she had interviews with M. de Pomponne, agent of Louis XIV. in Holland, who had taken advantage of the proximity of his royal master to pay him a visit. He thus records his impressions of Henrietta:—²

"I had a long conversation with her at Courtray and at Lisle, the evening before her departure, and I confess that I was astonished to find such grasp of mind and capacity for business, in a princess who seemed only born for the graces which are the ornament of her sex. I found that she was informed of the orders I had constantly had, not to enter into any solid alliance with the States, but to amuse them with useless negotiations. She knew the king's intentions to resent the part they had taken in the triple alliance, and showed great indignation at Temple for the dislike against France which he could not hide. However, she assured me that he would not long be in a condition to hurt us in this embassy. From what the king had said to me in general, about the hopes which he had of bringing back the King of England into his interests, and from what was confirmed to me by Madame, it was easy to guess that the voyage of this princess to London was not confined to the simple pleasure of seeing the king her brother."

At Lisle, Henrietta parted from the rest of the company and set out for Dunkirk. The whole party flocked around her, to take leave; but Monsieur's manner of treating her was such that she could not conceal her anguish of mind. Between 4 and 5 A.M. on the morning of the 24th, she commenced her journey towards her native land. She was not attended by a numerous

¹ Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 53; Pelisson, vol. i. p. 46.

² Négociations de Pomponne, MS. 601, Bibl. Arsenal, Paris.

suite, for though the fairest and noblest ladies of France had been anxious to press into her train, she had avoided those of high rank, lest her peace should be disturbed by contests for precedence, and also because she did not want too many eyes to watch her proceedings. Her train, as ultimately decided upon, consisted of five maids of honour, among whom was Mademoiselle Querouaille, afterwards mistress of Charles II., seven ladies of the chamber, the Comte and Comtesse d'Albon, three *maîtres d'hôtel*, secretary, treasurer, and several medical attendants and chaplains, esquires, hussars, guards, porters, &c. In addition to these was her suite of honour, that is, the persons who, though not ordinarily attached to her household, followed her on this occasion. They were the Marshal du Plessis, Bishop of Tournay, Count and Countess de Grammont, Abbé Carnully, Abbé Chaumont, Monsieur l'Avocat, and several others, who, with their attendants, swelled the number to 237.¹

The unfavourable weather had prevented the royal *cortége* from travelling with the expected rapidity; therefore the Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral of England, with his small fleet, had been in waiting at Dunkirk nearly a week before the princess arrived. She went on board at once: early the next morning the white cliffs of Dover came in sight, and almost as soon, familiar faces met her longing eyes. The king, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the young Duke of Monmouth rowed out a mile from shore to welcome her, and joyous indeed was the meeting. Her vessel soon grazed the pebbly beach of Dover, and the royal daughter of England once again trod her native soil.²

Dover Castle was fitted up for the reception of the royal visitors, and their trains were obliged to find accommodation as well as they could in the town. The Duke of York was speedily obliged to return to London, to quell, by his presence and activity, a threatened rebellion amongst the populace. Whilst Henrietta regretted his absence on some grounds, on others it was advantageous

¹ French Corresp. 26th May, 1670.

² Gazette de France, pp. 551, 552; London Gazette, May, 1670; Bennett's Eng. vol. iii. p. 302; Theat. Europ. vol. x. p. 316.

to the success of her negotiations. The duke had but recently become a Romanist, and, with the zeal of a young convert, he was anxious to persuade the king his brother at once to declare his own change of religion, and to commence a hot-headed crusade against all his subjects who opposed him. The interests of Louis, on the other hand, demanded that the conquest of Holland should be the first undertaking of the new alliance; the grand object of Henrietta's mission was, to secure this precedence, and then to obtain her brother's signature to the treaty. The mode in which she accomplished both these points shall be given from notes taken from a political journal kept by herself when in England,—from a memorial which, on her re-landing in France, she dispatched to Louis XIV.,—and from the minutes of the English clerk and interpreter of M. Louvois.

Henrietta opened her mission by assuring her brother of her warm affection to him and to his cause, and hinted, too, that not only was she high in favour with the French king, but that she had facilities greater than those possessed by almost any other person, for penetrating into his real motives and intentions. She said that the sincere opinion, both of Louis and herself, was, that the only mode of confirming the stability of the English throne was the restoration of the Catholic religion and of absolute power; for the Church of England was found by experience too weak to prop up falling royalty, whilst dissenters were firmly bent on overthrowing the monarchy, and restoring the principles of the Commonwealth. She therefore advised Charles to adopt a mode of internal policy, the leading features of which should be to flatter the English Protestant Church, and by alternately coaxing and persecuting dissenters, to render them at last dependent upon and subservient to his will. His true external policy she pointed out to be, union with France against Holland, which had ever been the nest of rebellion and republicanism; the destruction of which, by removing its only formidable rival, would conduce most powerfully to the commercial interests of England. "She concluded her harangue," adds our authority, "and spoke the rest with an eloquence of a more transcendent kind,

and which, though dumb, infinitely surpassed the force of her reasons or of her more charming words." Her two brothers were represented to be greatly impressed, "and that accompanied with such transport, that for some time it detained them in a kind of ecstasy, and bereft them of the power of making any reply. But after some pause the king, by degrees re-collecting his spirits and most affectionately embracing his lovely ambassadress, broke silence, and, excusing himself of the first transport of his affection to her at an unexpected interview after the separation of so many years, said the wonderful patheticalness of her discourse, and the weightiness of the matter proposed in it, had detained him in some suspense."

The counter arguments of Charles were elicited not by his personal feeling, but by his consciousness that the proposed steps were sorely opposed to the wishes of his people, and would be likely to involve him in many difficulties. He referred to the insuperable obstacles that would arise against the re-establishment of Popery, though he himself was personally inclined to it, and his brother still more so. He reminded his sister of the general dissatisfaction occasioned by the ill success of the last Dutch war; of the warm sympathy of his subjects with Protestantism, and their general hatred of France, which would render it most galling to them to remain neuter, whilst Louis XIV. attacked and destroyed their neighbours and present allies. Henrietta met his objections with so much tact and skill, and so great was her influence over him, that on the 1st of June, within six days of her landing, the all-important treaty was signed. Colbert went over with it to Calais, obtained the signature of Louis, who was in that town, and hastened back in triumph to Dover.¹

Henrietta was even sanguine enough to flatter herself, that if a few more days' delay might be granted her, and if Marshal Turenne might be sent over, on pretext of conducting her home, she could persuade her brother to a declaration of war against Holland, instead of a mere

¹ Tanner MS. 44, f. 202, Bodleian Library, Oxford ; Mignet, vol. iii. pp. 184-200.

neutrality.¹ But Monsieur, who had already been compelled by his brother to lengthen the period of absence originally proposed,² would hear of no more prolonged furlough, and Louis also was fearful lest the presence of Turenne in England should raise the suspicions of the Dutch, or rather strengthen those which were already excited by Henrietta's journey.

The Dutch, fearing lest politics might have some share in her visit, had commissioned their envoy, M. van Beuningen, to keep strictly on the look-out: but so secretly were affairs managed, that he sent word to the States they need be under no apprehensions; nothing was going on in England but feasting and rejoicing, and the manifestations of pleasure natural to near relatives after so long a separation.³ In fact, Buckingham himself, though so closely associated with the royal party, was kept in ignorance of the completion of the treaty.⁴

The English royal family were still in mourning for the queen-mother, whose death had taken place eight months previously;⁵ but in spite of the external marks of a sorrow now almost forgotten, they were as gay as the confined resources of a small seaport town permitted. An added cheerfulness was felt by most present, because Henrietta's influence had succeeded in reconciling two men whose opposition to each other had often caused great uneasiness at court: these were the Duke of Buckingham, her former lover, and his rival, the Earl of Arlington.⁶

The princess was taken to Canterbury, where the comedians of the Duke of York acted a ballet and a comedy, followed by a costly collation. On the 29th of June, Queen Catherine arrived at Dover, to be presented to her sister-in-law, whom she treated with the greatest courtesy, frequently giving her precedence above herself. These royal ladies had several points of sympathy, victims

¹ Dalrymple, vol. ii. pp. 56-60.

² Louis XIV. to Charles II., 19 June, 1670, MS. L. 17², Bibl. Ste. Genevieve, Paris.

³ *Négociations de Pomponne, ut supra.*

⁴ Mignet, vol. iii. p. 217.

⁵ Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 62.

⁶ Mignet vol. iii. p. 215.

as they both were to matrimonial infelicity, but their acquaintanceship was too brief to allow of the formation of intimacy. Henrietta's opinion of her sister-in-law was, that she was "a good woman, not handsome, but so courteous and full of piety that she could not fail to win affection." The Duchess of York, who accompanied the queen, had become known to Henrietta in Paris, as one of the maids of honour of her sister the Princess of Orange, but she was agreeably surprised with her wit and vivacity.¹ They had one subject of mutual interest to both to discuss. The Lady Anne Stuart, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of York, afterwards Queen Anne, had long been suffering from a disease of the eyes, and had been sent for medical treatment to France, where she was domiciled with her grandmother, Queen Henrietta Maria. On the death of that queen, Henrietta had taken her little niece into her own family,² where she became the companion of her elder cousin, the little Mademoiselle, who was about her own age. The mother was anxious to hear of her child's well-being, and to show her gratitude for Henrietta's kindly attentions to her little charge.³

On the 8th of June a rowing party was formed, in yachts, to explore the beauties of the neighbouring coast: the company were attended by three men of war; they remained absent about two hours, and on their return were received by a royal salute from the castle guns, as well as from the vessels in the offing. The anniversaries of the king's birth and restoration, which transpired about this time, added to the gaiety of the occasion.

The winged hours flew past all too swiftly for the unfortunate princess, who was so soon to exchange the scene where she was surrounded by adoring homage and affection, for the miserable jealousies of her own home circle.

¹ Monpensier Mémoires, vol. ix. p. 62.

² French Corresp. 1668-9, State Paper Office. In the inventory of the queen's furniture, that of the "princess's chamber" is given in full detail.

³ Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 82. The princess returned to England in August 1670, upon the death of Madame.—*Gazette de France*, 1670, p. 816.

In spite of Charles's almost proverbial poverty, he promised his sister, and sent her too, a present of 6000 pistoles, to enable her to meet the expenses of her journey, which were so heavy as to necessitate her pledging some jewels temporarily to meet them. He also gave her a costly parting present, valued at 2000 pistoles,¹ and told her that he wished her to leave him one of her jewels as a token of affection. She readily promised compliance, and ordered Mademoiselle de Querouaille to fetch her jewel-casket, when the king, taking the hand of the beautiful maid of honour, said that *she* was the jewel whom he coveted. Henrietta steadily refused: she told him that she had received the girl from her parents, who were of noble Breton birth, that she considered herself bound to protect her from danger, and must take her back to France. In vain Charles entreated and remonstrated; the utmost he could obtain was Henrietta's promise not to prevent the girl's return to England, in case he should obtain for her an appointment as maid of honour to his queen; but this point was not accomplished till some time after his sister's decease.² Henrietta has frequently been taxed with the odious crime of having brought over this young lady with the express purpose of fascinating Charles, and thus maintaining a powerful French influence always near him; but this is one of the many instances in which the *past* of history is judged by its *future*; and the whole tenor of the life of our kindly-hearted, though imprudent, Henrietta belies such an accusation.

On the 12th of June the Duchess of Orleans bade adieu to her native shores and embarked for France. Not only the king but the queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and many of the nobility, loaded her with gifts; whilst she, on her part, distributed liberal proofs of her generosity amongst those who had surrounded her at her brother's court, and left behind her a charming impression of her beauty, affability, and goodness of heart.

The following graceful verses were presented to her on parting, by Edmund Waller:—

¹ Montague to Arlington, 6 July, 1670.

² Vie. de Louise de Querouaille, 18mo. Lond. 1690, p. 73.

"That sun of beauty did among us rise,
 England first saw the light of your fair eyes ;
 In English, too, your early wit was shown ;
 Favour that language which was then your own ;
 When, tho' a child, through guards you made your way,
 What fleet or army could an angel stay ?
 Thrice happy Britain ! if she could retain
 Whom she first bred within her ambient main.
 Our late-burnt London, in apparel new,
 Shook off her ashes to have treated you ;
 But we must see our glory snatched away,
 And with warm tears increase the guilty sea :
 No wind can favour us ; howe'er it blows,
 We must be wrack'd, and our dear treasure lose.
 Sighs will not let us half our sorrows tell,
 Fair, lovely, great, and best of nymphs, farewell."¹

Anxious to postpone their adieus to the latest possible moment, the King and Duke of York went on ship-board with their sister, and sailed some distance with her. Tender and sorrowful were the words of parting they were at last compelled to utter, and still more sorrowful the bitter tears shed by Henrietta, as amidst the clang of royal salutes, she watched the diminishing bark which bore away her brothers from her, till it vanished a dim speck in the distance. The princess had but little time for the indulgence of sentiment. The roar of cannon and the clang of trumpets soon announced her arrival at Calais, and immediately on her landing, the magistrates were in attendance to escort her to the house of the governor, which was fitted up for her reception. She attended a service at the church of the Minimes, and the following morning, after being present at mass at the Capuchins, set out for Boulogne, where she was also received with regal honours. At the next stage, Montreuil, she was magnificently entertained by the Duc d'Elbœuf; at Abbeville an escort of royal troops came to meet her, who attended her to Beauvais, where the honours of the place were paid her by the Sieur de Menevillette.² Here the English ambassador Montague

¹ Waller's Works, 12mo. Lond. 1712, p. 217.

² Gazette de France, pp. 602, 603 ; Lond. Gazette, June 1670.

met and welcomed the sister of his sovereign.¹ He was anxious to know the truth of the current rumours respecting her political movements. She could not of course confide to him the whole secrets of her negotiation, of which he knew nothing; but she told him enough to make him feel at ease, when a subject was talked over in his presence, with which he, as English ambassador, was expected to be at home, for she esteemed the man, and pitied the anomalous position which he held.²

The customary forms of etiquette required that the king and court should meet their royal relative *en route*, and conduct her homewards, but Monsieur declared he would not go, and wished Louis also to remain away; the king complied, because his presence would have rendered the absence of his brother still more marked. Monsieur just saved appearances by going out a few miles from St. Germain to meet his wife, so that he might attend her to the palace, where she arrived on the 18th of June.³ The jealous temper of the Duke of Orleans had been sorely excited by the reports which circulated in Paris during her absence, and which are thus detailed by an English correspondent there.

“Here is all the buzzing and rumour in the world that Madame hath had a secret negotiation with his majesty—that she hath made several presents at court, and at last prevailed, and that the triple alliance is quite to be broken; that indeed, for a colour, things are to be continued in their ancient channel for a little while, but that at last the disguise is to be taken off, and the King of England to unite publicly with the King of France. These, because they are town news, and invented only to keep their tongues in use, it being an idle time and they having nothing else to busy themselves about, I think, therefore, the less notice is to be taken of them, for I do not question but his majesty is too well acquainted with his own interests not to forsake an alliance to which he himself gave the first favour, and of which he is still the greatest pillar and support, as that will be mutually to him, in case his affairs should require it.”

A few weeks later he writes:—

¹ Vernon's Desp. 21 June, 1670, French Corresp. State Paper Office.

² Montague to Arlington, 6 July, 1670; Mignet, vol. iii. p. 217.

³ Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 62.

"All the world admires the constancy and steadfastness of his majesty to the triple alliance, which now we hear Sir William Temple hath given in to the States ratified, much beside the expectation of this place, for here they marched upon quite different suppositions, and imagined the propositions which Madame was to make (which they report were, that his majesty should have a haven in Flanders—that he should have a share in all the acquisitions in France, both against the Hollanders and Spaniards—that the King of France would see Surinam restored—that the King of England should have considerable sums of money advanced to him, and all this only to continue neuter, and not to interest himself in the King of France's cause against Holland and Flanders), all these propositions they thought too advantageous to be resisted; but it seems, to their great disappointment here, his majesty hath made a more rational conclusion."

The cordial affection with which the king greeted his sister-in-law on her return, and the joy expressed by all parties at welcoming her back, only increased the discontent of her husband. Louis in particular could not conceal his gratification with the results of the labours of his fair ambassadress: he took every opportunity of showing her attention in public, and privately presented her with 6000 pistoles, that she might at once redeem her pawned jewels, and reserve for her own use the money promised by her brother for that purpose.¹

Henrietta returned to France in better health, and looking more brilliant and beautiful than ever. Envy-ing the admiration which he could not share, Monsieur determined to leave the court, which was on the eve of setting out for Versailles, and announced his intention of retiring to St. Cloud. Henrietta perfectly understood his motives, and shed tears of vexation, bitter though unavailing.² They went into Paris on the 20th of June, the day but one after Henrietta's arrival at St. Germain, and remained there several days. Foreign ambassadors, nobles, and ladies flocked around Henrietta to congratulate her on her return, and the events of her recent journey formed a favourite topic.³ An opera was performed at the Palais Royal, in which the author thus apostrophized her:—

¹ Montague to Arlington, 6 July, 1670.

² Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 62.]

³ Gazette de France, p. 628.

"It's from your heaven-like wisdom to manage your royal brother's tender soul that we expect the happiest of consequences. It's from the torch of your zeal we hope to see his Britannic majesty's zeal to the ancient religion of his ancestors to take flame by the sympathy of a nearest relation. We long with somewhat of impatience for the happy result of your consultations; we doubt not to see that monster heresy lie grovelling at our invincible monarch and your brother's feet, and her supporters expiring in chains."¹

On the 24th of June Henrietta and her husband, with their two children, set out for St. Cloud: there Monsieur resumed the subject of Lorraine's banishment, and told his wife plainly that he could never be reconciled to it; that he knew it was her doing, and she could undo it if she chose, and that she must expect no peace till she acceded to his wishes. It was even said that he threatened her with the worst that could befall her unless she complied.² On the 26th the Duke and Duchess went over to Versailles for the day, and Monsieur's displeasure was further aroused by surprising the king and the duchess together, in close and earnest conversation, which was stopped the moment he entered the room; when he inquired the subject, he was informed that it was not fit to be communicated to him. He left Versailles in anger, and took away his wife bathed in tears.

Henrietta now began to give expression, both by word of mouth and in writing, to the fear that she should never again be able to live happily with her husband, so deep and virulent seemed his prejudices.³ Alienated from her husband she had latterly given herself more to her children: the elder one, the little Mademoiselle, now in her ninth year, was her mother's frequent companion. She was a lovely child, and Henrietta was proud of her early promise; she had her portrait taken by an English artist of merit, and one of her favourite occupa-

¹ Paper by Bishop Burnet, in the *Observator*, No. 2, May 16, 1689.

² Lord to Lady Rochester, Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 202.

³ *Monpensier*, vol. ix. p. 70; Montague to Charles II., July 15, 1670, *Arlington Letters*, vol. i. p. 443. M. Monmerqué of Paris has in his possession a copy of a letter written by Henrietta to the Princess Palatine, a few days only before her death, bewailing her domestic lot and expressing vague fears for the future. The original is said to have been among the papers of Cardinal de Retz.

tions was to superintend and watch the progress of the picture.

The company whom Henrietta gathered round her at her soirées at St. Cloud, consisted of Marshal Turenne, the Duc de la Rouchefoucauld, Madame la Fayette, the Marquis de la Fare, M. Foisville, and also Lord Paulet, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and several English noblemen, whom she entertained sometimes with music, in which she herself was one of the performers, sometimes with those intellectual conversations in which she so greatly delighted.¹ The English ambassador, Sir Ralph Montague, was a frequent guest. On Saturday, June 28th, he was with her, and had some confidential conversation, which was interrupted by the entrance of Monsieur.

Another visitor, whom she received with still greater favour, was the celebrated Bossuet, designated to the bishopric of Condom; he remarked in her a growing susceptibility to religious impressions, the result of her recent trials, which had convinced her but too painfully how uncertain is the happiness drawn from the resources of the world. She lamented to him her past heedlessness of religion, and begged that he would frequently see and converse with her in private on sacred things, as she earnestly desired instruction in what related to her salvation. A premonition of the future, which was so closely impending, seemed already to have touched her heart with unwonted sensibility.²

Her health was uncertain, and she complained of occasional pains in the stomach and side; yet in spite of the remonstrances of her chief physician, she persisted in relieving herself from the sultry heat by bathing in the Seine, whose clear waters flow through the grounds of St. Cloud. Madame la Fayette records, that arriving at St. Cloud on the Saturday evening, she found Henrietta walking in the gardens after supper. The duchess complained of oppression, and continued rambling with her friend in the beautiful moonlight till nearly twelve o'clock, when

¹ Hist. Secrète des Intrigues de la France, vol. iii. p. 5; De la Fare, Réflexions, &c. MS. Bouhier, 104, f. 25.

² Monpensier, vol. ix. p. 76.

she retired to rest and slept well. On the morning of the fatal 29th of June she rose early, passed some time in her husband's apartments, and then went to that of Madame la Fayette, to whom she complained of feeling depressed and out of humour; though the sweetness of her natural temper, says her friend, was such that in her worst moments, she surpassed most ladies in their best. Turning affectionately to Madame la Fayette she said, "If I had always you to talk to, I should not be so out of sorts; but I am so weary of the people that are about me here, that I can hardly endure them." They went together to hear mass, and thence to the studio, where the painter was engaged upon the portrait of Mademoiselle. They sat with the child, and talked meanwhile of the recent visit to England, of Charles II. and his court, &c. The pleasant reminiscences thus called up restored the princess to her wonted spirits, and she dined cheerfully. The party then returned to the studio, where the same artist was painting Monsieur; and Henrietta, throwing herself upon a cushioned divan, by the side of Madame la Fayette, fell asleep, regardless of the conversation going on around her.

"During her sleep," writes Madame la Fayette, "she changed so considerably as to surprise me, while looking at her, and I thought that her beauty must be mainly owing to her genius, as she looked so charming when awake, and but little so as she slept. But I did wrong to think so; for I had seen her asleep many times, and without her seeming less lovely.

"On awaking she rose from the place where she was, but with such an unpleasant countenance, that Monsieur was surprised, and remarked it to me. She afterwards went into the drawing-room, where she walked for some time with Boisfranc, Monsieur's treasurer, and whilst talking to him, complained many times of the pain in her side.

"Monsieur went down stairs to leave for Paris, whither he had determined to go. Finding Madame de Mecklenbourg on the landing, he returned with her. Madame left Boisfranc and came to Madame de Mecklenbourg, and whilst she was talking with her, Madame de Gamache brought for Madame, as well as for me, a glass of chicory water, which she had asked for some time before. Madame de Gourdon, her tirewoman, presented the water to her. She drank it, and replacing the cup on the saucer with one hand, with the other she pressed her side, and said in a tone of great distress, 'Oh, what a stitch in my side; oh, what pain! I cannot bear it.'

"She flushed while pronouncing these words, and the moment after

her colour changed into a livid paleness which surprised us all. She continued to cry out, and asked to be carried away, as she could not support herself.

"We took hold of her under her arms; she walked with difficulty and very much bent. She was undressed immediately; I supported her whilst she was unlaced. She still complained, and I noticed that her eyes were filled with tears. I was astonished and melted; for I knew that she was the most patient creature imaginable.

"I said to her, while kissing her arm, which I supported, that I feared she suffered greatly; she told me she did inconceivably. She was put to bed; and as soon as she was laid down, she screamed more than ever, and rolled from one side to another, like a person in dreadful suffering. In the mean while her first doctor was sent for, M. Esprit. He came, and said that it was colic, and ordered the ordinary remedies for that malady. Nevertheless her sufferings were inconceivable: Madame said that her pain was worse than we could imagine; that she was dying, and that a confessor must be sent for.

"Monsieur was by her bed-side; she kissed him, and said with such a sweetness of manner as might break the hardest heart, 'Alas, Monsieur, you have long ceased to love me; but that is unjust; I have never been untrue to you.' Monsieur appeared greatly moved, as were all in the room: so that nothing was heard but the sound of weeping. All that I have just narrated passed in less than half an hour. Madame still cried out that she had terrible pain in the pit of the stomach. All at once she told some person to examine the water she had drunk; said that it was poison; that perhaps one bottle had been mistaken for another; that she was poisoned, that she was sure of it; and would take a counter-poison.

"I was in the *ruelle* near Monsieur; and although I believed him quite incapable of such a crime, the curiosity common to human nature made me observe him attentively. He was neither moved nor embarrassed by Madame's opinion; he said that some of the water must be given to a dog; he agreed with Madame that oil and counter-poison should be brought, that she might be freed from so sad a thought. Madame Desbordes, her first woman of the bedchamber, who was entirely in her interest, told her that she had prepared the water, and she drank some of it; but Madame still continued to ask for oil and counter-poison: both were given her.

"Sainte-Foy, Monsieur's valet, brought her powder of viper. She said she took it from his hand, because she had confidence in him. Many drugs were given her with this idea of poison, and perhaps more likely to make her ill than to relieve her. What she took made her vomit; she had already been disposed to this many times, before she took anything, but her vomitings were only slight; she merely threw up some phlegm and part of her food. The agitation caused by the remedies and the excessive pain threw her into a state of exhaustion which appeared like rest; but she told us not to be mistaken, that her pain was as severe as ever, but she had not strength to cry, and that there was no remedy for her suffering.

"It appeared as if she were fully assured that she should die, and

with great coolness prepared herself for it. The thought of poison apparently rested strongly on her mind, and as all remedies had proved useless, she no longer dreamed of life, but only considered how she might patiently bear her sufferings. She began to fear that she was actually dying. Monsieur called Madame de Gamache to feel her pulse; the physicians had not done so; she left the *ruelle* agitated, saying that she could not find any pulse, and that Madame's extremities were cold. This frightened us, and Monsieur seemed alarmed. M. Esprit said that it was an ordinary occurrence in colic, and he would answer for Madame's life. Monsieur became angry, and said that he had answered for M. de Valois' life, who had died; that he answered for Madame's, and she would die too.

"Meanwhile, the *curé* of St. Cloud, who had been sent for, arrived. Monsieur did me the honour to ask me if this confessor should be employed. She seemed to me very ill; I thought her sufferings were not those of ordinary colic, but yet I was far from foreseeing what would happen, and I attributed my anxiety to the interest I felt in her life. I answered Monsieur that a confession made in the prospect of death must be beneficial, and Monsieur told me to go and tell her that the *curé* of St. Cloud was come. I begged him to excuse me, and said that, as she had herself asked for him, he might at once enter the room. Monsieur went to her bed-side, and of her own accord she again asked for a confessor, but without appearing alarmed, and like a person who was thinking of the only things of importance to her condition.

"One of her first women of the bedchamber was standing at her bolster supporting her; she wished her to remain, and confessed before her. When the confessor had retired, Monsieur went to her bed-side; she spoke to him in a sweet and affectionate tone, but so low that we could not hear her words. It had been suggested that she should be bled; she wished that it should be in the foot; M. Esprit preferred the arm, and at last decided that it must be done there. Monsieur spoke to Madame, fearing that she would with difficulty be persuaded to consent; but she answered that she was willing to do anything they desired; she cared not what mode they adopted, and was sure that her recovery was impossible. We thought these expressions were the result of the unwonted, excessive pain she had suffered, which made her think she was dying.

"Only three hours had elapsed since her illness commenced. Guesclin, who had been sent for from Paris, arrived with M. Vallot, who had been summoned from Versailles. As soon as Madame saw Guesclin, in whom she had great confidence, she told him that she was very glad to see him, that she was poisoned, and that he must treat her accordingly. I know not if he believed this to be the case, and was convinced that no remedy would avail, or whether he imagined that she was deceived, and that her illness was not dangerous; he acted like a man who was without hope, or who saw no danger. He consulted with M. Vallot and M. Esprit, and, after a long conference, they came all together to speak to Monsieur, and assured him, on their lives, that there was no danger. Monsieur repeated this to Madame. She said that she knew her disease better than the physician did, and that her

case was hopeless ; but she said this with the same calmness and sweetness with which she would have spoken of an ordinary affair. The prince came to see her ; she told him that she was dying. All near her answered her that it was not so ; but she seemed impatient to be freed from her sufferings by death. Nevertheless she appeared to have been relieved by the bleeding, and we thought her better. M. Vallot returned to Versailles at half-past nine, and we remained round her bed talking, not thinking her in any danger. We were almost reconciled to her sufferings, hoping that her pitiful state would commend her to Monsieur's sympathy ; he appeared moved by it ; and Madame d'Epernon and I, who had heard what she said, pleased ourselves with pointing out to her the value of her words.

* * * * *

"Madame had a continual disposition to vomit, but nothing was given her to help her. God blinded the physicians, and willed not that they should try the remedies that might even retard a death which he designed should be terrible. She heard us say that she was better, and that we were impatiently waiting the result of the remedy.¹ 'That is so far from true,' she said, 'that if I were not a Christian I should kill myself, my sufferings are so terrible. I would not desire evil to any one,' she added, 'but I wish that some one could feel for a moment what I endure, that they might know what my pain is.'

"Meanwhile the remedy effected nothing. We began to be uneasy ; M. Esprit and M. Guesclin were called ; they said that we must still wait ; she answered that, if we felt her pain, we should not wait so patiently. Two whole hours were passed in expecting the result of the remedy, the last by which relief might have been given her. She had taken a number of remedies, and her bed was soiled ; she wished to change it, and had a small one made in the *ruelle*, to which she walked, even going round by the other *ruelle*. When she was in this little bed, whether it was that she was really at the point of death, or that we saw her better because the lights fell on her face, she seemed to us much worse. The physicians wished to see her close at hand, and brought a torch near her ; since she had been taken ill she had always ordered the lights to be removed. Monsieur asked her if she were inconvenienced. 'Oh, no,' she said, 'nothing inconveniences me now ; I shall not be alive to-morrow morning, you will see.' Some broth was given to her, as she had not taken anything since her dinner. As soon as she had swallowed it her pain increased, and became as violent as it had been after taking the glass of chicory water. Death was depicted in her countenance ; she appeared to endure cruel suffering, yet without seeming agitated.

"The king had sent several times to inquire after her, and she had always replied that she was dying. Those who had seen her told him that she was very ill ; and M. de Cr qui, who had called at St. Cloud on his way to Versailles, told the king that he considered her in great danger."

¹ A preparation of senna, ordered by M. Vallot.

When the messenger from St. Cloud arrived at Versailles, the king lost not a moment in getting into his coach, and took up the queen, the Countess of Soissons, and Mademoiselle de Monpensier, who were walking by the canal, talking of the illness and domestic unhappiness of Madame. Arriving about eleven o'clock, they found Henrietta suffering from the paroxysm of torture into which she had been thrown by drinking the soup. Mademoiselle Monpensier thus describes the scene that presented itself:—

“When we arrived at St. Cloud, we found hardly any one who appeared sad. Monsieur seemed much astonished. We saw her quite dishevelled upon a little bed which had been made in her *ruelle*; she had not had a sufficient interval of ease to have her night head-dress put on. Her chemise was opened at the neck and arms, her face pale, her nose pinched; she had the appearance of a dead person. She said to us, ‘You see the condition I am in.’ We began to weep; Mesdames de Montespan and de la Vallière arrived; she made horrible efforts to vomit. Monsieur said to her, ‘Madame, do your best to vomit that this bile may not choke you.’ She noticed with sorrow how tranquil everybody about her was, although she was in a condition to excite great compassion. I approached her and took her hand, and she pressed mine and said to me, ‘You are losing a good friend who was beginning to love you dearly and to know you well.’ I could only answer her by tears. She asked for an emetic; the doctors said it would do her no good; that such colics lasted sometimes nine or ten hours, but that they never exceeded twenty-four. The king wanted to reason with them; they knew not what to answer him. He said to them, ‘A woman was never allowed to die without giving her any help.’ They looked at each other, and said not a word. People talked, went and came in the room, and even laughed, as they would have done had Madame been in a different condition. I retired into a corner to speak to Madame d’Epernon, who was affected at such a spectacle. I told her that I was astonished that no one had spoken to Madame of God; that this was a disgrace upon us all who were there. She answered that she had asked to be confessed; that the *curé* of St. Cloud was come, that he was a man whom she did not know, that she had been confessed very quickly. Monsieur came near. I said to him, ‘It is thought that Madame is not in a fit state to die, and that she should be spoken to about God. He answered that I was right; told me that her own confessor was a capuchin, who was good for nothing except to do her honour by appearing in public in her coach, that people might see she had one; that a different sort of man was needed to speak to her of death. ‘Whom could one get,’ said he, ‘that would sound well to put into the ‘Gazette,’ as having assisted Madame?’ I answered ‘that at such a time the best quality that a confessor could have was to be a pious and skilful man.’ He replied, ‘Ah! I have hit upon it; the Abbé Bossuet, who is nominated to the bishopric of Condom; Madame

has talked to him sometimes, so it will do very well." We went to propose it to the king, who told him that he ought to have thought of it earlier, and to have had the sacraments administered before this. He replied, "I was waiting till you were gone, because if you were here, we should have to go and reconduct the host to the church, and it is a long way." Madame had herself put to bed; the king embraced and bid her adieu; she spoke to him very tenderly, and the same to the queen; as for me, who was bathed in tears at the foot of her bed, I had not strength to approach her."

During her brief interview with the king, Henrietta told him, with touching earnestness, that he would lose in her the truest servant he ever had. The king assured her that she was not in so much danger as she believed, but expressed his surprise at her firmness. She said, in reply, that he knew well she never feared death; she had only feared the loss of his good graces. He spoke to her a few moments of another world, and then told her that he had been talking to the physicians, and had proposed many remedies, but that they said it was necessary to wait. She replied, with some bitterness, that she supposed she must die according to the set forms. The king burst into tears in bidding her farewell; she bade him not to weep, as his tears excited her, and told him that the tidings of her death would be the first which would greet him on the following morning.

Madame la Fayette thus continues her narrative:—

"Marshal de Grammont went to her bed-side: she told him he was losing a good friend; she was dying, and that at first she had thought she was poisoned by mistake. After the king had left the room, she said to me, as I stood near the bed, 'Madame de la Fayette, my nose is shrunk already.' I answered only by my tears, for what she said was true, and I had not noticed it before. She was put back into her large bed. The hiccough seized her; she told M. Esprit that it was the death hiccough. She had asked several times how soon she should die; she repeated the question, and although she was answered as a person not near death, we saw well that she had no hope.

"Her thoughts never rested upon life; she never uttered a word of reflection on her destiny, which carried her off in the prime of life; never questioned the physicians as to whether it were possible to save her; showed no impatience for remedies, except in as far as the violence of her pain made her long for them; exhibited a tranquil demeanour in the certainty of death, in the suspicion of poison, and in cruel suffering; in short, a courage of which no example can be found, and which it is difficult even to represent."

Henrietta became increasingly anxious for spiritual succour, and as M. Bossuet, for whom she repeatedly inquired, was in Paris, and some time might elapse before he could reach St. Cloud, M. Feuillet, a monk of the place, a Jansenist celebrated for his deep and almost austere piety, was sent for at her request. He arrived just as the king was departing. The following account of the interview, though written, for the most part, in the third person, is from his own pen:—¹

“When he approached, she bade every one else withdraw, and said to him,—‘You see, M. Feuillet, to what a state I am reduced.’ ‘To a good state,’ he answered; ‘I presume you will confess that there exists a God whom, during your life, you have too little known.’ ‘It is true, my God, that I have not known thee,’ said she, with bitter feeling of sorrow, that inspired him with good hopes. He said to her, ‘Well, Madame, you have confessed?’ ‘Yes,’ answered she. ‘I suppose, then, that you have confessed having many times violated your baptismal vows?’ ‘No,’ said she, ‘I have never confessed that; I have never even been told that that was an offence against God.’ ‘How, Madame, if you had made an engagement with a private individual and had not kept it in one clause, would you not think that you had done ill?’ ‘Alas! I should.’ ‘That, Madame, is a contract which you have made with God; it has been sealed with the blood of Jesus Christ: at your death angels will present this promise to God on your behalf; by this you will be judged. Madame, you have never known the Christian religion.’ ‘Oh, my God, what shall I do, then? I see clearly that my confessions and communions have ever been worthless.’ ‘It is true, Madame, your whole life has been nothing but sin: you must employ in repentance the little time which you have left.’ ‘Tell me only what I must do: confess me, I entreat you.’ ‘Willingly, Madame.’ She then confessed, and he assisted her to make a confession as entire as time permitted. God gave her, during this time, sentiments which surprised me, and made her speak a language which is not understood in this world; she performed acts of faith and charity, and asked if he considered her worthy to receive the communion of our Lord. She asked for it with earnest entreaties. He spoke to her aloud, and said, ‘Humble yourself, Madame; behold all your pompous greatness buried under the powerful hand of God; you are but a miserable sinner, a worm of earth, which shall soon fall and be dashed to atoms, and of all your greatness not a trace will remain.’ ‘It is true, my God,’ cried she. ‘Madame,’ he resumed, ‘you must have confidence. I think nothing of all your past sins, provided that you feel a sincere regret at having committed them, and a firm resolution never to commit them again; you have sinned a

¹ Mort Chrétienne de Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans, par Feuillet MS. Résidu St. Germain, Paquet III. No. 7. This is the original Procès-verbal of Feuillet's Confession.

thousand times, but think of the thousand-fold mercies of God; the thief on the cross has risen to heaven.' These words filled her heart with consolation and joy, which shone even in her face. She asked for the cross which the late queen-mother had used upon her death-bed; she kissed it most humbly. 'See, Madame, on this cross the author and preserver of your faith, that, as the apostle says, you may not lose courage; a single drop of the blood which flowed from these veins, with one single tear of yours, is able to blot out all your sins and all the sins of the whole world.' Just then the communion arrived; she adored it reverentially, and said aloud, 'My God, I am unworthy of thee, and that thou shouldst visit a miserable sinner like me.' 'Yes, Madame, you are unworthy; but he has been so gracious to you as himself to prepare your heart before entering in, by the contrition with which he has inspired you; renew your fervour in the presence of this God of Majesty—be as nothing before this terrible yet merciful God.' The usual prayers were said—she repeated her 'Confiteor' with me, and received the element with great respect and joy."

Whilst M. Feuillet was still at her side, continuing his exhortations as from time to time she was able to bear them, her own confessor, the capuchin before mentioned, arrived, and wished to put in a word. But the dying sufferer felt the difference between the heart-searching truths to which she had just listened,¹ and the flattering homilies with which *he* was wont to speak peace to her; she gently silenced him, saying, in a deprecating tone, which shewed how reluctant she was to give pain, "Let M. Feuillet speak now, father; you shall speak also in your turn."²

At this juncture Sir Ralph Montague, the English ambassador, who had been summoned in all haste, reached St. Cloud, and entered her apartment. He thus details the interview in a letter to Charles II.³

"As soon as I came in, she told me, 'You see the sad condition I am in; I am going to die; how I pity the king my brother, for I am sure he loses the person in the world that loves him best.' A little while after she called me again, bidding me be sure to say all the kind things in the world from her to the king her brother, and thank

¹ In MS. Résidu St. Germain, No. 4, Art. 50, is a copy of a letter from a doctor in theology to a lady of quality, in which, under the guise of ironical praise, he accuses Feuillet of hard-heartedness, self-conceit, and arrogance, in his treatment of the princess, and especially of presumption in speaking to her as "so great a sinner!"

² La Fayette, p. 458.

³ Arlington's Letters, vol. i. pp. 444, 445.

him for all his kindness and care of her. Then she asked me if I remembered what she had said to me, the night before, of your majesty's intentions to join with France against Holland; I told her, yes. 'Pray, then,' said she, 'tell my brother I never persuaded him to it out of my own interest, or to be more considered in this country, but because I thought it for his honour and advantage, for I always loved him above all things in the world, and have no regret to leave it but because I leave him.' She called to me several times to be sure to say this to you, and spoke to me in English. I asked her, then, if she believed herself poisoned: her confessor, who was by, understood that word, and said to her, 'Madame, you must accuse nobody, but offer up your death to God as a sacrifice.' So she would never answer me that question, though I asked her several times, but would only shrug up her shoulders. I asked her for her casket, where all her letters were, to send them to your majesty; she bid me take it from Madame Desbordes, but she was swooning and dying to see her mistress in that condition, and, before she came to herself, Monsieur had seized on them. She recommended to you to help, as much as you could, all her poor servants. She bid me write to my Lord Arlington, to put you in mind of it, and 'tell the king my brother I hope he will, for my sake, do for him what he promised; for he is a person that both loves him and serves him faithfully.' She spoke afterwards a great deal aloud, in French, bemoaning and lamenting the condition she knew your majesty would be in when you heard the news of her death."

She sent most tender messages of affection for both her brothers, and drawing off a ring, bade Montague present it to King Charles as a memorial of her dying love. She expressed regret that she had not been able to do anything for Montague himself, in return for the zeal and affection which he had shown her during his embassy in France; but told him that she had 6000 pistoles dispersed in different places, which she wished him to take after her death. He objected to do so on the ground that he had never served her from interested motives, and would not now lay himself open to such a suspicion; but if she would be pleased to name any persons whom she considered to have claims upon her gratitude, he would appropriate the money in their behalf. This she accordingly did with the utmost calmness.

Monsieur having left the room, Henrietta inquired whether she should not see him again, on which he was sent for. He embraced her with tears, and she then begged him to withdraw, as his presence was too exciting for her. Her strength was now fast failing; another physician of eminence had arrived, who spoke of bleeding

her as the only chance of relief. The physicians retiring to consult about it, she sent for them again, and said: "If you are going to bleed me, for pity's sake do it at once; there is no time to lose, my head grows weak, my stomach is filling, I shall be suffocated." Feuillet reminded her that she should leave the care of her body to the physicians, and only think of her soul. The incision was made, but only a few drops of blood flowed, and her exhaustion was such that it was thought she would have expired whilst her foot was in the warm water. The physicians then proposed to try a last remedy, but she requested, before anything else, the sacrament of extreme unction, adding that she earnestly desired to receive it whilst she had still the full use of her reason. We resume the narrative of M. Feuillet:—

"She repeated all the prayers with me. When the holy oils were applied, he said to her, in French, 'The church entreats of God, Madame, to pardon you the sins that you have committed by so many evil words, by so many illicit looks, by having listened to so many reports and slanders, by the ardour of concupiscence, by so many evil deeds, and by so many attachments forbidden by the law of God. The athletæ were anointed when they entered into the lists of combat: you are on the field of battle; you have powerful enemies before you; you must fight, aided by the grace of God.' She then took the cross in my hand and performed new acts of faith, hope, and love to God; she said, 'My God, will not these fearful pains be over soon?' 'What! Madame, you are forgetting yourself; you have offended God twenty-six years, and your penitence has but lasted six hours: rather say, with St. Augustin, 'cut, tear, destroy,—let my heart ache, let all my limbs thrill with anguish, let dung flow in the marrow of my bones, let worms revel in my breast, if only I have obtained thee, my God, it is enough.' I hope, Madame, you will remember the prayers and protestations you have just now made to your God.' 'Yes, sir, I hope so: in case God were to restore me to health, and I were so wretched as not to practise them, I entreat you to remind me of them.' 'Madame, although you ought to continue to be willing to suffer longer, I can assure you that your pains will soon be at an end.' 'At what o'clock did Jesus Christ die? at three o'clock?' 'Do not mind that, Madame; you must endure life and wait for death with patience.' She then took the last drinks which the physicians presented to her."

At this moment, Bishop Bossuet arrived. He was so touched with the condition in which he found his royal friend that he almost fainted. Looking languidly up to him, she said: "I have not sent for you to soften me, but

to console me in my present condition;"¹ adding, "I have thought too late of the importance of salvation." Thus appealed to, the bishop threw himself on his knees by her side, and offered up a fervent prayer on her behalf, into which she entered with calmness and earnestness. Turning slightly round in bed, she spoke to one of her women in English, that the bishop might not understand, and bade her, when she was no more, give to Bossuet an emerald ring which she had previously ordered to be made for him. Observing that he had ceased speaking, she begged him not to suppose that she could not hear because she was turned away. He then continued his prayers. His account of her patience and resignation at this trying hour, amply corroborates that of Madame la Fayette:—

"I found her," he says, "fully sensible; speaking and doing everything with ease, without ostentation, effort, or violence, but so well and properly, with so much courage and piety, that I am yet transported with it." "From the very first moment of feeling herself struck, she spoke only of God, without evincing the least regret, although she knew that her death would be very agreeable to God, as her life had been very glorious by the friendship and confidence of two great kings. She assisted herself as much as she could, in taking courageously all the remedies; but she never uttered a word of complaint at their want of effect, only saying that it was proper to die in due form."²

The sinking of nature soon prompted the princess to ask for a little rest: she thought she could sleep; and the bishop rose and went out into the open air to relieve his oppressed spirit. But the hand of death pressed heavily upon her; turning to the canon, who was still at her pillow, she said hastily, "M. Feuillet, it is come to the point; it is all over with me." "Well, Madame," he replied, "are you not very fortunate in having accomplished your course in so short a time? After so trifling a combat, you are about to receive great rewards." She requested that Bossuet might be recalled, but when he arrived, she could no longer articulate. Both priests fell on their

¹ *Mélanges de la Mare*, Bouhier MS. 34, p. 436.

² Letter of Bossuet, printed by M. Floquet, in "*Bibliothèque d'Ecole des Chartes*," November, 1844, p. 174.

knees by her bed-side; and the prayers for the dying were repeated. With her last remaining energy she pressed the cross to her lips, but it soon dropped from her grasp, and after two or three slight convulsive movements about the lips, her spirit passed away, about half-past two o'clock in the morning of June 30th, within ten hours from the commencement of the attack.¹

The wild shriek that was heard through the palace of St. Cloud, "Madame is dying! Madame is dead!" ran like an electric shock through the kingdoms of France and England. The suddenness of her death, its terrible agonies, and the impression so evidently strong in the mind of the royal victim that poison had been administered, all combined to raise public attention, and the murmurs were loud and general, especially in her native country.² Sir Thomas Armstrong, an English knight who was honoured with Henrietta's friendship, hastened to St. Cloud the instant the tidings reached him; but though he arrived at the palace at six o'clock in the morning, within little more than three hours after her decease, the stench emitted by the body was already so strong as to be almost unendurable. In indignant haste, the knight posted off to England, and was the first to announce the fatal tidings, with his own surmises, to Charles II. The king burst into a flood of tears, and his first words were a passionate exclamation against Monsieur, whom he evidently suspected of false play; recovering his self-possession, he said, a few moments afterwards, "but I beg you, Sir Thomas, to say nothing about it."³

It cannot be deemed a mere coincidence that the same idea which flashed across the mind of Charles II. was the first to suggest itself to his brother of France. The following extract is from the memoirs of the Duc de Saint Simon, one of the most authentic chroniclers of

¹ La Fayette, pp. 460, 461.

² London Gazette, June and July, *passim*.

³ Baker's Chron. fol. Lond. 1730, p. 653; Colbert to Lionne, 3 July, Mignet, vol. iii. p. 22; Hist. Secrète des Intrigues de la France, vol. iii. p. 5.

Louis XIV.'s reign, who wrote late enough to venture to say what he thought:—

“The king, who had gone to bed, rises, sends for Brissac, who was then amongst the guards and close at hand, commands him to choose six body guards, trusty and secret, to go and take up Morel Simon, Madame's maître d'hôtel, and to bring him to him in his cabinet. That was executed before morning. When the king saw him he ordered Brissac and his first valet-de-chambre to retire, and assuming a most alarming aspect and tone, ‘My friend,’ said he to him, surveying him from head to foot, ‘hearken well to me. If you confess all, and tell me the truth about what I want to know from you, whatever you may have done I pardon you; it shall never be mentioned again. But beware how you disguise the least thing, for if you do, you are a dead man before you leave this place. Has not Madame been poisoned?’ ‘Yes, Sire,’ answered he. ‘And who has poisoned her, and how?’ said the king. He answered that it was the Chevalier de Lorraine, who had sent the poison to Beuvron and D’Effiat. Then the king, redoubling his assurances of favour and threatenings of death, said: ‘And my brother, did he know of it?’ ‘No, Sire; none of us three were fools enough to tell him; he keeps no secrets; he would have ruined us.’ At this reply the king uttered a long ‘ah!’ like a man oppressed, who all at once breathes again. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘that is all I wanted to know;’ and Brissac restored this man to liberty.”

Saint Simon goes on to account for the seemingly inexplicable fact, that although several other persons had drunk of the same chicory water, as soon as Madame exclaimed that she was poisoned, no one had felt any ill effects. He gives the following details of the author and the agencies of this mysterious deed, as he heard them from M. Joly de Fleury, Procurator-General of the Parliament, to whom Brissac afterwards related them.¹

“D’Effiat, a man of bold spirit, Monsieur's first squire,² and the Comte de Beuvron, a pliable and gentle man, but one who wished to cut a figure with Monsieur, with whom he held the office of captain of the guards, and greatly needed money to enrich himself, being a poor cadet of Normandy, had been very intimate with the Chevalier de Lorraine. His absence injured their affairs, and they feared lest another might take his place who would not assist them so well. Not one of the three had any hopes that his exile would end. The favour which they saw

¹ St. Simon, Mémoires, vol. i. pp. 26,27; Pièces intéressantes et peu connues, vol. i. p. 208.

² He was the grandson of the French Marshal D’Effiat.

bestowed upon Madame, who even began to enter into state affairs, and whom the king had just sent on a mysterious journey to England, in which she had perfectly succeeded, and returned more triumphant than ever, made them tremble. She was born in June, 1644, was in good health, and beloved by the king, so that they saw no chance of the return of the Chevalier de Lorraine.

"He had gone to cool his wrath in Italy or Rome. I know not which of the three first thought of it, but the Chevalier de Lorraine sent to his friends a poison, sure and prompt, by an express who probably did not himself know what he was carrying.

"Madame was at St. Cloud, and for some time back had been accustomed to take a glass of chicory water about seven o'clock in the evening to refresh herself. A page of her chamber had the care of preparing it, and put it with her glass in a press in one of Madame's anterooms. This chicory water was kept in a pitcher of earthenware or porcelain, with common water by the side of it, to mix with it in case Madame found the chichory water too bitter. This ante-room was the public passage to Madame's, but no one ever stayed in it, because there were several. D'Effiat had spied out all that.

"On the 29th of June, 1670, passing through this anteroom, he found the opportunity he sought; nobody was there, and he had remarked that nobody was following him to Madame's. He turned aside, went to the press, opened it, and threw in his 'powder;' then hearing some one coming, took hold of the other pitcher, and as he was putting it back, the page of the chamber, who had the care of the chicory water, cried out, ran to him, and asked him sharply what he was doing in that press. D'Effiat, without the slightest embarrassment, asked pardon, and said that he was dying with thirst, and that knowing that there was water there, pointing to the pitcher of common water, he had gone to drink. The boy grumbled still, and the other, apologizing and begging pardon, went to Madame's and conversed with the other courtiers without the slightest emotion. What followed an hour afterwards is not to my subject, and has only made too much noise throughout Europe. Madame was dead the next day, June 30th, at three o'clock in the morning. The king was touched with the most lively grief. It would seem he had some hints of it during the day, and that this page of the chamber did not keep his counsel; at any rate, he had a notion that Simon, Madame's first maître d'hôtel, was in the secret, on account of his intimacy with D'Effiat in his youth."

Saint Simon further informs us that, a few days after the second marriage of Monsieur, Louis took his wife aside, and told her these circumstances, assuring her that his brother was innocent, and that had he himself not been convinced of his freedom from such a crime, he would never have permitted his re-marriage.¹ The duchess also

¹ St. Simon, *ut supra*, p. 30. The second Madame availed herself of this information to dismiss Simon, upon another pretext, from his post of her first maître d'hôtel.

received the account from the page who had detected D'Effiat at Madame's cupboard, and details it with minutiae little differing from the above.¹

The particulars here related were not known to the public for many years; the fatal secret was confined to the king and the very few who were accomplices, and it was the interest of all, and more particularly of Louis XIV., to dissipate the rumours which circulated on all hands. A *post mortem* examination was immediately ordered, at which the court physicians of France, the ambassador of England, with his surgeons and several of his suite, were present.² The operation was conducted by a young and unskilful French surgeon; the details of it would be out of place here, but the result was, that the French surgeons

¹ In *Fragmens de Lettres d'Elizabeth Charlotte de Bavière, Madame d'Orleans*. She writes as follows:—

“It is only too true that Madame died of poison, but it was without the slightest participation of Monsieur. Those who formed the plot of poisoning Madame discussed amongst themselves whether they should tell it to Monsieur. One of them decided the rest by saying to them, ‘No, he would have us hanged, were it ten years after.’ They made Monsieur believe that the Hollanders had given Madame a slow poison, and that the poison had not taken effect till she came here. For as to the poison it was impossible to deny it. She had three holes in her stomach. A man of the name of Morel was the agent used to convey the poison from Italy. It was not the chicory water that was poisoned, but Madame's goblet. A valet-de-chambre, now dead, whom I had a long time in my service, and who then served Madame and was always attached to her, told me that on the morning of the day of this frightful catastrophe, Monsieur being at mass, D'Effiat, half opening the cupboard, took out of it Madame's goblet and rubbed it with paper; that he, the valet-de-chambre, said to him: ‘Monsieur, what are you doing in our cupboard? Why are you touching Madame's goblet?’ The other answered him: ‘I am fainting for thirst; I was looking for something to drink, and seeing Madame's goblet dirty, I have cleaned it with paper as well as I could.’ After dinner Madame asked for some chicory water. As soon as she had swallowed it she cried out: ‘I am poisoned.’ All that were present drank of that same chicory water, but not in the same goblet; of course it did them no harm.”

Francheville, in his *Siècle Louis XIV.*, vol. i. p. 61, says:—

“One of Madame's husband's servants told me the name of the person who had given her poison; and who, he said, though previously poor, had bought land, and long lived in opulence. He said the poison was given in a powder mingled, instead of sugar, in some strawberries.”

² *Pièces pour servir à l'Histoire*, MS. St. Victor, 712, vol. vi. Art. 50.

professed unanimity in assigning the death to cholera morbus, caused by heated bile. The two English surgeons, Chamberlain and Boscher, drew up medical opinions which, though less favourable, were still not opposed to the idea of a natural death, but the latter said distinctly that the whole affair had been conducted by the operator as if it were rather his business to hide the truth from the assistants than to clear it up. He mentions also a hole in the stomach, which all but himself passed over without notice, and which, when he wished to examine it, they attributed to the want of skill in the dissecting surgeon. In several points, his oral was less favourable than his written testimony, and the opinion of the post-mortem, which he sent into Holland in a private letter, differed very materially from that dispatched to England¹—plain proofs that he dared not say all he thought.²

The opinion of Vallot, the physician of Louis XIV., that he had long been surprised at the princess's surviving so long, cannot easily be reconciled with the assurances he gave, when he saw her writhing in agonies, that she would certainly recover, nor is the testimony of Madame la Fayette to be considered free from partiality, because it was written at a time when the expression of a contrary opinion would have exposed her to risk. The rumours current in France excited great uneasiness at Court, and rendered the king extremely anxious that they should not find acceptance in England, or at least should not, at this critical juncture, disturb his friendly relationship with Charles II. He wrote to the English king on July 1st, the day after Henrietta's decease, as follows:³—

“ Brother,

“ The tender friendship which I had for my sister, was sufficiently known to you for you to conceive the state to which her death has brought me. In this weight of grief I may say, that the share I take in yours for the loss of one who was so dear to you as well as myself, increases the excess of my affliction. The only comfort of which I am

¹ Temple to Arlington, July 15, Temple's Letters, vol. ii. p. 222.

² See Appendix, No. II.

³ Lettres de Louis XIV., Phillipps MS. 3154, f. 240. Letters in a similar strain were written to the queen, and the Duke and Duchess of York. Also in MS. L. 17². Bibliothèque Ste. Genevieve, Paris.

capable is the confidence which remains with me, that this disaster will make no change in our affections, and that yours will be continued towards me as fully as mine towards you."¹

The following despatch was sent the same day from Lionne to Colbert in England:—

“Versailles, July 1, 1670.

“A courier, dispatched yesterday morning from the English ambassador, has given your court the first account of the sad and surprising news of Madame's death, whom a violent colic carried off in the space of ten hours. I dispatch this day to you another, to bring you the first letters of condolence which the king has been pleased to write to the King of Great Britain and all the royal family, upon this common loss, and tomorrow he causes the Marshal de Bellefonds to depart, to make the compliment from him in better form and with more honour; and though it be not the custom to employ an officer of the crown in the like occasion, his Majesty is nevertheless willing, upon an accident of this concernment, not to tie himself up to custom, and has cast his eyes upon the said marshal, and that principally for two reasons: one, because he has been always acknowledged to be very particularly a servant to the King of England and to Madame; and the other because he was present at St. Cloud at this sad and astonishing accident, being there arrived an hour before Madame was assaulted by her distemper, and departed not from her so long as she lived. He is better able, by word of mouth, to tell in what condition he saw the king, who was there present, and went not thence till this princess was ready to expire, than I am able to do; what marks of tenderness and affection passed reciprocally between them,—how many tears it cost his majesty, both in the time of her illness and since the loss of her,—Monsieur's despair, and the general affliction and consternation of the whole court and all Paris.

“If anything could give consolation in an accident of this nature and so great a loss, which, for a thousand reasons, ought to be eternally lamented, it would, without doubt, be the manner of her death, equally holy and Christian on one side, and resolute and heroic on the other. Never was there seen a greater resignation to the will of God, and a greater desire and devotion for the well receiving of the sacrament, than she had, nor more confidence in the divine goodness and mercy. The Bishop of Condom, who assisted her in her passage, has spoken wonderful things upon this subject, and on the other side there was never seen a greater firmness of mind and less fear of death, and more dryness of eyes, whilst she saw the king, Monsieur, the whole court, and all her domestics melting themselves in tears. I assure you, sir, without any exaggeration, that I saw the king touched with such a sensible and continued grief since this loss, that I extremely fear his health, and the rather because this accident has made him leave off the waters of Encoste, from which he found benefit, and which he was to continue for

¹ Lettres de Louis XIV., Phillipps MS. 3154, f. 240.

many days. He intended also to continue at Versailles till the 10th of this month; but he is going to lie this night at St. Germain, expressing himself that he could not continue long in a house of pleasures and diversion, whilst grief devoured him within, and that he had so great and just reason to afflict himself.

"As the public never fails upon a sudden death of great princes to suspect that they may be sent headlong out of the world, and since upon the violence of Madame's distemper, all sorts of remedies were indifferently used, every one contributing what they had at the [time], orvietan, powder of vipers, and everything that might drive venom out of the body, the king and Monsieur desired that her body might be opened in the presence of the most famous physicians, and that the English ambassador might be present and bring with him those in whom he had confidence, and was pleased it should be done yesterday in the evening. The said ambassador brought thither his physician, an Englishman, and a surgeon belonging to the King of Great Britain; the dissection was made and the body opened in the presence of them all and above a hundred other persons who were in the chamber; and as they examined each part, as the stomach, liver, heart, lungs, spleen, bowels, &c., they wrote down in what condition they found them, so that they have made a very exact relation of all, which has been signed by all the physicians and surgeons, and particularly by the two English, none of them dissenting in their opinions. The Marshal de Bellefonds will bring with him his relation, signed as I have told you. In the meanwhile I will tell you beforehand that, being present at the report since made to his majesty by Monsieur Vallot, he told him that it was much more to be wondered at how Madame, having so much corruption in her body as they found therein, was able to live so long as she did, than there was cause to be surprised that a distemper of a few hours carried her off, for he affirmed that it could not be but that for three or four years she lived as it were by miracle; he assured him that in all the course of his life he never saw two bodies in which he found so much corruption, &c. The king thereupon told us that above three years since, she very often complained of a pricking in her side, which forced her to lie down three or four hours together on the ground, finding no ease in any posture she placed herself in."¹

Marshal Bellefonds, who set out a day or two later, was the bearer of fresh letters of sympathy and condolence; these were crossed by despatches from England speaking very unfavourably of the state of affairs there. The king was said to be inconsolable, and to have remained several days in bed to indulge or conceal his emotion; Buckingham, violently enraged; the rabble, infuriated, calling out "down with the French," and ready to rise tumultuously against the French ambassador and attack his house. It was added that Charles

¹ French Corresp. State Paper Office.

had given a very cool reception to the gentleman whom Monsieur had sent over with condolences, and it was even surmised that the English ambassador in France would be recalled.¹ He himself writes that he is much blamed by the French Ambassador as having been the originator of the reports about Madame, from which he vindicates himself, and with good reason, for his despatches are extremely cautious and moderate.² Fortunately for Louis, Charles II. was quite as anxious as himself to preserve peace. After the first burst of indignation, therefore, he thought it better to put the best face upon the matter, courteously received first M. Colbert and then Marshal Bellefonds, professed to be satisfied with their explanations, and showed his disposition to a conciliation, by sending the Duke of Buckingham into France to reciprocate the condolences of Marshal Bellefonds. Of the sincere grief of Louis XIV. no one could doubt: the life of Henrietta was to him of great importance; her death most untimely, and the whole of the king's deportment manifested deep and sincere sorrow. If Charles were less satisfied with the innocence of others connected with the French court, at any rate he was not disposed to resentment.³ He even submitted to the recall of the Chevalier de Lorraine, which was granted by the king to his brother, in the hope that it would serve to check the rumours which generally accused the Chevalier of Henrietta's death.⁴

¹ Lord to Lady Rochester, Harl. MS. 7003, f. 202; *Theat. Europ.* vol. x. p. 316. Colbert to Lionne, 3rd July, Mignet, vol. iii. p. 208. Vernon thus writes from Paris on July 12: "There are reports about town, as if his majesty in England had given no good reception to Monsieur Flamarin, who went from Monsieur upon occasion of Madame's death. Likewise it is discoursed as if the people were highly incensed against the French, because of the suddenness of this accident, and that they, in a tumult, had resolved to go to the French ambassador's, and lay violent hands on him, for whose security his majesty was fain to send some of his guards."—*French Corresp.* 1670.

² Montague's Desp. 29 July, *et seq.*; *French Corresp.* State Paper Office; Monpensier, vol. ix p. 78.

³ *Hist. Secrète des Intrigues*, vol. i. p. 110; Montague's Desp. July 29, 1670. Colbert to Lionne, 5th and 7th July; Mignet, vol. iii. pp. 212, 213.

⁴ The Marquis d'Effiat was retained in his place from a similar motive—the fear of exciting suspicion by his punishment.

In other quarters, where similar motives for passive acquiescence did not exist, the torrent of opinion was less easily stemmed. This was the case more especially in Holland, the Dutch and Spanish ministers using their best efforts to foster suspicion and promote a breach between France and England; Louis XIV. did his utmost to prevent and neutralize these impressions,¹ and ordered an account of Henrietta's death and of the post mortem to be sent to his minister at the Hague. Lionne describes, with pathetic eloquence, the circumstances connected with her death, dwelling much upon the calmness and resignation she displayed. He adds that "Monsieur retired to Paris in extreme affliction, bursting into tears at the sight of all who went to see him."

This testimony to the grief of the royal widower is that of a courtier. We will compare it with other and less partial relations. Philip of France was not, in his better moments, hard-hearted or insensible, and the death of the woman he had once loved, the mother of his children, would have touched him sensibly, had it not been for the jealousy with which he had long regarded her influence. As it was, scarcely had the last breath of his dying wife passed away, than he laid hold of her papers,

¹ His first letter to his agent on the subject is as follows.—

"Monsieur de Pomponne,

"Your despatch of the 26th of last month requiring no particular reply, I will only speak to you of the severe shock which I and all my family have just received from the hand of God, who has taken away from us my sister, the Duchess of Orleans, carried off by a violent colic in the space of seven or eight hours. *I fear that this misfortune may not be looked upon in the place of your residence in the same view, and with the same sentiments, with which I should desire it to be regarded.* [This passage is in cyphers.] I must submit to the divine will, and seek all the consolation of which I am capable, in the manner of this princess's death, which could not be more holy and Christian than it has been; and referring you to what I have bade Lionne inform you about this fatal accident, I pray God to have you, Monsieur de Pomponne, in his holy keeping. Written at St. Germain en Laye, the 4th day of July, 1670.

"LOUIS."

Lionne, writing again on July 11th, assures Pomponne that they may laugh at the efforts of Dutch and Spaniards, for what has transpired will not make any alteration in their political relationships with England.—*Négociations de Pomponne, MS. 598, Bibl. Arsenal.*

and compelled the Abbé Montague and Madame de Fiennes, one of her maids, to assist him in reading and decyphering the secret correspondence between herself and her brother. He also took all her keys, and refused either to give up the money which Ambassador Montague was charged to distribute amongst her servants, or to pay a debt which she had contracted to Lord St. Alban's.¹ But his anxiety about the etiquette of mourning soon swallowed up every other consideration. Mademoiselle de Monpensier thus describes a visit which she paid him the day after Henrietta's death:—

“I went to see Monsieur, who did not appear to me to be sorrowful. He told me that he had begged Madame d'Aiguillon to lend him her house at Ruel, for that in his situation he could not stay at Paris. The next day I returned with a mantle on to see Mademoiselle: there was there a daughter of the Duke of York, who had been sent to the queen-mother of England to be put under treatment for a complaint which she had in her eyes; when the queen died she had remained under Madame's care. I found her with Mademoiselle: they were both very little. Monsieur, who loves fashions, had made them put on mantles which trailed on the ground: he wished that visits should be paid to Mademoiselle de Valois, although she was still a nursling. I went with my mantle to St. Germain's; it was on purpose to see their majesties once with this ridiculous mourning trapping on. I told the king about the visits I had paid at the Palais Royal, and described to him the mantles of Mademoiselle and the Princess of England. He said to me, ‘Do not make nonsense about that, my brother would never forgive you.’”²

Deeming it suitable for him to act the part of a disconsolate widower, Monsieur retired to Ruel for a week, and then returned to St. Germain's, where it was noted that the king seemed much more sorrowful than he. Within a few weeks more, we are informed, “Monsieur is in amours, and, if he be not shortly married to Mademoiselle, all the world is in a mistake. He follows her, he courts her, he is at her toilette, and waits on her as she dresseth herself. The king encourageth the proposition; Mademoiselle herself shews no aversion. If all this come not to a conclusion, what will?”³

¹ Montague to Arlington, 15th July, 1670; Abbé Montague's Desp. Dec. 13th. French Corresp. State Paper Office.

² Mémoires, vol. ix. p. 83.

³ Vernon's Despatch, 20th August.

Mademoiselle however had no real inclination for a marriage of this kind,¹ and moreover her affections were already engaged to the Duc de Lauzun, her union with whom Monsieur vehemently opposed, declaring if she so demeaned herself, he would add a codicil to his will, condemning to the cloister any daughter of his who should dare to follow her example. He was ultimately re-married to Henrietta's second cousin, Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, eldest son of the Queen of Bohemia. The second Madame, in her well-known gossiping letters, does full justice to the beauty, graces, and matrimonial fidelity of her predecessor, and frankly confesses that she has never been able to attain to the same amount of influence and position in society which were accorded to Henrietta. She was the mother of the notorious regent Duke of Orleans, and the ancestress of the present branch of that family. As Henrietta left no son, the energies of Monsieur were concentrated on a scheme to marry his eldest daughter to the Dauphin of France, but he failed of success, and she became, as queen of Charles II. of Spain, a crowned victim to the same cruel destiny which consigned her mother to an early tomb. There was a singular fatality attending the marriage of this beautiful daughter of Orleans. The Chevalier de Lorraine was the man who led her to the altar; the Marquis d'Effiat, another agent in her mother's death, was her father's representative at Madrid, and the medium through whom her future husband corresponded with her, while the Comtesse de Soissons, once the friend, but at length the deadly enemy of Henrietta, was placed about her person, and was the supposed agent in accomplishing her destruction.² She died from poison and childless within a few years of her marriage.³

Henrietta's younger daughter was married to the

¹ Monpensier Mémoires, vol. ix. p. 105.

² Athenæum, 1847, pp. 931, 932.

³ For details of this ill-fated lady, see Mémoires touchant le Mariage de Charles II. avec Marie Louise, 18mo. Paris, 1681; Vatout, Résidences Royales, vol. ii. p. 86; MS. Résidu St. Germain, Paquet II No. 3; Monpensier, vol. ix. pp. 95, 110.

Duke of Savoy;¹ through her, his present Majesty of Sardinia is the eldest surviving representative of Charles I. of England. The Duke of Orleans survived his wife more than thirty years; he died at the same Palace of St. Cloud, but more suddenly than she, of apoplexy, the result of his own imprudence in refusing to submit to timely remedies.²

We have avoided breaking in upon the thread of the narrative of the circumstances following upon Henrietta's decease, by the description of her funeral ceremonies; they were splendid almost beyond what was due to her rank, from the extreme anxiety felt by Louis XIV. to give every possible demonstration of his regret and esteem for the deceased princess. She was laid out, her face uncovered, with twenty-four candles burning around, and solemn masses were chanted at altars erected in the apartment. The body was embalmed, placed in a coffin covered with black velvet, wrought with her arms, and conveyed, under a pall of cloth of gold, to the very room in which she died, now draped with black, where it was deposited on a platform, under a canopy of black velvet, embroidered with silver, and surrounded by heralds and other officers. The royal family performed the customary ceremony of visiting and throwing holy water upon the corpse;³ and on the 1st of July, the heart, enshrined in a silver casket, was carried in state to the abbey of Val de Grâce, by a long train of ladies, headed by the Princess of Condé, and the bowels, to the church of the Celestines.⁴

On the 4th of July, the body was removed to St. Denis, the king having previously written to the monks to secure it an honourable reception.⁵ Mademoiselle d'Orleans, the Princess of Condé, the Duchesses of

¹ Marmontel, *Choix de Mercurès*, vol. xxv. p. 10.

² Beaumelle, *Mém. de Maintenon*, vol. iii. p. 330.

³ *Gazette de France*, 1670, p. 677, *et seq.*

⁴ Vatout, *Résid. Royales*, vol. v. p. 137. In MS. St. Germain's Harlay, 279, f. 1636, is an account of a contention between the Princess of Condé and Mdle. d'Orleans, on a point of etiquette, which interfered with and had nearly stopped the ceremony.

⁵ *Funérailles de Madame Henriette Anne*, Liasse K. 119, No. 9, Archives du Royaume, Paris.

Longueville, Angoulême, Aiguillon, Nemours, and Mesle-raye, with many other noble ladies, all Madame's household, the officers-at-arms, &c., swelled the long procession which, at midnight and by torch-light, swept along the beautiful avenues of St. Cloud, passed the Bois de Boulogne, traversed the silent streets of Paris, and about two in the morning deposited their precious burden at the venerable abbey, the resting-place of many a generation of her royal race. The coffin was placed on a scaffold, under a canopy of black velvet, and the service for the dead chanted; after which the *cortége* departed, leaving the coffin under the charge of the monks, but constantly watched by a party of Monsieur's guards, until the funeral day.

The solemn interment at St. Denis took place on the 21st of August, more than six weeks after Henrietta's decease, the intervening period being busily occupied in the preparatory arrangements. Two days before the appointed time, Saintot, master of the ceremonies to Louis XIV., paraded the streets of Paris, preceded by the king-at-arms and three heralds, and followed by twenty criers with bells, all of them bearing Madame's arms on their robes. They marched in procession to the doors of the Parliament chamber, and of the other places of meeting for public companies; the bells were rung, and the criers proclaimed aloud, "Noble and devout persons, pray for the soul of the most high, puissant, and virtuous and excellent princess, Henrietta Anne of England, the daughter of Charles I., King of Great Britain, and of Henrietta Maria, daughter of France, the wife of Philip of France, only brother of the king, who deceased in the château of St. Cloud, on the 30th of June last; for whose soul the king has prayers offered, and service performed in the Church of St. Denis in France, where her body now reposes; at which place, next Wednesday afternoon, will be said the vespers and vigils for the dead, and the next day, at ten in the morning, will be celebrated her solemn service. Pray, if you please, for the rest of her soul."¹

Seldom has the Cathedral of St. Denis presented a

¹ MS. St. Germain's Harl., 279, f. 1786.

spectacle so solemn and imposing as on this occasion. The whole interior of the church was festooned with black, sprinkled with silver tears, and decorated with escutcheons of the princess's arms. Skeletons of imitation white marble, seven feet in height, supported the massive draperies of the nave; in strange contrast to which were Cupids on pedestals, leaning with extinguished torches on marble-wreathed urns. Along a frieze running round the choir were placed, at a distance of a foot apart, white wax torches, four feet in height. In the centre, on a large scaffold, ascended by eight steps, was the mausoleum, at each corner of which stood an octagonal antique altar, surmounted by a large urn, smoking with perfumes, and surmounted by a silver vase and lamp. At the sides of the two altars, fronting the gate of the choir, were four figures in imitation white marble, six feet high, seated and leaning upon the altars, representing Nobility, Youth, Poetry, and Music. The first was clothed in a rich mantle wrought with leopards and *fleur-de-lys*, a sceptre in her hand, and two crowns near her to denote the high birth of the princess; the second, lightly and delicately clad, held a broken garland, to denote that the illustrious deceased had passed away in the finest days of her spring-time; the third was dressed as a nymph, crowned with laurel, and many books scattered at her feet; the fourth similarly attired, with a variety of instruments also at her feet;—the two latter representing the fondness of the princess for the arts of music and poetry and her knowledge of them. At the side fronting the great altar were also emblematical representations of Faith, dressed after the antique fashion, her veil down and bearing the accustomed symbols; Hope, similarly dressed, leaning on an anchor, in her hand a burning heart; Strength, leaning on a cube, embracing the base of a column; and Sweetness, extending an olive branch, with a bee-hive at her feet. All the figures bore Latin inscriptions, in gilt letters, on the base. Upon the platform was a tomb in imitation of black marble, enriched with ornaments, supported by four large leopards in imitation bronze. Above the tomb was the coffin containing the body of the princess, covered with most magnificent cloth of gold, bordered

with ermine, the arms at the four corners embroidered in gold and silver, and surmounted by the ducal mantle and crown, covered with crape, on a square of black velvet. On the steps of this superb tomb were 300 torches of white wax, and over the whole was a canopy of black velvet twelve feet long and eleven broad, adorned with the arms embroidered in gold, garnished with scarfs and festoons of white tapestry, with silver fringes.]

On the day appointed, August the 21st, the public companies began to arrive at St. Denis about ten o'clock, and were placed according to rank by the Marquis of Rhodes, grand-master of the ceremonies. Then the Princess of Condé, the Duchess of Longueville, and the Princess of Carignan, the three principal mourners, were respectively led in by the Prince of Condé, the Duke d'Enghien, and the Prince of Conti, preceded by 100 poor people clothed in grey, and each bearing a torch of white wax, and followed by all the officers and servants of the deceased, at the head of whom was the Comte d'Albon, her knight of honour. The king-at-arms and the four heralds ranged themselves at the corners of the tomb, and the grand-master of the ceremonies and his two assistants took their places. The queen, who was present *incognito*, was seated in a tribune, along with the King of Poland, the English ambassador, the Duke of Buckingham, and many other lords, who were also *incognito*. When all was arranged and the seats taken, in an instant all the flambeaux and wax tapers were lighted, and the urns, which had hitherto only poured forth clouds of incense, burst into bodies of flame, so that the whole of the superb decorations were clearly visible. At the same time the coadjutor, the Archbishop of Rheims, dressed in his pontifical robes, and assisted by twelve monks of the abbey, commenced the mass, which was chanted by the musicians of the chapel: then the princesses, each led by her companion, and her mantle borne by an attendant, made the accustomed offerings; after which Bishop Bossuet pronounced the funeral oration. The four Bishops of Marseilles, Couserans, Meaux, and Autun, all clothed in pontificals, then joined the officiating prelate, and stood at the four corners of the

mausoleum, where they performed the usual absolutions and censings. The body was then raised by Monsieur's body guards, and carried into the vault, on which one of the heralds called for the *maîtres d'hôtel* of the princess, who all broke their staves and flung them into the tomb; another herald called for the first squire, who brought the ducal mantle; and a third, for the knight of honour, who bore the coronet. "All performed these functions," writes a contemporary, "not without bursting into tears at finding themselves deprived for ever of so charming and perfect a princess, and those of the company also, taking part in this sad concert of sighs and tears, gave marks and testimonies of extraordinary grief."¹

The testimony of our courtly chronicler to the general sorrow is fully borne out by an English resident.

"On Thursday last, 21st current," he writes, "was the solemnity of Madame's funeral at St. Denis, extraordinarily pompous and magnificent; in that kind nothing was wanting; all symptoms of a public sorrow and affection were met together. The queen (which was an honour altogether new and unpractised in former funerals) was there in person. The King of Poland was there; all the court in general, ladies as well as noblemen, assisted at the solemnity. The close mourners and those who made the reverences and offerings were the Prince of Condé, who led the princess, the Duke d'Enghien, who handed the Duchess of Longueville, the little Prince of Conti, who led the Princess of Carignan. The Bishop of Condom preached with an eloquence something transported beyond a usual delicacy and sweetness. The hearse was extremely richly adorned; all the officers of her family, with great silence and mourning, cast the badges of their employment into her grave, and as her coffin was put in, there was a general weeping, a circumstance something unusual at these great ceremonies of the interment of princes."²

Pages might be filled, did our limits permit, with sonnets, eulogies, orations, and expressions of regret over the untimely fate of the beautiful Stuart: the witty Lord Rochester says, never was any one so regretted since dying was the fashion, and his sentiment was re-echoed throughout England and France; but want of

¹ Gazette de France, p. 818, *et seq.* For entries relating to the expenses of the funeral and court mourning, see Egerton MS. 916, and Funérailles de Madame Henriette, Liasse K. 119, No. 9, Archives du Royaume, Paris.

² Vernon's Desp. 23rd Aug. French Corresp.

space compels us alike to pass over the poetic lamentations of both countries, the elegant epitaph of Madame de Bregis, and the oration of the celebrated preacher Mascaron, pronounced at the Val de Grâce.¹ We conclude with a few brief extracts from that of Bossuet, pronounced, as before observed at St. Denis:—

“Oh, princess, the worthy object of the admiration of two great kingdoms, was it not enough that England wept your absence, without being reduced to weep your death too! And France, which welcomed you back with such joy, surrounded with fresh glory, had she no other pomps or triumphs for you on your return from that famous voyage whence you had brought back so much glory and such flattering hopes! ‘Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.’ These are the only words I have left; this is the only reflection which, in such a strange catastrophe, a just and lively grief permits me. After what we have just seen, health is but a name, life is but a dream, glory is but an illusion, graces and pleasures are but a dangerous amusement; all is vain in us except the sincere confession of our vanities, that we are conscious of before God, and the convicted judgment which makes us despise what we are.

“This princess, born upon a throne, had a heart and a spirit even higher than her birth. The misfortunes of her house could not subdue her, even in her early youth; and from that time a grandeur was seen in her which owed nothing to fortune. She said with joy that heaven had snatched her, as by miracle, from the hands of the enemies of the king her father to give her to France. Precious gift! inestimable present! would that the possession had but been more lasting. But why does this recollection ever interrupt me? Alas! we cannot for a moment steady our gaze on the glory of the princess, without death blending with it to dim all with his shadow. Oh death! Oh disastrous night! oh fearful night! When all at once resounded like a thunder-clap the amazing tidings, ‘Madame is dying; Madame is dead!’ which of us did not feel himself smitten with this blow, as though some tragic accident had desolated his own family. At the first report of so strange a calamity, everybody flew to St. Cloud; all were in consternation, except the heart of this princess; everywhere cries were heard, everywhere was seen grief, despair, and the image of death. Monsieur, all the court, all the people, all were overwhelmed, all in despair, and we seem to see the accomplishment of those words of the prophet, ‘The king shall weep, the prince shall be desolate, and the hands of the people shall fail with grief and astonishment.’”

¹ See Mascaron's Orations in Migné's *Orateurs Sacrés*, vol. xvii.; Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS. 902, vol. xiii. f. 775; MS. St. Victor 33; MS. St. Germain Résidu, Paquet 48, No. 4; Vatout, *Résidences Royales*, vol. v. pp. 139, 140; *Lacrymæ Cantabrigenses in Obitu Ducissæ Aurelianensis*, 4to. Camb. 1670; *Lettres du Comte Bussy Rabutin*, vol. iii. pp. 218-223.

Thus mournfully closed the existence of the last and lovliest of our princesses. The fatal termination of a career, at once so brilliant and so melancholy, accomplished in her the strange destiny of her gifted but unfortunate race, that "heritage of woe," which proverbially characterized a STUART.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.—*See page 444.*

POPE ALEXANDER TO QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

ALEXANDER P. P. VII.

Carissimæ in Christo filiæ Nostræ salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Literas Majestatis tuæ de celebratis dilectissimorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum, Ducum Aurelianensium, nuptiis paterna caritas nostra libenter sane perlegit. Hanc vero lætitiâ cumulat ingens devotionis fervor, quo sanctam sedem Apostolicam officia præclara tua tam religiosè venerantur. Quare matrimonio isti, uti piè postulas, ex omni cordis affectu benedicentes, eidem ampla et jugia Divinæ gratiæ munera cum precamur, tum plane speramus. Cætera quoque gaudia ex filiorum prosperitatibus pietati tuæ debita profecto tibi cupimus, eaque potissimum quæ summi Dei gloriæ et sanctitati religionis Catholicæ, tam conjuncta præcipuis Majestatis tuæ votis expeti certo scimus. Horum eventui provehendo quamvis assiduas, et sollicitas curas tuas unice studere non ignoremus tamen, ut in opus tam salutare pro viribus in dies ardentius incumbas, etiam atque etiam te hortamur. Ad idem sane Nos totius consolationis Patri Deo preces offerre numquam desinimus, quod enixe nunc prosequentes Majestati tuæ benedictionem Apostolicam amantissimè impertimur. Datum Castri Landulphi sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die XVI. Martis MDCLXI. Pontificatûs Nostri Anno septimo.

J. FLORENTIN.

MS. 238, Art. 14, fol. 146. All Soul's College, Oxford.

NUMBER II.—*See page 571.*

MEDICAL OPINIONS ON THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

CERTIFICATE OF BOSCHER.

Memoire d'un chirurgien du Roy d'Angleterre qui a este present à l'ouverture du corps de Madame royalle de France, sœur du R. d'Angleterre:

Le 30me Juin, 1670, il me fut dit au matin que Madame estait morte subitement. J'allay ches msgr. l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre qui me commenda d'aller avec un secretaire à St. Clou, ou le corps de la deffunte princesse estoit et devoit estre ouvert pour y assister. Je m'y rendis avec le dit secretaire, ou je rencontray les medecins du Roy de France et ses chirurgiens, et en la presence de son excellence, du Comte Dalsbery (*sic*), de Mr. l'Abbé Montagu, et Mr. Hamilton, le corps fut exposé sur une table. Je desiray de voir le dos, ou je ne trouvay rien d'extraordinaire.* L'incision estant faite pour l'ouvrir, il en sortit une vapeur fœtide et de mauvaise odeur; le ventre estant ouvert on trouve l'epiploon tout mortifié et gangrené, les intestins tendant aussi à mortification et putrefaction, fort decolorés, le foye d'une couleur gris jaunatre tout brulé, en sorte qu'en le touchant, il tomboit entre les doigts par miette, sans aucune apparence de sang, la vessie du fiel fort pleine et diffusé d'une bille fort haute en couleur, qui sembloit par son espanchement avoir donné la couleur aux autres parties voisines, la ratelle bonne de couleur et grosseur naturelle, le rein gauche un peu fletry et mal, mais bon dans sa substance, le droit fort bon, toute la capacité du bas ventre pleine d'une matière sanieuse, peutride, jaunastre, aqueuse et grasse come de l'huile; le ventricule ou estomach par l'exterieur beau et bien conditioné, mais au dedans tout fourré et teint d'une bile aduste, jusques au haut de l'esophage, laquelle se netoioit aisement avec le doigt, sans y avoir trouvé aucune excoriation depuis l'orifice d'en haut, jusques au bas, que je visitay fort exactement, seulement un petit trou dans la partie moyenne et anterieure laquelle estoit arrivée par megarde du chirurgien qui l'avoit coupé. Surquoy je fus le seul qui fis instance, mais l'ayant bien visité de près, je n'y trouvay aucune excoriation ni corrosion, ni noirceur, ni dureté, ni macule, ni lesion d'aucune autre partie. Au reste fort bon dans toute l'estendue du ventricule. Le poulmon adherant aux costes du costé gauche, remply d'une

* Marginal note: Il m'a dit aux Capucins, comme je luy demendois si le visage estoit livide, qu'il l'estoit en quelques endroits et le dos entièrement.

matière spumeuse, le costé droit meilleur mais non pas tout à fait bon; le cœur gros et renfermé dans la liqueur du pericarde fort bon et naturel, mais toutes les parties en general fort exangues. L'on n'a point ouvert la teste ni les boyaux; la cause de la mort ayant esté trouvée dans le ventre, qui est à ce qu'on a jugé une trop grande effusion de bile.

RÉFLEXIONS.

Le temperament de la princesse, chaud, sec et bilieux, ce qui se voit par la secheresse et aridité de la peau, laquelle auroit esté foit jaune si la bile avoit peu exuder au travers des pores qui estoient desechés et arides par la chaleur extraordinaire.

La mauvaise habitude du corps de long-temps contractée, comme il a paru par le foye et le poulmon.

Le voyage, dans lequel elle n'a presque point dormi.

Le voyage de mer.

La soudaine joye et allegresse en voyant son frère.

Le changement d'alimens, d'ordre et d'air dans son voyage.

Les grandes chaleurs, le motion de la bile qui n'a pas esté evacuée par les vomissemens ordinaires qui arrivent à la mer; le bain froid à contre-temps.

Toutes ces choses ensemble ont contribue à eschauffer la bile, ce qui s'est remarqué par le degoust qu'elle a eu des viandes. Cet humeur s'estant espandu dans le ventricule et mesme dans tout le bas ventre qui a doné la teinture à toutes les autres parties et a causé tant de douleurs poignantes et acres dans les intestins et hypocondres, lesquelles choses ont causé une fermentation si chaude et si vaporeuse que la nature ne pouvant plus supporter cette chaleur extreme et secheresse, tout d'un coup a fondu ou liquifié toutes les parties du corps pour humecter et rafraîchir et secourir les parties les plus affligées—c'est pourquoy l'on ne peut rien inferer à l'encontre de ces observations sans prejudice, n'ayant rien trouvé qui y contredise, si non ce petit coup d'incision à l'estomach que l'on a esclairey, et le mauvais procedé de l'operateur qui a si mal fait son devoir qu'il ait plustost voulu dérober aux asistans la verité de la cause de la mort que l'esclaircir et dementir.

ALEXANDER BOSCHER,
Chirurgus Regius.

MS. St. Germain, Paquet IV. No. 2.

CERTIFICATE OF THE POST MORTEM.

Scarce were the outward teguments of the lower belly opened, but there issued an insupportable smell.

The muscles mortified, and the epiploon almost wholly decayed.

Upon the opening of the peritoneum, there was found a great quantity of matter extremely offensive.

The colour of the liver was of a yellowish white, the substance of it being quite withered and rotten.

The bladder of the gall full of a high coloured bile.

The spleen was good, the left rein was much decayed, and not corrupted; as for the right, it was good, and without a fault.

The beginning of the duodenum and the pylorus discoloured with the same bile that was found in the bladder of the gall, and even of a higher colour.

As to the other intestines, they were very much altered and almost wholly gangrened, yet some more than others; amongst the rest the ileum and the jejunum.

As to the stomach, it was found very sound, the members being very firm, which, notwithstanding, in their inward superficies were wholly covered by the abovesaid bile to the very æsophagus.

The breast being opened, the heart was found very whole, without any default, and in the capacity of her whole breast was observed a very considerable quantity of matter like to that of the lower belly.

As for the lungs, they were found to stick to the ribs on the left side, and its substance filled with a very corrupt matter, which in the right side was indifferently filled with corruption.

So that it was very boiling bile, very corrupt and malign, and very impetuous, which caused all the disorders in the abovesaid parts, and gangrened them.

VALLOT.

LA CHAMBRE.

LE VASSEUR LE PETIT.

H. CHAMBERLAIN.

LE BELL.

BOUVARLEY.

CARVEN.

FELIX PERE.

FELIX FILS.

DAQUIN.

FUCHIN.

PAYER.

BLONDELL.

FOLCHER.

BACHET.

D'AMBOISE.

CORNET.

French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

CHAMBERLAIN'S CERTIFICATE.

$\frac{20}{30}$ June, 1670.

Being commanded by his Excellency the English ambassador to attend at the dissecting Madame's corpse, I observed

at the opening of her lower belly an offensive air to breathe forth.

Her epiploon was tinged with a deep yellow bile, and putrified.

All her bowels were more or less of the same tincture, inflated, and inclining towards a gangrene.

Her liver was of an ash colour, rotten, and without blood.

Her reins were indifferent; the left the worst.

Her spleen was good.

Her stomach was lined with that adust bile, and so was the œsophagus up to her throat.

In the middle venter her heart was well, but her lungs, on the left side, were adhering, and being opened on that side there issued only an ichorous humidity; on the right side they were better conditioned, but not of the due colour.

Both venters were repleted with bilious humours and an oil floating thereon.

Her fingers' ends were livid.

By HUGH CHAMBERLAIN, Medic. Regiæ
Ma^{tis}. Mag. Brit. Ordinar.

French Correspondence, 1670, State Paper Office.

VALLOT'S ACCOUNT.

The more I consider the death of the late Duchess of Orleans, the more I find it surprising and astonishing, having in it most particular causes and circumstances; and although I have had these four or five years a very bad opinion of her health, and have expected the misfortune that hath now befallen, yet should I never have believed the disease so great, in case I had not been present at the opening of her body, where after examination had, and relation made, by the physicians and surgeons, who, in the presence of his Excellency the English ambassador and several other persons, made a most faithful and exact search of all the parts of her body, none but will admire as much as I do that that princess resisted so long the corruption of those parts which maintain and preserve life, and especially the liver and the lungs, the substance whereof was perished and filled with corrupt and putrified matter; but as, on the other side, the heart, the stomach, the gall and the reins had preserved amongst these disorders their natural vigour and perfection, nature, assisted by a flourishing youth, had maintained life until the moment that it was overwhelmed by itself, in making its last endeavours to thrust out, above and below, the choler and matter which was contained in the region of the liver and the breast, being overcome by the abundance and bad quality of the

humour which remained in the passage, without being able to evacuate, and which, happening to burst out upon the most sensible parts, produced in an instant most violent pains and oppressions, which, in the space of ten hours, did extinguish the natural heat, and caused a most sudden and violent death. This is the true and real opinion I have of the cause and nature of so fatal a distemper.

VALLOT.

At Versailles, 1st July, 1670.

French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

END OF THE SIXTH AND LAST VOLUME.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS,
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THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS.

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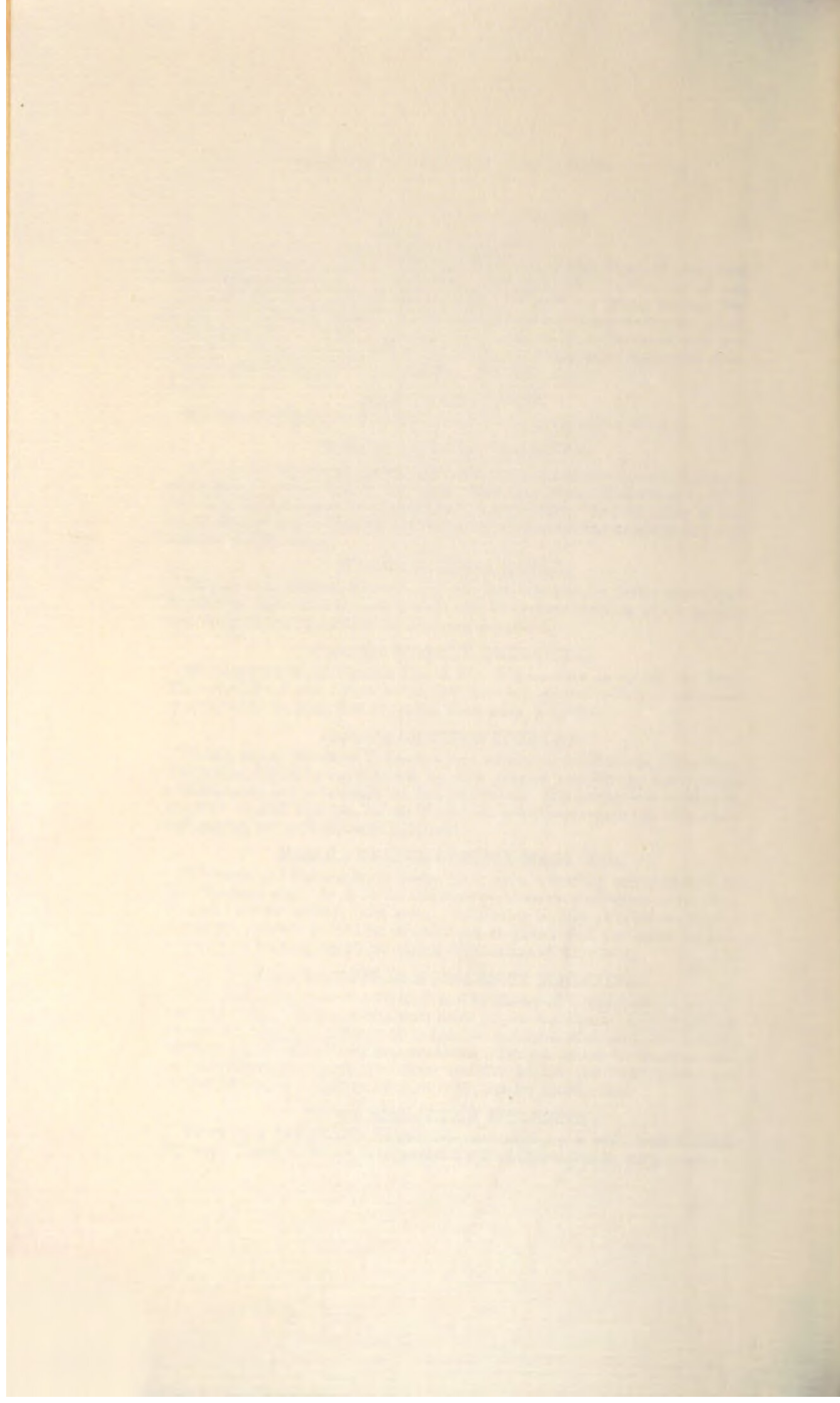
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